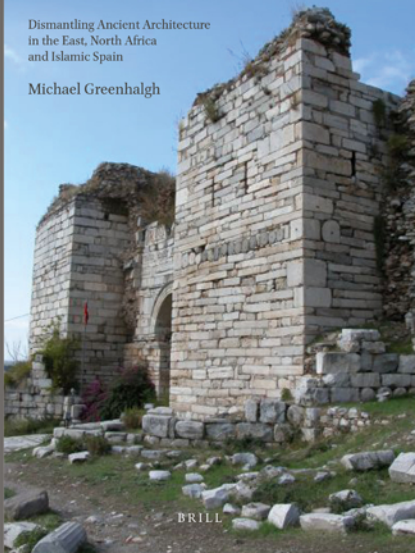


Constantinople to Córdoba

Dismantling Ancient Architecture
in the East, North Africa
and Islamic Spain

Michael Greenhalgh



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Cover illustrations: Front cover: Ankara: the citadel walls, perhaps 7th century, which incorporate large quantities of antiquities from the ancient city, as once did the city walls, now demolished; Back cover: Seljuk/Ayasoluk: the "Gate of Persecution," the lower entrance to the fortress. It is built of marble blocks from Ephesus, and incorporates re-used reliefs above its arch. Datable to perhaps 6th–8th century. ©Photographs by Michael Greenhalgh.

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Quomodo sedet sola civitas plena populo
facta est quasi vidua domina gentium;
princeps provinciarum facta est sub tributo

– Vulgate: Lamentation of Jeremiah the Prophet

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PREFACE

Acknowledgments

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Theme and Dates

The theme of this book follows logically from those of three previous ones, namely *The Survival of Roman Antiquities in the Middle Ages* (London 1989, 288 pp), *Islam and Marble from the Origins to Saddam Hussein* (Canberra 2005, 109 pp. plus 45 illustrations plus CD-ROM of 400 images), and *Marble Past, Monumental Present: Building with Antiquities in the Mediaeval Mediterranean* (Leiden 2009, xviii pp. + 634 pp. + 36 illus plus DVD of 4000+ images). The first book was restricted to examples from Western Europe; the second gave an overview of the key importance of Islam in the re-use of marble from classical cities; and the third attempted to treat the whole of the Mediterranean, since it is illogical to treat separate “countries” when ship-borne war and commerce imported and exported re-usable marble from one side of the sea to the other.

This new research project takes the story further, charting the history of the dismantling, destruction and recycling of the architecture and antiquities of the Greek, Roman and Islamic world from the Middle Ages to the beginnings of mass tourism during the later 19th century, but does not dwell on the complexion of the new manners of architecture formed during the Middle Ages. That the telling of such a story is possible is due to

extensive travel literature, from its beginning in the late Middle Ages¹ (following some earlier pilgrimage accounts), growing exponentially in the 18th and 19th centuries. This is largely in Western languages but sometimes in Arabic (and read in translation), and often charts the fate of the monuments as the East and North Africa pursue urbanisation centuries later than had happened in Europe (and for which there are few written accounts, let alone illustrations). Given the small quantity of survivals in original form or even in pieces, we can be certain that destruction was much more common than relatively harmless dismantling for local re-use, which of course makes best use of resources perceived as scarce. “Looting” should perhaps be the term for materials taken far from their context – for example, into European museums. “Destruction” should perhaps be reserved to indicate cases where antique blocks were recut so that their original use or form could not be determined – the most extreme being their conversion into lime for new building.

The project has no firm dates at either end, because different areas were popular and hence visited at different times. Again, there are few accounts for the earlier centuries, and we must perforce pay particular attention to mediaeval authors, including those writing in Arabic and available in translation: they must be studied no matter how thin, whimsical or patchy. Matters improve by the Renaissance period, when travellers often compare the wonders they find abroad with the monuments they remember at home, and not always to the credit of home. From the 16th century onwards, ambassadors offer some cogent accounts, sometimes themselves, or sometimes at the hand of learned clerks in their suite.² From the 17th century, collecting makes a firm appearance (although there are earlier examples), with the first “official” collecting on behalf of Louis XIV.

A Sanitized Past

This book lays heavy emphasis on travellers’ accounts because of the changes wrought in antiquities and sites over the past several centuries, few of them to the benefit of the architecture. Tourists of today should

¹ Wettlaufer 1999, Kraak 2000, Helm 2001, for excellent bibliographies and details of late mediaeval travel, by the French, Netherlanders and Germans respectively.

² Tinguely 2000, for the itineraries (with dates) of Aramon (265–268) and Thevet (269). Cavalier 2007, for the context of Choiseul-Gouffier’s ambassadorship, travels and collecting.

surely be shocked to learn that the Acropolis or Delphi or many other sites (even Cairo)³ did not look a few centuries ago as they do today, let alone the Library of Celsus at Ephesus,⁴ or indeed Bodrum/Halicarnassus before the later 20th century.¹ For archaeology, equally driven by external pressures,⁵ in its brainwashed exclusive eagerness to get down to the Greek or Roman levels (and museum-worthy loot), systematically avoided interesting itself until very recently in post-Roman occupational changes to the classical landscape, including Christian ones, as in the case of the Parthenon.⁶ This focus even stretched to dismantling the Byzantine fortress at Timgad in order to restore the theatre, and ignoring Christian buildings at Assos.ⁱⁱ And finally mass tourism made its own demands,⁷ for which the same archaeologists generally cleared away later accretions (i.e. evidence of later occupation of the same sites) so as to present a clear,

³ AlSayyad et al. 2005, will teach the reader that what is seen now in Cairo (as elsewhere) is not necessarily of much historical validity, for restoration remakes, and does not just preserve. Cf. Bierman 2005, 9–27. Also Hampikian 2005, mainly on the work of the Comité, and with some startling before-and-after shots; 225 cites question of ‘Ali Mubarak, appointed Director of the Public Works in 1868, “Does one need so many monuments? When one preserves a sample, isn’t that enough?” And as for Bab Zuwayla, once the site for hanging criminals, “We don’t want to keep those memories, we ought to destroy them as the French destroyed the Bastille.” Ormos 2009 for examples of before-and-after restoration in Cairo: Minarets of al-Mu’ayyad Sayh (figs 21–23), Maridani Mosque (figs 45–49), Al Aqmar (figs 56–57), Al Azhar (figs 86–88), Asanbuga (112–115) the pavement of the Sultan Hassan (136–137), the façade and mihrab of the Qalawun complex (152–154, 161–162). And for Spain, cf. Ewert 1997 pl.58–59 for before-and-after photos of the mosque door in the Aljafería.

⁴ Schmidt 1997, 46 for the Library of Celsus: “A re-erection, when done strictly as anastylosis, differs visually from a reconstruction that introduces new materials. The Library of Celsus is a good example of anastylosis. While Friedmund Hueber, who re-erected the structure from 1970 to 1978, adhered to the principles of The Venice Charter, he found it necessary to stabilise the building with reinforced concrete and some new columns. The building does not look like an historical forgery; nevertheless, it is, in fact, a recently created, modern ‘ruin.’” – so the author here contradicts himself, for the reconstruction does indeed introduce new columns, though he doesn’t say how many; cf. Bammer 1988, 166–190 *Restaurierung als Restauration? Postmoderne und Populismus in Ephesos*.

⁵ Davis 2007, 252: “the way people imagine their past determines how contemporary archaeologists produce the archaeological record, particularly in the Mediterranean and Near East, where most archaeologists operate as agents of nation-states and have pursued archaeological agendas that closely reflect national agendas.” And cf. Munzi 2001, for Italian Tripolitania, 57–60: *Le riviste archeologiche tra rigore scientifico e propaganda politica*. Dyson 2006, with chapters on archaeologists and museums. Cf. Chap 3, 65–85: *The Opening of Greece*.

⁶ Kaldellis 2009, 207–211 *Postscript: how the classical bias of the 19th–20thC has denied Parthenon its true and Christian history*.

⁷ Munzi 2004, 70–76 for archaeology and tourism in Libya.

sanitized and inaccurate story on several sites,⁸ rather than a more intricate, detailed and accurate one. Worse, their records were often sketchy or missing.⁹ The process reflects the primacy of esteem of classical civilization (and Greek over Roman where possible) over anything Vandalic, barbaric, mediaeval or Moslem,¹⁰ as may be seen from the history of archaeology in Spain,¹¹ where its development is classed as “relatively immature.”¹²

As a result, what we see today on most archaeological sites is not what travellers saw a century or two ago, let alone a millennium ago. Nor do such sites provide any adequate reflection of what actually happened in the past – let alone any attempt to put today’s tourist money into the countries that really need it.¹³ Just as archaeology is dependent on political and military access,¹⁴ so archaeological surveys are therefore dependent not just upon the burdens of colonialism,¹⁵ but also upon the (often restricted) horizons of the excavation reports they excerpt, as in North Africa.¹⁶ For the Dead Cities, however, we know more.¹⁷ We must, of course, have archaeological reports, if we can temper what we read

⁸ Schmidt 1993, 59–76 Italy & Greece 1800–1850; 77–87 for Athens Acropolis 1885–1940; 89–107 Olympia, Delos, Knossos 1900–1940. Etienne 2000, with conference views from Greece, Italy, Germany and France. Papers touch on topics including diplomacy and tourism.

⁹ Leveau 1984, 1–7 *Les recherches archéologiques sur le site de Charchel* – with complaints on the elusiveness of archaeological records.

¹⁰ Giudetti 2007, offers a grand overview of Barbarian-Roman-Moslem relations, without notes, but with plenty of quotations. 331–42 for a chronology.

¹¹ Díaz-Andreu 137–152 for the fortunes of Islamic and Visigothic archaeology. Díaz-Andreu 2009, 13–57 for useful introduction with its own overview and bibliography of archaeology in Spain; deals with people, societies and commissions, not places.

¹² Kulikowski 2004, 287–309 *The new world of the sixth century (in Spain)*: see 288. Berlanga Palomo 2005, 53–74 for a useful panorama of archaeology in 19th-century Andalucía: 59–65 Seville; 65–70 Córdoba.

¹³ Guarini 2005, 6: it is noticeable from his GDP etc table that France, Italy, Spain and Greece are at the top, and Egypt, Lybia, Tunisia, Algeria and Morocco down at the bottom – and these of course have a lot of monuments needing preservation.

¹⁴ Chevalier 2004.

¹⁵ Munzi 2004, 9 “Se gli Italiani, e certamente in modo particolare gli archeologici, sono stati percepiti, fino ad anni recenti, come discendenti dei Romani antichi da parto degli anziani Libici cresciuti ed educati nel culto fascista di Roma, anche per i giovani l’archeologia ha continuato a mantenere un significato ambiguo, un vago sapore post o neocoloniale.” 39–63 for the various foreign archaeological missions.

¹⁶ Carucci 2007, with some comments on dating; some villas rebuilt in 5th/6th centuries. But not concerned with any later occupation.

¹⁷ Lassus 1947, X: the advantage of working on churches in the Dead Cities: *Cet avantage est d’être morts*.

against the horizons of the archaeologist,¹⁸ when we sometimes learn of post-antique building only when the archaeologist has to go around collecting *disjecta membra* of his temple from later constructions, as at Assos.ⁱⁱⁱ The days of straight reportage are over, and now theories abound, often from very little hard data; but it is heartening to know that for those archaeologists who actually do wield a trowel in anger, a new and better theory is no further away than the nearest trench.

But this book cannot deal solely with static antique sites, for we should not expect antiquities to remain at their original location. Looting was a continuing problem, both inland (where settlers found antiquities much less work to re-use than to quarry stone afresh) and by the sea (where antiquities could conveniently be loaded for transport, usually but not always to Europe). Changes in fortification were also significant, since theory and practice developed throughout the 19th century as weaponry changed – and once again it was the ancient ruins which usually suffered the consequences.

Travellers' Dates

Obviously, dating the sources used is important, since the situation on the ground often changes through time, and it is generally change which it is important to follow, so the date given is naturally the date of the publication itself unless this is decades or even centuries earlier, in which case the date of travel is given, as far as this can be determined. (For the pitfalls of dating, cf. Texier's *Description de l'Asie Mineure*, Paris 1862, which was published decades after the travel; or any number of editions of ambassadorial travels.) Where the date of publication of a traveller's account is within ten years of the travels themselves, then that date is the one usually cited. In many cases, however, accounts of travels are published many years later, often via an editor, and in this case each citation includes the catch (travelling "date"). In other cases, it can be uncertain whether an author actually visited all the places he describes, often fulsomely; in such cases, as for example with Leo Africanus, whose MS date is known,¹⁹ this is given. Where an MS has no clear date, and when we know only when an

¹⁸ Magness 2003, 5: "the behaviour of the archaeologist is the greatest source of variability in the archaeological record" and "the nature of the survey dictates the nature of the conclusions."

¹⁹ Cresti 2000: Leo's colophon says it was finished in Rome in 1526.

author died, not when he wrote the cited work, then the reference might be “ABC (d.<year>),” or the period when he was active, as with Maqdisi (fl.966).

Any quotations in the text are enclosed in quotation marks, as are quotations in English in the notes. Quotations in other languages are not given in quotation marks.

Quoting the Travellers: Endnotes and Footnotes

This book offers a narrative of dispositions and changes across our Crescent, supported where possible by direct and often extensive quotations from the sources used, which are given in the language in which I find them (which might well not be the language in which they were written). Such quotations are often lengthy, and might be called “documentation notes.” These source references appear as endnotes and, in the printed book, simply as author-date-page. They are in most cases eyewitness accounts of what happened to antiquities, and hence the underpinnings of the argument – “Plus valet oculatus testis unus, quam auriti decem,” as the old saw has it. Too space-hungry to appear in the printed book, and totalling over 500,000 words, these are available for downloading from a website. In the world of the future, where paper-books will be the exception and web-books the norm, the format of this book (a normal-length text backed up with often extensive endnote citations from source materials) will be ideal for web display, because in such a configuration the text would be displayed all the time, and the user could bring up any notes of interest simply by clicking on the hot-link provided for each extended reference.

These source references are generally the writings of travellers, which are of very variable quality. They are not often of the standard or variety that – say – an historian of the First World War has the luxury of examining, from manuscript and published memoirs, cabinet records, unit and army records, newspapers, as well as maps, photographs and film. But in the absence of archival or other material, their use is essential to the theme, as a glance at the scholarly literature will confirm.²⁰ Sometimes, complete travellers’ itineraries can be deduced, and then compared one

²⁰ E.g. Timm 1984, naturally uses information from travellers, quoting from them frequently. Yerasimos 1991, 9: deals with c.450 travel accounts, in order of nationality Italian, German, French, English, Spanish and so on, increasing in number from the 16th century, 35% heading for Constantinople, 25% for Jerusalem.

to another.²¹ The more distant past is, indeed, another country; and over the years I have occasionally been misled by modern authors who (over-)interpret what earlier authors have written, citing source materials in notes which do not support their interpretation. I believe that a better way of proceeding (which should avoid at least some mis-interpretation and wishful thinking) is to keep interpretation in the text to a reasonable minimum, and quote from the earlier authors as fully as necessary. This method is of course an old one: see such works as Brünnow & Domaszewski's *Die Provincia Arabia* (Strasburg 1905), wherein travellers' account for the various monuments are also quoted at length. Naturally, the great majority of my endnotes refer specifically to the Crescent under discussion but, in those instances when little is available, reference has sometimes been made to the much greater volume (and often depth) of scholarly work for Roman areas of Europe, where long and still developing lists of re-used items have been formed.²² The result is that the trusting reader can omit the endnotes, and find all scholarly comments and references in the footnotes.

One of the features of this study is the Europe-wide interest in our Crescent, especially strong in France and Britain, but with important contributions from Italy, Holland,²³ and Germany – albeit much less in quantity.²⁴ One sign of this interest is the frequency with which accounts were translated, so that it is possible to read Dutch accounts in French, French accounts in English, and English accounts in German or French. A parallel feature of many accounts is that they were cumulative, in the sense that travellers often ventured forth on horse- or camelback, or on foot, with earlier accounts as their guidebooks. Their omnibus productions, often heavily footnoted, were eventually to give way to summarising guidebooks, such as Baedekers, or those produced by John Murray. Because of such constructive piracy, therefore, in many books the DNA (Descriptive Notes on Antiquities) has multiple parentage, often not acknowledged.

In the endnotes, contractions have sometimes been expanded, but very little spelling has been changed (u to v, ff to ss, etc) whatever the language,

²¹ E.g. Borromeo 2007, for a general overview of travel in the Ottoman Empire, and then *Inventaire bibliographique des récits et répertoire des lieux habités, étapes de voyage* – by individual traveller, listed chronologically, and gives a secondary bibliography as well as editions and translations.

²² E.g. Morrone 1998, for Calabria.

²³ Halbertsma 2003.

²⁴ Kuhoff 2000, 374: notes that a German 18thC collection of travels has 22 vols, only one on N. Africa west of Egypt; but the French *Histoire générale des Voyages 1749–1761* has 64 vols in all.

and the early erratic French use of accents has been maintained.^{iv} Sometimes more than one edition of a book is cited in bibliography and end-notes, occasionally in a different language, since later editions often expand on first-edition material to justify their offering for sale. And it has to be said that travel literature was so popular that its printed manifestations, editions, re-editions and translations can be very confusing.

Naturally, the book also has footnotes, which are restricted to modern scholarly materials. These are signalled page by page with 1,2,3 etc. Full details of all texts appear in the bibliography, works by travellers under “source materials,” and modern scholarly contributions under “secondary materials.” The bibliography has been divided by location and where possible by subject, in an attempt to make it easier to consult.

A Source-Book for Consulting and Cherry-Picking

Covering as it does such a broad area, and backing up the points it makes with abundant source-quotations, this book is essentially a catalogue interwoven with a running commentary, detailing the various ways in which antiquities were dismantled, destroyed or re-used. However, it cannot be a catalogue in the traditional sense, for three reasons. Survivals are simply too many and too diverse; losses are often by their nature unknowable. Finally, dismantling and re-use were subject to similar pressures, problems and solutions all over our Crescent, for what they did with capitals in Syria was no different from their fate in Asia Minor – so it would in fact be redundant and repetitive to attempt a traditional catalogue. The following account, because of the multitude of comparisons it must make across the mediaeval and later Mediterranean, addresses the density of information and documentation in the following ways:

- the Table of Contents is an outline guide to where the book is going, and its many headings and sub-headings then appear in the text;

- the book contains many examples, all referenced. While some are tied in with the development of the various arguments and discussions, and therefore appear in the main text, others elaborate on the same theme from other parts of our Crescent, and form a kind of partial catalogue. These, together with some excursions or commentaries on adjacent topics, are set in a slightly smaller point-size, in a text box – as shown here.

Readers can skip these sections unless they are looking for additional material on specific points;

- the footnotes on each page, incorporating the works of modern scholars, often serve as counterpoints to my own arguments in the text;
- in the printed book, the rich endnotes for each chapter contain references only (in the format author_date_page) to source materials which appear in the Bibliography, backing up assertions made in the text;
- in the e-book version of this work, available on-line at Brill, the whole of the text is word-searchable;
- illustrations for the printed book have been chosen to demonstrate dismantling and re-use in various areas;
- the Bibliography is divided as neatly as possible by country or region (although several of the categories are necessarily fluid and overlapping); it frequently contains comments on the items, dealing with important points of dating or biography. Multiple references (usually to collections of papers) are abbreviated and cross-referenced to the full citation, except when the abbreviations appear on the same page as the full citation.
- there are three indexes: (1) *subjects* for the topics and the dismantled antiquities; (2) *sites* for the source and destination of many of the antiquities discussed; and (3) *people* for those who provided the information on which the book is based, as well as for historical personalities. It is impossible for every example cited in the text to be indexed, but a broad cross-section appears in the subject index, others in the sites index. Travellers' names are indexed only when these appear in the text, and not when the endnotes simply cite their publications, for these are too profuse to index, as the length of the Bibliography makes clear.

Orientalism: Enough Said

Aficionados who take Edward Said's "Orientalism" as their bible will find no echoing credo or gospel in what follows. Even a cursory reading of original texts will reveal that travellers were neither as scheming nor as one-minded as Said, in his lamentable, ignorant and parti-pris attempts to lay today's preoccupations of a supposedly Machiavellian West on the

past, chooses to believe.²⁵ Nor am I alone for either gentle²⁶ or acute²⁷ criticisms, all of which are valid. His robotic fan club should read both more widely and more deeply, and start with the actual historical materials rather than with the jargon-obsured one-size-fits-all theories: theories may well be useful, but they should follow the evidence, and not precede it – they should get out more, and read a few more languages. Indeed those scholars who use such a woefully inaccurate and misinterpreted schema – straightjacket, really – for their judgments of past interfaces with the Orient should be ashamed of themselves. Is the present state of their discipline – to use another trendy term – blowback?²⁸

As we shall see, travellers journeyed for a wide variety of reasons,²⁹ and imperialist/colonialist plotters were in a miniscule minority. So to approach our travellers while wearing Said's straightjacket would be a nonsense.³⁰ For while many travellers were awash with prejudices (abroad,

²⁵ Lockman 2004, 182–214 for a fair summary of Said's Orientalism and its aftermath.

²⁶ Marchand 2009, xxv the book is not “framed by a Saidian, or an anti-Saidian, theoretical structure... To the extent that his framework insisted on a totalizing, global view of European-oriental relations, it simply does not help me understand what the German scholars were actually saying and doing... But unlike many of the recent commentators on Europe's “culture of imperialism,” I do not think that all knowledge, orientalist or otherwise, inevitably contributed to the building of Empires, or even to the upholding of Eurocentric points of view. In general, I find presumptuous and rather condescending the conception, so common to these readings of cultural history, that all knowledge is power.”

²⁷ Warraq 2007, 18 “the totally pernicious influence of Edward Said's Orientalism [which] taught an entire generation of Arabs the art of self-pity... The aggressive tone of Orientalism is what I have called “intellectual terrorism,” since it seeks to convince not by arguments or historical analysis, but by spraying charges of racism, imperialism, and Eurocentrism from a high moral ground; anyone who disagrees with Said has insult heaped upon him.” 19ff for a section entitled “from Pretentiousness to Meaninglessness” beginning “There are... several contradictory theses buried in Said's impenetrable prose, with its endless postmodern jargon... and pretentious language so often conceals some banal observation.” 23–4 for “Historical and other Howlers” 24–8 for “Intellectual Dishonesty and Tendentious Reinterpretations.”

²⁸ Kramer 2001, 27–43 for “Said's Splash,” a critical examination of his Orientalism.

²⁹ Yerasimos 1991, 11: his 450 travellers to the Ottoman Empire were diplomats (106), religious (75) nobles (75), traders (38), bourgeois (36), scholars (26), military (23) and so on. Ibid., 12: reasons for travel missions to Ottoman Empire: (191), pilgrimage (147), commerce (31), military expeditions (19), scholarship (11) and so on.

³⁰ Warraq 2007, 245–272 chapter entitled “Edward Said and his Methodology” beginning 245 “Edward Said's Orientalism gave those unable to think for themselves a formula. His work has the attraction of an all-purpose tool his acolytes – eager, intellectually unprepared, aesthetically unsophisticated – could apply to every cultural phenomenon without having to think critically or having to conduct any real archival research requiring mastery of languages, or research in the field requiring the mastery of technique and a rigorous methodology. Said's Orientalism displays all the laziness and arrogance of the man of letters who does not have much time for empirical research, or, above all, for making sense

after all, does not look or work like Europe) there are infinitely more attempts to understand and explain foreign societies and their customs³¹ than to dominate them. Nor is it universally the case that such travellers considered the West superior to the East in every particular. And if they often returned with better knowledge of things Greek and Roman than of things Moslem, this was partly due to their education and training, and partly to the common Moslem practice of restricting or forbidding access to religious institutions to infidels (and even punishing them for looking^v). Indeed, there was frequent and sometimes organised opposition to infidels, especially outside commercial centres where they were well known. Konya is one such important (and religious) centre, and Kinnear was forbidden entrance in 1818.^{vi} Lucas had been refused entry to the “Mosque of a Thousand Columns” at Alexandria in the early 18th century,^{vii} and Jomard in 1818 can offer such excellent description of the same complex^{viii} as well as the ex-Church of S. Athanasius because the French occupied the city – and almost destroyed the former.^{ix} “On peut dire qu’ils sont aussi jaloux de leurs Mosquées que de leurs femmes,” writes Le Mascrier in the 1690s.^x Mosques in Tunis were still inaccessible in 1880.^{xi} Lucas, on the other hand, prides himself in 1724 on his admission to a mosque in the Citadel in Cairo;^{xii} and Richardson got into the Dome of the Rock in 1822 because he had cured a local dignitary.^{xiii} Finlay got into Haghia Sophia in 1850 only because he had a firman.^{xiv} The result is that Islamic architecture, like Islamic civilisation,³² does not begin to get anything like fair exposure to the Western eye until toward the end of the 19th century, when it was common to see anything good in it as Byzantine-derived,^{xv} and even sympathetic travellers such as Guérin can describe it as fantastical and irregular (and not classical).^{xvi} At the same time, amongst some travellers there was often a prejudice against what was sometimes seen as the incoherence of Byzantine architecture,^{xvii} the clumsiness of Egyptian architecture,^{xviii} and against Roman architecture for offending against the holy Greek canons; and not everyone was thrilled by overbearing size.^{xix}

of its results. His method derives from the work of fashionable French intellectuals and theorists. Existentialists, structuralists, deconstructionists, and postmodernists all postulate grand theories, but, unfortunately, these are based on flimsy historical or empirical foundations.” Or as the adage goes, “Don’t be Saussure about things you know Foucault about.”

³¹ Tinguely 2000, 189–223 Analogies – i.e. with Western customs etc.

³² Lockman 2004, 8–38 for the modern historiography Greek and Roman civilisation, and the coming of Islam, up to the end of the 13thC.

i	Ross_IV_1852_22	viii	Jomard_1818_II_84	xiv	Finlay_1995_I_278
ii	Clarke_1898_12	ix	Jomard_1818_II_92	xv	Prangey_1841_66-7
iii	Clarke_1898_15-16	x	Le_Mascrier_1735_142	xvi	Guérin_1869_II_184-185
iv	Berchtold_1789_Errata_i	xi	Lubomirski_1880_94	xvii	Daux_1869_93
v	Robinson_1837_262	xii	Lucas_1724_II_122-123	xviii	Romer_1846_I_140
vi	Kinneir_1818_218	xiii	Richardson_1822_II_281-2	xix	Nugent_1846_I_18
vii	Lucas_1724_II_35				

INTRODUCTION

When we focus on ancient architecture, our Crescent from Constantinople to Córdoba (and including Greece, where so many travellers described the re-use of its remains) is more interesting than Western Europe for three reasons. The first is that it contained in ancient times (and even after much dismantling still contains) a much larger quantity of antiquities of all kinds than are to be found in Europe today. The second is that its population remains much smaller than that of Europe, and what population expansion there has been (in cities such as Constantinople, Damascus and Cairo) is later than that in Europe, so we can use travellers' accounts to chart what happened to ancient monuments as populations expanded. The third reason profits from the first two – namely that the whole area was attractive not just to Islamic travellers but to ever-increasing numbers of Western ones as well, who fed a growing thirst for armchair-travel back home, so much so that texts were frequently and speedily translated into the main European languages. Naturally, the quality of these accounts varies, but there are sufficient to allow us to build up a reliable picture of the fate of classical monuments over time.

Why Constantinople to Córdoba?

Part of the attraction of our Crescent for Westerners was precisely the lower occupation levels and hence the greater visibility and survival of the ancient landscape; but populations did expand, especially from the later 19th century, and several cities continued to enhance their splendour from nearby or distant ancient remains, as they had sometimes done for centuries (comparisons could also be made with the demographic of Rome herself).¹ This was the case at, for example, Caesarea, the antiquities of whichⁱ were re-used by Moslem Slav immigrants in the 1880s,ⁱⁱ and where many such instances of re-use are still to be seen.² What have gone,

¹ Christie 2000, 315 “on the northern slopes of the Palatine signs of decay are also fairly evident in the absence of occupational débris between the 5th and 12th centuries; in addition there were identified a series of 12th-century robber trenches cut by workmen in search of travertine blocks, either for direct re-use as building materials or for burning down for lime.”

² Petersen 2001, 129–30 for re-used materials at Caesarea.

for example, are the large shafts that Van de Velde saw near the city in 1854.ⁱⁱⁱ By 1805, Olympia was similarly suffering from Albanian migrants.^{iv}

When did the Roman Empire die? In architectural terms, the answer is, very slowly, and much of it in the past two or three centuries. The subject itself – of dismantling, destruction and re-use – is important because today we perforce view the remains of the past after the changes wrought by the movements and resettlement of populations, military and colonial occupation, looting, archaeology and the demands of mass tourism.³ We have been schooled to think of landscapes as long-lived, and books on (for example) English local history or archaeological field-walking in Greece or North Africa certainly confirm longevity in some areas. But this is a partial view, and in fact in our Crescent large quantities of ancient monuments, including whole townscapes, have been obliterated over not much more than the past two hundred years. This is why the surviving harvest of classical buildings is so meagre.

Scope of the Book

This book charts the history of the dismantling, destruction and recycling of the architecture and antiquities of the Greek and Roman (and, naturally, the subsequent Islamic) world from the Middle Ages to the end of the 19th century in the Crescent from Constantinople to Córdoba. It includes the beginnings of mass tourism around the middle of the 19th century, which itself provides a rich harvest of accounts.

The aim of the book is to offer a coherent account of how the classical landscape was gradually or sometimes suddenly changed, in response to the requirements of those building a new world, often from the relicts of the old. Hence it deals with these typologically (roads, temples, inscriptions etc.). Excursions are made into Spain and the Balkans, but Western Europe is largely ignored, because its own classical landscapes were altered, part-consumed or totally destroyed in the areas of population expansion from the Millennium. We have much less detailed information about what was dismantled/destroyed and when, than is the case with

³ Marchand, Suzanne L., *Down from Olympus: archaeology and philhellenism in Germany, 1750–1970*, Princeton NJ 1996. Books on the same lines dealing with France and Britain would be most useful.

our Crescent, sometimes well documented by inquisitive travellers, going abroad for a variety of reasons⁴ from late antiquity onwards.⁵

Within typological categories, it would have been ideal to deal methodically country by country (and I use modern country names for clarity), in a Crescent from Greece and Constantinople in the East, then Syria and Egypt, and finally along the coast of North Africa from Libya and Tunisia to Algeria, Morocco and Islamic Spain. Unfortunately, however, this is impossible because parallel information for equivalent dates is simply not available – and, in any case, we shall soon discover that what happened to a column-shaft in Turkey is little different to its fate further west and south.

The term “dismantling” is preferred to “destruction,” although plenty of monuments were indeed totally destroyed, their only continuing life being in as-yet undiscovered foundations of new buildings, or in lime mortars for new constructions. The great majority of the architecture dealt with is Roman rather than classical or Hellenistic Greek, simply because the Roman boot-print was so much larger and more monumental.⁶ Perhaps Islam would have had a higher profile⁷ had the post-Renaissance West realised just how crucial were that civilisation’s technologies for their own development.⁸

Overview of Contents

This book is divided into the basic forms that filled the *landscape*. After overviews of ancient landscapes come *cities*, some completely abandoned when climate or political or social circumstances changed, as in Jordan,⁹

⁴ Elsner & Rubiés 1999, Introduction 1–56 for an overview of travel from the Middle Ages onwards. For Moslem travel, cf. Toorawa 2004, with a taxonomy at 66–7 tabulating the various reasons for travel.

⁵ Claude 2000, 235–253.

⁶ Thomas 2007, for overview, and 271–279 for principal public buildings of the Antonine period.

⁷ Lockman 2004, 38–65 for the modern historiography of “Islam, the West and the rest” from the end of the Crusades.

⁸ Sezgin 2003, I, 84–167 for reception and assimilation of arabo-islamic technology in Byzantium and the West.

⁹ Michel 2001, 5; on Byzantine and Umayyad-period churches in Jordan: 6thC a brilliant period, but then invasions; nevertheless survival, although with the fall of the Umayyads and the transfer of the capital to Baghdad “la Transjordanie redevenait une région périphérique aux marges de’un empire.” Or Magness 2003, 216 on Palestine: “Many if not most of the towns, villages, and farms discussed in this volume appear to have been abandoned some

or abandoned buildings transferred to some other use.¹⁰ Then come *roads*, with their waystations and milestones – the very sinews of Roman occupation of the land, protected by fortresses and waystations, many of them still visible in the 19th century, providing signals to conquerors and would-be colonists.^v *Water* is next, including baths, with rivers and their quays, and irrigation, which together or separately convinced later travellers of the viability (the exact term) of now-ruinous but evidently once prosperous Roman settlements – and later ones in for example Lycia and Pamphylia.¹¹ Within cities, *baths and temples* often found other uses (especially conversion into temples or mosques, or in one case even into an impromptu minaret).¹² *Theatres* were occasionally fortified as, like hippodromes,¹³ their stage buildings became meaningless,¹⁴ and they went out of use.¹⁵ *City walls*, a marker of civilisation itself,¹⁶ but often shrunk by comparison with their earlier conformations, provide evidence of continuing if restricted occupation, and often rich in re-used materials.¹⁷ In the neighbourhood, *villas* were attractive targets for re-occupation, christianisation, cemeteries and then spoliation.

After a general Introduction, the contents of the book are divided into three sections, none of which is watertight, because all depend more-or-less on the accounts of foreign travellers at various dates, traveling for a whole range of purposes, some of them multiple (such as reporting antiquities, collecting them, copying inscriptions, and even digging).

time between the late eighth to late ninth century. Only a few, such as Nessana and Caesarea, provide evidence for continued occupation into the tenth century.”

¹⁰ Child & Golden 2008.

¹¹ Hellenkemper & Hild 2004, 139–154 for an overview of churches in Lycia and Pamphylia. The splendid map shows just how intensively the area was settled, especially 4thC–7thC, and then 10thC–13thC – and not just along the coast, but on mountainsides and in river valleys inland as well.

¹² Dörner 1981, Abb 1 somewhere in Asia Minor (unlocated): an upended stele with Greek inscription, backed by two column stumps and a third block as stair, used as the minaret, with the muezzin standing on top calling the faithful to prayer.

¹³ Sivan 2008, 27–8 But the hippodrome and races were still going in 6th-century Caesarea.

¹⁴ Ratté 2001, 139 for the conversion of the stage-building of the theatre into a fort “in or after the early or mid 7th c.” This “represents a dramatic retrenchment.”

¹⁵ Ben Hassen & Maurin 2004, 83: at Oudhna/Uthina some of the monuments, especially capitol and amphitheatre, were transformed into “réduits fortifiés” in the Byzantine period.

¹⁶ Gourdin 1996, 31: fortifications and city walls are placed at the very heart of Ibn Khaldun’s definition of civilization.

¹⁷ Bowden 2003, 89–90 for Nicopolis, an enclosure much smaller than that of the Augustan city, some sections “using huge quantities of spolia.” See figs 5.3, 5.4, 5.6.

The first surveys *The Mediaeval Landscape and its Features*, setting the scene with an overview of towns and countryside, roads and transport, ports, water supply, and then various kinds of monuments. These include important markers of the surviving Roman presence, such as baths and tombs, ports and aqueducts, and inscriptions. Quarries feature here, not only because some ancient ones were re-used across our Crescent, but because ancient towns and ruins were themselves used as quarries.

The second section surveys the various ways in which the Roman past (and in some areas the Greek one) was changed, by locals or marauding workmen from afar (*Re-Using, Dismantling and Destroying the Landscape*). It studies the destruction (and sometimes simply re-use without rebuilding) of temples, porticoes and colonnades to build churches and then mosques, as well as houses, and then the web of superstitions which affected many transactions with the architecture of the past.

The third section deals with *Travelling, Collecting and Digging*. It surveys the ever-declining difficulties of travel, and the various obstacles to collecting and export posed by local lords and regulations. The most comfortable way to travel was to stay at home in an armchair and read the travel books of others: and after all, why go far to view mere ruins when all the best stuff was to be seen in European museums? Enter the archaeologist who, far from wishing to preserve ancient sites intact (let alone to examine Islamic remains if there are classical ones beneath), pillages by agreement or by sleight of hand yet more sites for the benefit of European museums. (Sardis is one of the few sites where earlier archaeologists were interested in the history of the site, and published it.)^{vi}

One difficulty with this whole enterprise is that information about how the landscape was changed is by no means uniform across our Crescent, and dates largely from the 18th and especially the 19th centuries, for reasons which will become clear. The final chapter of the book offers something of an antidote to this state of affairs, for it focuses on the very well documented changes wrought by the French army and then colonists in Algeria, and asks whether that litany of destruction can help us understand what happened in mediaeval Europe. The result is that we have a better picture in Algeria of a modern army's confrontation with the ancient monuments (the army won) than we do anywhere else.¹⁸

¹⁸ Benseddik 2000, 796: "Ainsi l'armée d'Afrique a détruit des monuments romains épargnés depuis des siècles par les autochtones."

Importance of the Subject

The subject is important, because all three religions of the Book subscribed to the idea of such recycling, as has long been recognised.^{vii} And most fortunately, Islamic geographical expertise¹⁹ provides us with mediaeval information largely unavailable from Western authors.^{viii} Thus chronicling what happens to impressive architecture after its heyday can tell us much about how the world and its architectural needs changed over time. Today we may harbour the impression that survivals from the ancient world are simply that; but this is erroneous, as already noted. One bleak assessment is that each generation gets the history it deserves, and we can add archaeology to this pottage.²⁰ For those interested in re-use, however, more scholars are alert to the matter than was the case a generation ago²¹ – and, indeed, to the ramifications well outside our Crescent.²² Various trends have also contributed to make archaeology a hot topic in countries such as Greece, where “classical antiquities have become powerful emotive icons for performances of national memory in the process of imagining the topos of the Hellenic nation.”²³

All these factors have affected not only what survived, but how it looks now, and often this is in no way a simple survival with no changes from ancient times to the present. It is said that many visitors to the Stoa of Attalos in Athens accept it as an ancient building; but of course they have been “helped” by archaeology, also responsible for clearing up the Propylaea, Acropolis and associated monuments by taking everything back as nearly as possible to its classical state, thereby getting rid of the mess of ruins on which Crowe comments in 1853.^{ix} But what of Athens (or many an erstwhile classical city within our Crescent) between the classical period and today? – a muddle of ruined walls, says Lamartine;^x “a small

¹⁹ Sezgin 2003, III, 3–32 for Islamic geography, maps etc.

²⁰ Delaine 2007, 30–34 for “Tying the knot: the intersection of the disciplines,” with the mournful conclusion cited above.

²¹ E.g. Marek 2003, for northern Asia Minor: fig 107 Roman sacred spring (architecture over it) at Karabuk (territory of Kaisareia-Hadrianopolis) with water still in it; figs 130–1 Genoese fortress gate at Amasra, incorporating a hellenistic/roman architrave and other blocks; figs 174–5 Figured stele incorporated in a house at Bahcekonak; fig 182 Yorguc Pasha Mosque at Amasya, incorporating a Christian verse inscription. Frey 2006, 23–74 for “spolia studies” before 1975, and 75–142 for ditto post-1975.

²² Bell 2005, 38–68 for England: “Burials associated with Roman structures” – operative 5th–8thC. 69–127 for “Churches associated with Roman buildings.” Ristow 2008 for examples from our Crescent as well as N. Europe.

²³ Hamilakis & Yalouri 1999, *passim*.

provincial town,” says a modern scholar.²⁴ The same question might be asked of monuments visited centuries ago and today: at Mycenae, for example, what Leake saw at the Treasury of Atreus was not what we see today.^{x1}

It will come as no surprise to the reader that a main theme of this book is change in architectural forms and styles, which are more important than elements of continuity. The process of dismantling and reworking of materials is far from a formulaic process whereby thanks to decay (a phenomenon much wider than just our Crescent),²⁵ plague and earthquakes, human beings dismantle old structures, and build them up anew in the same format. (Because of the devastation they caused, we are relatively well-informed about earthquakes, even if much of the description is formulaic.)²⁶ Instead, many of the Lego-like elements of the old structures find new uses, uncut or re-cut to fit, as perhaps at Samarra, where short marble shafts were combined to grace a much larger whole,²⁷ just as old buildings were remodelled into new uses everywhere.²⁸

For with the exception of the Christian basilican church (and whatever connections one might be pleased to make with its sources and the development of mosque formats), the very forms of antique architecture are shunned throughout our Crescent, so that temples and theatres become useless entities, except occasionally as prestige items, as at Mérida²⁹ – but not at Murviedro/Saguntum, where the scenae frons was a rope-walk,^{xii}

²⁴ Kazanaki-Lappa 2002 for Athens in the Middle Ages.

²⁵ Sharma 1987, 10–107 for India: Urban Growth and Decay north to south. 108–21 for Literary and Epigraphic Sources on Urban Decline; e.g. on the decline of trade; plus texts compiled around 1000 which give far more importance to villages than to towns.

²⁶ Guidoboni & Ebel 2009, 26–35 for earthquake catalogues and their history; 39–146 for written historical sources and their use.

²⁷ Leisten 2003, on Samarra, fig 22 for the Mosque of al-Mutawakkil: the qibla aisle roof supports, according to the reconstruction, had hexagonal pillars each hedged in with four columns, each of these in three sections, rising 7.28m in all, without capitals or bases [i.e. a new style of architecture incorporating shorter monoliths?]. Fig 23: the marble columns from the courtyard were also shaped as octagons 2.11m long.

²⁸ E.g. Howard 2007, 13–45 “‘Bare Ruin’d Choirs’ revisited”: studies the de-commissioning of English monasteries in 16thC, following the two Acts of Parliament in 1536 and 1539 effecting the closure of c.800 monastic houses. The chantries with all their properties and lands were suppressed in 1547. Explains 16 that “there was no common template” to alterations, and that “the monastic past was sometimes, and for good reason, allowed to resurface first in literary form and then in the very fabric of the buildings themselves, initiating a new sense of pride in the past.”

²⁹ Kulikowski 2006, 134: “only in important conventual or provincial capitals like Mérida, where the theatre advertised the city’s status as an imperial capital, did theatres survive” – but the amphitheatre at Saragossa still going in the 6thC.

and discovered antiquities were looted.^{xiii} Even houses and villas are frequently taken over as cemeteries,³⁰ as were the great Baths in Rome.³¹ In some places fora also survived for the display of prestige items,³² as did statuary in some private collections.³³ In most cases destruction was required before construction could begin, but we should view this as a necessary preliminary to the design and development of new forms of architecture, and new styles.

Most such new developments offended against the canons of classical architecture (even once the Romans had pushed these past the limit); and we shall find many of our travellers, as well as looking askance at a lot of Roman architecture, predisposed to disdain such new constructions, because they also offended against the new canons developed from the Renaissance onwards, and supposedly based on the ancient ones. It was these canons (the classical “tradition” supposedly resurrected by Brunelleschi, Alberti, Palladio, and so on) which ensured that throughout the centuries the architectures of the mediaeval period got less attention than the classical past, with the result that the classical past came to be treasured, to its detriment.

Modernisation entailed great changes to the classical landscape, not only through the continuing search for building materials, but also because of the impulse to tidy things up to a classical state, and get rid of later additions. William Mure, the classical scholar, wrote against this attitude in Athens, which he maintained had already much damaged the antiquities of Rome, because it destroyed historical information.^{xiv} Further east, the tidy-things-up movement was later arriving, for monuments were still simply being destroyed in the 20th century. In 1911 Sterrett sounded the alarm, because in Turkey “Turks, and even Christians” – no mention of Western marauders – were destroying antiquities.^{xv} He collected signed letters from everyone in the field, such as Héron de Villefosse, at the Louvre.^{xvi} Unfortunately, Sterrett died in 1914, and no more was heard of

³⁰ Ripoll 2000, for details of later structures built on the sites of Roman villae, from churches and monasteries to cemeteries.

³¹ Hubert 2007, 130–131, Abandonment later 6th-early 7thC of all the great baths in Rome, because graves dug in Baths of Caracalla, Alexander Severus, Decius, Diocletian and Constantine.

³² Witschel 2007, suggests statues and their bases still important in the 4thC, with older statues brought from elsewhere in the city to the forum in an “historizing” manner. But “the whole statue habit in the West came to an end during the fifth century.” Plate 32 for plans of the for a at Cuicul and Tingad, showing the crowd of statue bases.

³³ Stirling 2007, for the prevalence of heirloom statuary in Provence and Spain.

his project to catalogue antiquities (especially inscriptions) before they all disappeared.³⁴

Discovering Under-Populated Landscapes

Travelling with Texts

In spite of the caveats just entered, part of the attraction of our Crescent for Western travellers from the 16th and 17th centuries, primed with classical learning even as far north as England and Scotland,³⁵ has been precisely the lower occupation levels than in Europe and hence the greater visibility and survival of the mediaeval landscape. In some cases this was helped by depopulation, which Sandys in the early 17th century attributed to Turkish mismanagement,^{xvii} and which Bartholdy recognised in the same lands in the early 19th century.^{xviii} In others a main cause was the disappearance of commerce.³⁶

Some were never satisfied, of course, wanting standing monuments rather than heaps of ruins. Indeed, it was the accounts of the ancient authors that presented the evidence of just how little survived from the antique and mediaeval past, as De Vere wrote in 1850, noting perversely that “The Grecian monuments, like the Sibyl’s books, have become far more precious, because so large a proportion of them have been destroyed.”^{xix}

It would be quite possible for a traveller well-educated in the classics never to have seen a classical temple, tomb, amphitheatre or bath before arriving in our Crescent, unless conversant with Rome, Pola or Sicily. But he might have learned “of magnificent ruins” by word of mouth.^{xx} Similarly, popular text-book accounts of classical antiquities even in the 1870s did not usually stray into Turkey or North Africa for their examples.^{xxi} But as already noted, hard information on many of the lands and antiquities in our Crescent was scarce to non-existent. In consequence, this might account for the occasional slavish devotion to the classical texts or, in appropriate places, to the Bible. In the latter case, Holy Writ might use the monuments to demonstrate its

³⁴ Dyson 1998, 66–7.

³⁵ Kurtz 2008.

³⁶ Schreiner 1999, 183: Il commercio è legato all'esistenza di mercati di sbocco di carattere urbano. La scomparsa di città nel VII secolo, o più precisamente, la loro riduzione a piccole unità del tipo castron, significa una rottura decisiva. Né sui Balcani né in Asia Minore rinacque mai una rete urbana così densa e prospera com'era stato fino al VI/VII secolo. La fioritura modesta dei secoli IX e X era finita coll'invasione seldjuchida.

veracity^{xxii} or the wrath of God, as at Tyre^{xxiii} or Ephesus.^{xxiv} In the former case, because authors such as Pausanias were almost alone in mentioning series of interesting antiquities,^{xxv} in the latter because the Bible did indeed prophesy much destruction, as at Tyre.^{xxvi} As a result, both Bible and ancient texts were sometimes wielded as if they really were guidebooks, although in some instances a specifically Christian attitude clouded a full appreciation of pagan monuments.³⁷ In the face of so many confusing and unnamed heaps of ruins, all hints were needed to help, as Guérin found in Judaea.^{xxvii} But such devotion to texts also accounted for a harvest of useful material reaped by military men, and their accompanying doctors.^{xxviii}

Landscapes of Ruins

Again, travellers often made comparisons between a Europe where classical ruins were sparse and (from the early 19th century) in many cases still being disentangled from later constructions, and sites in our Crescent so untouched that sometimes settlers seemed only recently to have departed. This was the case with the temple at Garni in Armenia; here the almost perfect reconstruction of this monument shows how little was taken^{xxix} although this is decidedly an exception.³⁸ In Algeria there are many landscapes with more ruins than names on any map or in any travellers' reports,^{xxx} but (surely perversely) some travellers thought ruins indicated a landscape which augured well for future prosperity.^{xxxi} Syria was similarly rich,^{xxxii} and here Perrier named several sites that had never been visited and described, let alone studied.^{xxxiii} Gell provides a brief description of what to look out for^{xxxiv} – but there were so many sets of ruins that some travellers simply eyed some of them from afar, and then passed on.^{xxxv} They were perpetually in a rush, so it is little surprise that some heaps of confusing ruins – such as Sagalassos or Kremna from Davis in 1874^{xxxvi} – got short shrift. The distinctions in such foreign parts between the magnificent ruins of the past and most contemporary living-

³⁷ Wunder 2003, 98 contrasts Chrysoloras' description of Constantinople: "even these ruins and heaps of stone show what great things once existed, and how enormous and beautiful were the original constructions," with (99) Busbecq's post-Conquest and specifically Christian reactions: "Busbecq's inability to take pleasure in the antiquities of Constantinople reminds us that he and his peers were not only antiquarians; they were Christian antiquarians, for whom the remains of the past lost their luster when they existed under Islamic 'captivity.'"

³⁸ Ubertini 2005: for a demonstration of how much has already gone at Elephantine, see author's plates of the reconstruction jigsaw for Baukomplex X, plates 1–8, showing less than one-tenth of materials surviving – and these are largely bas-reliefs.

conditions were only too obvious:^{xxxvii} not all travellers were clear about in what circumstances antiquities might get re-used^{xxxviii} – although today a main reason seems to have been convenience.³⁹

But Which Antiquity?

The main dilemma for our travellers was provided by the tensions between tradition and modernisation, the latter generally requiring the adaptation if not the annihilation of the former, as sometimes happened in Cairo,⁴⁰ or to many of the towers in the walls of Seville.⁴¹ Unfortunately, this was often laced with a condescending (or at least misunderstanding) attitude toward local architecture, sometimes even including old and important Islamic^{xxxix} or Byzantine or Assyrian buildings.⁴² This fought against an over-enthusiastic appreciation of the importance of things Greek and Roman, especially “correctness,” and in some cases matched a distaste for mediaeval re-use of ancient marble, as Drummond disdainfully remarks of Pisa in 1754.^{xl}

This basic imbalance between the modern and the old also affected how locals viewed the past, and was the cause of much destruction during the 19th century, as erstwhile traditional countries learned to do things the European way. As cities modernised, Byzantine antiquities suffered as much as classical ones,^{xli} scattered as they were all over the landscape.⁴³ Changes in fortification were also significant, since theory and practice developed throughout the 19th century as weaponry changed – and once again it was the ancient ruins which usually suffered the consequences. These changes were documented, often at impressive length and over several countries, by travellers with an interest in and more than a passing knowledge of things classical – and also, it must be said, in ruins as ruins, among which they could meditate on the fragility of life,^{xlii} even of marble.^{xliii} And, if they were Ibn Khaldun, they could develop theories of how towns decline and monuments suffer,^{xliv} because he had certainly

³⁹ Leone 2007, 208–213 for The “Re-use” of Public Buildings and Churches in Byzantine North Africa: Churches built into fountains and porticoes, and of course temples. But re-use is fitful because 211 “buildings were re-used because they were free, and easy to change.”

⁴⁰ Pauty 1931, for chapter and verse, with much detail, on the monuments’ struggle against modernisation.

⁴¹ Valor Piechotta 2008: table at 55 showing the towers flanking the city gates of Seville and how few survive: 8 out of the 12 listed went between 1863 and 1869.

⁴² Larsen 1996, 99–107: But is it art?

⁴³ Pralong 2003 Byzantine material in Bithynia: for a well-illustrated catalogue (which excludes columns) of 161 items, many in re-use.

visited still-inhabited antique sites^{xliv} (as did Leo Africanus after him, and reached a similar conclusion).^{xlvi} He was far from the first to interest himself on the rise and ruin of civilisations,^{xlvi} and his influence was great.⁴⁴ Many of the characteristics he described are to be seen much further east as well.⁴⁵

In occupied and expanding, modernising cities, such as Tarragona (with marble walls, said El-Edrisi),^{xlvi} much less survives today than was observed in the 1770s,^{xlvi} or imagined.¹ At Talavera in 1809, we can almost hear Laborde thinking as he sorts out the various antique and later layers in the fortifications.^{li} Those touched by Romanticism saw distressing decay,^{lii} and Irwin condemned the locals for letting their buildings rot, whether in Alexandria^{liii} or in Cairo.^{liv} The most learned remembered Mehmet the Conqueror;^{lv} the most lugubrious quoted the Bible, and saw native scavengers for antiquities as Nature's way of cleaning up the corpse of the ancient world.^{lvi} Some peddled disinformation about the destructive propensities of the locals.^{lvii} Nevertheless, it was the stones they pitied, not the people who needed to collect them – and who dealt with the locals, some of whom could be terminally vague where antiquities were concerned.^{lviii}

Toward the end of the 19th century, the most enthusiastic no doubt answered Reinach's clarion-call to return home with information of use to science.^{lix} Byzantine re-use is noted in travellers' accounts, such as De Bisson at Aintunga^{lx} or Pellissier at Inchilla.^{lxi} The comments, such as those by Daux, are often rather cold,^{lxii} but occasionally enthusiastic, such as those by Perrot.^{lxiii} Even Byzantine fortresses were studied by the end of the 19th century,^{lxiv} and reported upon^{lxv} – although it was noted how many desirable antiquities from public buildings they had devoured.^{lxvi} Various how-to-do-antiquities pamphlets were produced, and Sterrett's gives a good overview, with examples, of the fate of antiquities in Asia Minor at the hands of later generations.^{lxvii}

⁴⁴ Rabbat 2005, on the importance of Maqrizi's book, its indebtedness to Ibn Khaldun for the framework theory, and his despair at the sorry state of the city thanks to Faraj ibn Barquq, al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh, and al-Ashraf Barsbay, especially the last. Hence 32: "The political fortune of each dynasty or family is plotted against the fluctuations of the urban and architectural prosperity of Cairo during the same period in a way that echoes the cyclical Khaldunian view of human history."

⁴⁵ Sharma 1987, 132–42 for India: Explaining the Urban Eclipse; including fall of empires and foreign invasions, loss of long-distance trade, social disorder. 143–67 Consequences of De-Urbanization: fall in revenues, parasitic non-agrarian settlements, migration of the brahmins, dependence of temples and monasteries on land. 168–77 Agrarian Expansion; in the face of urban shrinkage.

A recent trend in considering whole landscapes in their archaeological context, as at Charchell,⁴⁶ has also helped our understanding of the pace of change. Furthermore, modern collections of travellers' accounts echo those popular in the later 18th and 19th centuries.⁴⁷

Antiquities on the Move

Nor should we expect antiquities to remain at their original location, for looting was a continuing problem, both inland (where settlers found antiquities much less work to re-use than to quarry stone afresh) and by the sea (where lime could be made,^{lxviii} or antiquities could conveniently be loaded for transport, usually but not always to Europe), as Leake recognised long ago.^{lxix}

When did such stripping take place? We shall see that some sites were comprehensively stripped by what seem to have been professional teams, although we cannot date such activities. And there is evidence that some Roman villas were stripped immediately before they were finally abandoned. If this was a standard practice, it suggests that new building required such stripped material for re-use – but is it ever possible to demonstrate such immediate block-to-block, wall-to-wall re-use?

Here are some instances, with comparanda from elsewhere in our Crescent. Thus *Greek islands* – a favourite of European travellers since the day of the Venetians⁴⁸ – such as Cos,^{lxx} where the Asklepieion was on a series of colonnaded terraces, and where Buondelmonti saw large quantities of antiquities.^{lxxi} Were these really taken to support the famous plane tree, as Sonnini^{lxxii} was told in 1801? Andros,^{lxxiii} in the Cyclades, or Samos^{lxxiv} or Leros,^{lxxv} or Syros,^{lxxvi} probably benefited from the detritus from conveniently close prestigious sites, which eventually went into adjacent villages.^{lxxvii} Some islands, such as Andros, boasted large quantities of antiquities in the 15th century.^{lxxviii} Similarly the islands themselves, several (such as Limonia^{lxxix} or Amorgos)^{lxxx} already deserted by the mid-17th century, partly as a result of pirates, themselves had antiquities which were easy to dismantle,^{lxxxi} and this seems especially the case for those nearest Europe and trade routes.⁴⁹ Much the same

⁴⁶ Leveau 1984, 217–240 Introduction à la géographie archéologique de la région de Charchel. Including 223–7 Le cadre historique.

⁴⁷ E.g. Invernizzi 2005, with 294 plates; straightforward chronological treatment of Arabic, Jewish and Western authors, with full extracts in whatever language appears.

⁴⁸ Prat 2004, including Les genres viatiques: décrire, persuader, raconter.

⁴⁹ Steinhart 2002, for Ithaca: 13–26 for an excellent chronological overview; plate 7.3 for antique gravestone re-used as house lintel at Exogi; plate 7.1 for stele of the Kritolaos

seems to have happened in *mainland Greece*, on the Gulf of Corinth, where Hexamillia was stripped,^{lxxxii} and also Corinth itself,^{lxxxiii} which was losing its columns in short order,^{lxxxiv} several disappearing within 150 years.^{lxxxv} Little now remains of the ancient city.⁵⁰ Some of the antiquities went into the modern town, which Mahaffy found completely deserted in 1876.^{lxxxvi} Much the same happened at Edessa, where Delacoulanche could admire some of the antiquities of the ancient city in the town's mosques.^{lxxxvii} Indeed, Peiresc had long ago stated the obvious – deserted sites could be very rewarding for seekers of antiquities.^{lxxxviii} In contrast, sites such as Bassae survive because they are far inland, far from a convenient anchorage^{lxxxix} – although this did not save the cult statue.^{xc} Because of the rockfalls, we may assume that Delphi was stripped in Antiquity,^{xc} although of course fragments remained.^{xcii}

Our travellers also describe the disappearance of the classical monuments in their mediaeval landscape. In *Tunisia*,⁵¹ cities once rich in antiquities, beneficiaries of the gifts of Roman culture,⁵² are now stripped of sophisticated decoration (often very various).⁵³ The Turks get cast as destroyers, not least because plaster made from marble in the limekilns was of recognisably high quality, as they discovered at Haghia Sophia^{xciii} and also on the Acropolis at Athens.^{xciv} The Tunisian shore also suffered greatly,⁵⁴ as did sites nearby, such as city of Aradi, in the Hammamet hinterland, where only fragments of its once-rich marble decoration have survived, some of them re-used in tombs – and not a column shaft in sight.⁵⁵ In *Algeria*, much dismantling occurred as a direct result of the French conquest,^{xcv} but the practice was long-standing. Thus Leo Africanus writes of Cherchell, which centuries before lay in ruins,^{xcvi} “In that part of the towne next vnto the Mediterranean sea standeth a most beautifull and magnificent temple built by the Romans, the inward part whereof consisteth of marble. They had also in times past an impregnable fort standing vpon a rock by the Mediterran sea.”^{xcvii} The visible antiquities – which

built into a monument in the cemetery at Exogi; 65–146 for excavations on Cephalinia & Ithaca 1812–1814, by Stackelberg, John Lee, Haller von Hallerstein, etc. – excellent work, detailed and well-referenced. It seems likely that these islands were cleaned bare of classical antiquities in the early 19thC.

⁵⁰ Biers 1985 for the Great Bath, which already re-used marble. Pl. 43 for reconstruction of the façade. 17: because of various destructions, including earthquakes, “the only blocks found in situ were two column bases.”

⁵¹ Slim et al. 2004, 89–226 for a catalogue of 210 seaside sites in Tunisia.

⁵² Hingley 2005, 72–90 “The Material Elements of Elite Culture” with 77–90 for urban and domestic space. Cities as an important element in the development and unification of the empire, 77: “new models for urban life were introduced... monumental types of building, which, through their architecture and space planning, expressed new ways of ordering life.”

⁵³ Hesberg 2005, 32–62 for Roman building decoration and ornament.

⁵⁴ Lazreg & Mattingly 1992, 161–2 for the decorative stones at Leptiminus (Lamta) in Tunisia: those “recovered thus far point to a prosperous city on major trade-routes tied in to the distribution network of the products of a number of quarries.”

⁵⁵ Abed Ben Khader 2004.

Shaw in the 1730s compared to those of Carthage^{xcviii} – had diminished by the time of the French occupation, but even then the streets held enough columns and architectural members worthy of any museum, according to Poujoulat in 1847,^{xcix} and to allow Boissier to write poetically in 1878 about the French in Constantine,^c although French demolitions there can be well-documented^{ci} Similarly, by 1900 Julia Caesarea, Juba's capital and by the sea, had been comprehensively stripped of its useful materials,^{cii} as had the coast of Cilicia,⁵⁶ but also Samarra, far inland.⁵⁷ In the early 1830s Robinson reports the coastal sites of *Palestine* in the course of being stripped^{ciii} – Fabri had already noted in the 15th century the disappearance of monuments he expected to see.^{civ} Blakesley says the same of Constantine in 1859.^{cv} Decorative antiquities still lay all around at the end of the 19th century,^{cvi} in spite of much re-use for French buildings there.^{cvii} Daux believes Utica likewise lost its decoration during antiquity,^{cviii} and only fragments remained by the 17th century, except for foundation walls.^{cix} Nevertheless Noah reports that the site was dug for building materials in 1819,^{cx} and Temple says that excavations in the 1830s revealed shafts there for palace-building.^{cx} Jouvin makes a similar observation in Alexandria in 1676.^{cxii} At Hippo, column shafts were laid ready for export, but it is unknown at what date⁵⁸ – and much material may have gone to Bône by the early 19th century.^{cxiii} That the town had plenty of antiquities to re-use is seen in the Mosque of Sidi Abu Marwan (c. 1033).

Investigating Re-use

Archaeology, as already remarked, systematically avoided interesting itself until very recently in post-Roman occupational changes to the classical landscape, as in early work at Carthage.⁵⁹ This has been devastating for monuments which are the focus of this book.⁶⁰ Again, judgments about the survival of life in once-Roman towns has often been amended when

⁵⁶ Grossmann & Severin 2003: e.g. 4 basilicas at Andriake, two at Sura, a complex at Alakilise, another at Alacahisar, and others at Asarcik West and East – and none more than 12km from the coast. All stripped back to bare walls, and generally only limestone fittings (such as capitals and architrave blocks) are left.

⁵⁷ Leisten 2003, on Samarra, 36: Herzfeld found the mosque stripped of building materials, especially wood, brick and marble.

⁵⁸ Delestre 2005, 56: postcard (c. 1895) of the “Propriété Chevillot, Mosaïque Punique et Colonnes Romaines” – showing four columns laid down together, presumably for abstraction.

⁵⁹ Stevens 2005, 27: “it proved impossible in 1994 to distinguish the early excavation from extensive stone and tomb robbing.” For early archaeology there, and a list of finds, see Debergh 2000.

⁶⁰ Allison 2008, cf. 49: “regrettably, the concentration of Mediterranean archaeology on material remains from Classical Greek and Roman periods has often meant that material remains from Late Antique, medieval and Post-medieval periods have been sacrificed.”

scholars turn their attention to post-Roman levels,⁶¹ although focussing on towns rather than countryside could also produce similarly skewed results.⁶² Fortunately, however, some recent excavations, such as the Italian one at Hierapolis in Phrygia, have studied later layers of occupation in detail,⁶³ and work in Tunisia over the past thirty years has yielded many churches,⁶⁴ and extended the occupancy periods at Carthage.⁶⁵

Some travellers, then, were often fixated on the classical past, sometimes even to the extent of kneeling in order to kiss the very stones.^{cxiv} But they ignored Moslem constructions, such as those which “disfigured” Baalbek^{cxv} – although Henry Maundrell thought differently.^{cxvi} (Allen in 1855 is one of the few travellers to describe these in detail.)^{cxvii} Evliya Celebi, who travelled for forty-one years, provides an antidote to so much classical conditioning.^{cxviii} We may also surmise that the Western interest in viewing ruined Roman cities was some kind of counterpoint to the new idea cities founded in the West (or simply drawn) – an interest in town planning.^{cxix} And although in many locations re-use was easy to identify, in others (especially where complete elements were re-used) it was not.⁶⁶

Quality and Nature of the Evidence

Pilgrims & Scholars

What evidence may be adduced to support and illustrate the following account? A major problem is the lack of accurate, comprehensive and detailed accounts of architecture and antiquities from the Middle Ages, or indeed from before the 17th century. Travels are usually made for a specific reason, and architecture and antiquities were usually incidental to it, and

⁶¹ Leveau 1984, Caesarea de Maurétanie, 209–15 *L’antiquité tardive*. Including 213–14 *La fin de l’antiquité et le maintien de la vie urbaine*. i.e. from a census of over 30 houses, no irremediable decline in the 4thC. Concludes that the town survived throughout the middle ages in spite of what the mediaeval geographers say.

⁶² Gauthier, Nancy, “Conclusions,” in Brogiolo et al. (p. 453), 371–386 with themes of disintegration, and importance of countryside over town, and acknowledging scholars’ fixation on towns as the centre of civilisation.

⁶³ Semeraro 2007, & Zaccaria Ruggiu 2007, figs 39–43.

⁶⁴ Ghalia 2002, *passim*.

⁶⁵ Balmelle 2003 – project interrupted by the Vandal invasion of 439, but changed rather than abandoned, and columns enthusiastically re-used: “The new aristocracy clearly perpetuates the lifestyle of the old” – and the authors suggest this is public architecture for ceremonial reception.

⁶⁶ Utrero Agudo 2006, 175–179 for materials in walls and vaults. 179–183 for re-used tiles; 178 for stone re-used: *Le habitual dificultad de reconocerlo a primera vista*.

described briefly and in passing, if at all. This can be illustrated by Christian pilgrimage which, with its manifold links to classical travel,⁶⁷ often involved a description of the holy sites in Palestine, and sometimes an attempt to “commune” with the ruins.^{cxx} This is an important geographical area for our investigation,⁶⁸ and rich in ancient cities⁶⁹ and originally in sculpture.⁷⁰ It brought Westerners to lands and people mostly outside their experience,⁷¹ albeit with occasional Christian bias against paganism, such as Tilt expresses at Baalbek in 1851,^{cxxi} which caused some destruction in late Antique Alexandria.⁷² But comprehensive accounts are late, for the Crusades produced little literature that directly bears on our theme. This problem is well known to anyone searching for contemporary accounts of mediaeval, Renaissance or, indeed, antique buildings: detailed descriptions and reactions simply do not exist, so we are thrown upon much later accounts, by people whose aesthetic horizons are perhaps closer to our own, and therefore part-answer the questions we might wish to ask.

Much more numerous and often detailed are accounts produced by traders and diplomats, both of which groups often lived in the foreign lands, sometimes for years, and sometimes acquiring useful languages (of which many travellers were blissfully ignorant).^{cxxii} Volney, for example, stayed in a Druze Convent to learn the language, writing that “sans la langue, l'on ne saurait apprécier le génie et le caractère d'une Nation . . . Sans le temps, l'on ne peut juger sainement”^{cxxiii} – a rare bird indeed, for most travellers were reliant on hired local servants and translators. Already in the 16th century scholars were aware of the pitfalls of over-trusting certain accounts. Guillaume Postel, for example, signs himself on the title-page of his Paris 1575 *Des Histoires Orientales et Principalement des Turkes* as “Cosmopolite, deux fois de la retourne et véritablement informé.” From the 17th century, military assessments of countries such as Turkey and Egypt also provide useful material.⁷³

⁶⁷ Milani 2001, for a clear, long and extremely detailed and well-referenced account of “La continuità del mondo classico negli Itineraria ad loca sancta (IV–VI secolo d.C.): istituzioni e tradizioni.”

⁶⁸ Sivan 2008, 16–50 Prologue: from Constantine to Abd al-Malik.

⁶⁹ Eichler 1999, 646–668 for Syria, and 702–732 for West Bank / Israel.

⁷⁰ Foerster 2008, 73: “it is in Palestine that we encounter what are possibly the richest discoveries of marble sculpture of the Roman period in the Near East.”

⁷¹ Cardini 2002, 15–154 for Italian pilgrims to the Holy Land in the early period.

⁷² Kristensen 2009; Kristensen 2010A.

⁷³ E.g. archives of the Service Historique de la Défense (Terre) at Vincennes: MR1216–1627 for Turquie 1676–1869; MR1677 Egypt to 1830; MR1678 for Egypt 1831–1867.

Many could give a context to the landscapes they saw, thanks to their classical education, and this was also the case with the military and naval officers who supported and protected Western commercial enterprises abroad. “L'appétit vient en mangeant,” say the French: and some travellers such as the Marquis de Nointel, amazed by what they had already seen, vowed to see more, in the Greek islands, and the rest of the Levant,^{cxxiv} whither, unsurprisingly, they followed the Italians.⁷⁴ But even sharp observers missed towns for various reasons – such as Moltke for Kayseri^{cxxv} or Lucas for Sardis.^{cxxvi} The more learned travellers gave accurate information, and are the ancestors of later scholarship and excavation.⁷⁵

Inevitably, however, others seem not to have set foot on some of the sites they describe so fulsomely.^{cxxvii} As for illustrations, we need to steer a path between what appear to be accurate renditions of the current state of the monument, hopeful reconstructions (much more interesting for many readers),^{cxxviii} and embellishments to render views picturesque – potentially misleading for us, because they frequently include fallen columns, capitals, and other pieces of ancient furniture. Early photographs can sometimes be used to check the enthusiasms of the plentiful 19th-century illustrations of our Crescent,^{cxxix} just as aerial photographs can reveal features difficult to spot on the ground.

New Reasons for Travel

Our period also sees three extensive developments of travel by Westerners for none of these traditional reasons.

The first, from the 15th century, is *travel for education* and the expanding of horizons – an expansion, sometimes, of the Grand Tour to Italy. But such travel was sometimes at the service of expansionist governments back home, not just on the part of ambassadors, and was intended to provide intelligence about trade, armies and products to buy and sell. Such

⁷⁴ Kammerer-Grothaus 2007.

⁷⁵ Ooghe 2007, concludes 252 that “archaeologists need to expand the appreciation of their origins both chronologically and typologically, acknowledging the value of the many lesser- or unknown merchants, soldiers, politicians, priests or messengers who in leaving even the slightest account of their experiences in these unfamiliar lands fed scholarly interests, and whose descriptions of road systems and archaeological sites gradually opened up this land, fuelling further academic study and leading the way to the extensive excavations of the nineteenth century.”

journeys were often by highly educated men (and sometimes women), some of whom carried the ancient authors with them.^{cxxx}

The second, from the later 17th century, adds *travel for the looting of antiquities* and their transport back for building projects in Europe. But of course many antiquities lay partially underground, their existence marked out by mounds, or by local treasure-hunting activities – so this development blends effortlessly into archaeology, when antiquities were collected to adorn the newly-founded museums of Europe. The race began in earnest with the Elgin Marbles, and then with the acquisition of the Aegina marbles in 1813 and their transfer (after a disastrous “restoration” by Thorvaldsen) to the Munich Glyptothek.^{cxxxi} The later 18th century onwards saw a great thirst for travel literature, and publications were translated from one European language to another, excerpted in the popular and long-surviving travel periodicals of the day, and paraphrased or quoted by some authors who got no nearer some of the sites than their armchair readers.^{cxxxii} Some authors, significantly, sought to distinguish their long and hard work, the result of research, or actually living in the country about which they were writing, from material simply culled from books: thus the “Exploration scientifique de l’Algérie pendant les années 1840, 1841 et 1842” – a work *not* composed from other books.^{cxxxiii}

The third development flows from and complements the second, facilitated by improved sea, road and rail communications – namely *mass tourism* and the development of the guidebook. Indeed, the conjunction is symbiotic: excavations fill museums which thrill the public, who visit the sights and sites, and provide money for more digs. Unfortunately, although road-building often uncovers antiquities,^{cxxxiv} many disappear because of it, while a growing population erases the traces of others^{cxxxv} – so that travellers who actually find reported monuments still in place are correspondingly grateful.^{cxxxvi} The quality of travellers’ accounts does not necessarily rise in this period, since the temptation simply to quote from the standard texts is often too strong;^{cxxxvii} invidious and facile comparisons are made^{cxxxviii} And, in any case, anthologies from more-or-less authoritative travel accounts are becoming popular, some of which are percolated and compressed into guidebooks similar to those sold today, including helpful tips for parties travelling with ladies.^{cxxxix}

From the informational point of view, the book harvest sown by our travellers is varied, and generally (there are many exceptions) as their number increases their value decreases, with more meat provided by volumes pre-1850 than later. This is because many earlier authors were

educated classicists catering for other educated classicists, whereas a preponderance of later volumes catered for the less discerning, or at least less educated, mass tourism market, which was already developing after about 1850.

In the course of the 19th century, another type of author takes centre stage, at least in terms of books sold: the professional travel-writer. Almost by definition, such authors offering books on a host of destinations know little about what they see, and many later accounts simply parrot or quote extensively from earlier ones. This might have been what prompted De Hell to underline the independence of his account chronicling the destruction of antiquities in Russian territory – a devastating one, written without fear or favour.^{cxl} It also threw up the odd author who did not describe sites he had not visited – an easy path to virtue, and to blackening the competition.^{cxli} Indeed, amidst the explosion of publishing and the bewildering outburst of translations, some travellers are well aware of the wide availability of cut-and-paste jobs – a technique invented long before the computer.^{cxlii}

Since travel even by educated and discerning observers was subject to military, political and commercial constraints, as well as transport possibilities and personal preference, evidence is usually too patchy to offer a true chronicle of change and destruction across the whole Crescent, region by region and century by century, although it is certain that different areas offered diverse attractions to looters, and suffered from different problems, depending on location and accessibility. So, except for locations such as Constantinople, Cairo⁷⁶ and Tunis, complete or even partial “portraits through time” of each and every region are impossible, although some modern studies attempt this for various cities.⁷⁷ Instead, this book adopts a typological approach, which will enable developments in one region to suggest (if no more) similar developments elsewhere. Indeed, the mournful truth seems to be that dismantling and destruction, albeit proceeding at a variable pace, occurred for identical reasons across our Crescent. The main reasons boil down to convenience, lack of transport or nearby quarries, and an expanding population lacking any interest in the beauties of the ancient past – and needing to be housed and serviced.

⁷⁶ Warner 2005.

⁷⁷ David 2002, for Aleppo, especially 43–190, *De la petite ville byzantine à la métropole arabe*, and 239–89, *La ville protégée: quartier, maison, palais*.

Improving Communications, Disappearing Monuments

Much more unfortunately, the symbiosis between digging and sight-seeing also works against the antiquities, since the very roads and railways constructed to modernize countries (and generate income from tourism) was generally done at the expense of the ancient and mediaeval landscape, the dwindling remains of which were thereby opened up to increasing numbers of travellers,^{cxliii} all the while taking small- and large-scale souvenirs home, and defacing the monuments with their names. Communications have of course been continually improving, with pilgrims taking group tours long before Thomas Cook reinvented the idea to benefit from railways and steam ships. Improved communications tend to mean better maps – and even maps drawn for travellers' publications were much appreciated by archaeologists in certain areas,^{cxliv} although the situation in Asia Minor did not improve quickly, good maps being scarce even in the early 20th century.^{cxlv} Railways would also keep the locals in order through the cathartic realisation of the power they brought with them: in Algeria, by 1877, with an early version of shock and awe.^{cxlvi}

Varieties of Monuments and Remains

One of the ironies of our study is that Crusaders and pilgrims certainly knew many of the places and monuments in our territories much better than we can reconstruct them today. For example, the well-known description of the mosaic floor in the Ibelin fortress at Beirut^{cxlvii} makes one wonder whether the Crusaders were more interested in ancient mosaic pavements than their Moslem sparring-partners, and dug one up and re-used it. Re-use of course included monuments which have since disappeared, not just those in Constantinople chronicled by Choniates,^{cxlviii} but also those in Jerusalem which Clermont-Galleau believes they destroyed in their own building-work.^{cxlix} To these we should add their own fortress at Saphet/Safed,^{cl} where destruction continued to near the end of the 19th century,^{cli} and elements are still to be seen in the town.⁷⁸ The antiquities they re-used at Ascalon were still admired in the 1850s^{clii} and 1870s,^{cliii} though disappearing fast, as Rey remarks.^{cliv} Nevertheless a small jetty^{clv} and the ruins of the fortress,^{clvi} both column-rich, were still in place in

⁷⁸ Petersen 2001, 259–268 for re-used materials at Safad.

the 1880s. Myra, where S. Nicholas was still performing miracles, was a landfall for pilgrims as, further west, was the now-deserted Patara – “jadis puissante et belle, a été aujourd'hui [late 1330s] détruite par les turcs.”^{clvii}

But equally true is the generally benign neglect with which the Ottoman Turks treated the antiquities to be found in their expanding territories – and a lack of maintenance which did little to preserve old monuments.^{clviii} Even 19th century photographs give us information now otherwise lost,^{clix} as well as giving scholars such as Saladin “admission” to the mosque at Kairouan, thanks to a large-plate camera.^{clx} Benign neglect meant, for example, that in 1865 Newton had no problem digging in the Hippodrome at Constantinople, “accompanied by twelve lusty Croats, with picks and shovels” – and clearing the soil and rubbish away down to the base of the Serpent Column.^{clxi}

Again, many important antique centres in Turkey (or rather their hinterland) were targetted for trade in the Middle Ages.⁷⁹ We may suspect, by analogy with what happened in Europe, that this included trade in spolia, perhaps as ballast (cf. Vasari), along with staple commodities⁸⁰ – an eastern counterpart to the marmorarii of Rome, whose work reached England and France by the early 11th century.^{clxii} Certainly, there is at least one narrative account of Christians selling building antiquities to North Africans, if only from the early 18th century.^{clxiii} In mediaeval Cairo, houses ruinous because of plague were sold off before Maqrizi's day.⁸¹

⁷⁹ Lemerle 1961. Cf. map, opposite p. 151, for Dubrovnik's trading escales in the East: mostly western Greece, of course; but also Smyrna, Mytilene, Altologo (or Theologo, i.e. Ephesus); and Palatia (i.e. Miletus, and the seat of an Emirate, which shipped corn to the West), as well as Rhodes, Antalya, Tripoli, Beirut, Acre and Jaffa. Thiriet 1966 & 1971: there were Venetian merchants at Ephesus: cf. item 623 for 4 February 1356: the ambassador is to go to Ephesus and Miletus, in order to contact Venetian merchants there. A parallel point can be made for North Africa: Cf. Thiriet 1964: the Venetians appointed a consul at Tunis in 1281: cf. I Rubric LI, and an ambassador was negotiating there in 1292: Rubric CLXV; in 1339 they were importing wool from Tunisia: cf. item 476; they still had a consul in Tunis in 1455: vol II item 1515.

⁸⁰ Ashtor 1983, *passim*.

⁸¹ Dols 1977, 172 Al-Maqrizi (1365–1442) writes that “the people began to tear down the houses of Fustat and to sell its ruins until it became what it is now” and also “states that many quarters of Cairo were abandoned and had fallen into ruin by the beginning of the fifteenth century.”

Interesting and Useful Antiquities: A Brief Census

But just what varieties of antiquity were taken, and which were left behind?⁸² In most cases, we can probably never know – for the simple reason that old, used blocks could with various levels of difficulty be re-worked into something new and apparently straight from the quarry. Again, by definition, we cannot gauge how much this happened – although there are plenty of instances from the Middle Ages where we can “see the sculptor at work”⁸³ to know that the practice of recutting must have been widespread. Travellers would therefore examine the foundation traces of immense buildings, as at Thebes – and wonder what could have become of all their materials.^{clxiv} Here, as a taste of things to come in the later chapters, is an overview, such as travellers like Guthrie observed in 1802^{clxv}

Building blocks of reasonable dimensions were always prized, because they were movable – the more so, perhaps, to countries such as France with some dubious building stones.⁸⁴ *Statue bases* were easily reworked in various ways,⁸⁵ such as providing blocks for the walls of Nicaea,^{clxvi} and for a tower at Dchar Jdid in Morocco.⁸⁶ Similarly, altars could make handy receptacles for processing corn.^{clxvii} *Statues* were also useful,⁸⁷ and the disproportion between surviving statues and bases might suggest that the former often went to the lime kilns,⁸⁸ because they were far easier to break up than near-metre-cubes which could, in any case, be re-used as building blocks. Near Beirut in 1820, Turner saw Maronites sawing up a statue.^{clxviii}

Column bases and capitals could easily find a new life, sometimes far from their source⁸⁹ – or lives, since there is evidence that some were re-used more than once.⁹⁰ Both served as well- and cistern-heads, for example in Alexandria.^{clxix} But only sometimes were they re-used for their original purpose, and then sometimes with unneeded excrescences simply knocked off.⁹¹ Capitals

⁸² Todisco 1996, 129–154 for a discussion of re-use.

⁸³ D’Onofrio 2003. Barsanti 2002: nearly fifty Constantinopolitan capitals in Rome.

⁸⁴ Pérouse de Montclos 2006, 126–133. on Philibert de l’Orme’s “colonne française” developed for aesthetic reasons, as well as to accommodate the possibilities of the stone used.

⁸⁵ Hojte 2005, with a catalogue by emperor. 591–622 for statistical tables by emperor and by place. 56–64 for damnatio memoriae and the re-use of statue bases.

⁸⁶ Dchar Jdid in Morocco (Augustus’ Iulia Constantia Zilil) has six 3rdC honorific bases built en boutisse into a round tower of its 4thC west gate. Image and account at <http://www.diplomatie.gouv.fr>.

⁸⁷ Wiegartz 2004, 243–290 Die Umarbeitung antike Bildwerke – all examples of reworking are from the West.

⁸⁸ Ruck 2007, Catalogues 279–85 40 male statues and 286–291 32 female ones; but 292–300 43 bases.

⁸⁹ Niewöhner 2009, including their re-use and redistribution.

⁹⁰ Rondot 1991, for capitals from Antioch, then in a mosque at nearby Mellawi, and then taken to the Citadel at Cairo.

⁹¹ Kalinowski 2005, 490 at Bir Ftouha: “In the case of the griffin capitals, the fragments of griffin that survive appear to have been deliberately knocked off and left behind, while the main part of the capital was removed.”

were used as chairs, for example in Alexandria^{clxx} and on the Dardanelles,^{clxxi} presumably because they were so cool; they were misused as bases, and some travellers tut-tutted at such inversion.^{clxxii} But it was explained in Constantinople that they were more visible that way.^{clxxiii} (And was it capitals that Celebi so admired at the Fatih Mosque?)^{clxxiv} They served as anvils at Arzew,^{clxxv} while architraves made scrubbing boards, and columns rollers – the list seems endless.^{clxxvi} The very best capitals were scattered in re-use the whole length of the Mediterranean, whether Corinthian,⁹² Kämpferkapitel⁹³ or Ionic⁹⁴ or of Moslem design.⁹⁵ Columns in good condition (preferably retaining their polish – not that the Moslems had any difficulty doing their own polishing-^{clxxvii} any more than did Europeans)⁹⁶ were popular, as can be seen from the great numbers re-used in later structures. An hexagonal column must have made a rather uncomfortable chair in Damascus.^{clxxviii}

Column shafts were sometimes recut into slabs which could then be used in wall decoration. Ancient wall decoration, difficult to remove, does not seem to have had any takers, perhaps for aesthetic reasons.⁹⁷ In Palestine, pestles for coffee mortars were made from a Greek altar,^{clxxix} in North Africa from Turkish gravestone turbans;^{clxxx} at Cnidus from the head of a Greek statue,^{clxxxi} and in Palestine from capitals.^{clxxxii} In Asia Minor capitals were used for threshing wheat,^{clxxxiii} and an ancient marble pavement as a threshing-floor.^{clxxxiv} Russell in 1835 gives another case of mutilating shafts, in this case, at Leptis Magna, to turn them into millstones,^{clxxxv} as also at Alexandria^{clxxxvi} and El Djem/Thysdrus^{clxxxvii} – a re-use as popular as mortars for corn or coffee.^{clxxxviii} Column-shafts, presumably antique stumps, were used to mark and record praise for the bowmanship of the Ottoman sultans.^{clxxxix} They were also used for displaying the heads of executed officials – but only those of a certain

⁹² Brüh 2008, for an excellent typological study, with plenty of information on their re-use in later contexts. Catalogue 255–284, with useful individual bibliographies. His Beilage 5 lists the capitals and their present locations (which include Cairo, Jerusalem, Kairouan and Torcello, as well as Venice and Istanbul). Includes 32 multi-figure plates of the capitals. In the appendix to the same volume, see his thesis on S. Polyeuct, including his catalogue of the sculptural decoration, 11–30, including the “pilastris acritani.”

⁹³ Kramer 2006, for a typological study, with details of capitals in Istanbul, Philippi, Venice, Kairouan and Rhodes, as well as Berlin. Well illustrated throughout, plus photographic plates.

⁹⁴ Vemi 1989, for a corpus 84–206 of paleochristian Ionic capitals in Greece. Catalogues 332 items by geographical region, and plenty of examples of such capitals in re-use (although author's main interest is in the capitals' typology), usually in later churches.

⁹⁵ Cressier & Cantero Sosa 1995, 171–3 for Remploi, transport et commerce de chapiteaux dans les royaumes musulmans postérieur aux Almohades: then, under the Sa'adians, import of capitals from Europe, especially Italy.

⁹⁶ Julie 2006, 177–179 on cutting and polishing marble.

⁹⁷ In the huge Byzantine basilica at Bir Ftouha, Carthage, such decoration was simply left behind: Graham, Mark et al., “Wall decoration,” Stevens et al 2005, 379–420 – 25 varieties of worked stone. Five seasons of excavation “yielded 64,674 fragments with a total weight of 7,505,327g.” In addition, 14000 fragments of intarsia, 91.5% derived from robber trenches – i.e. this wasn't what they were after.

exalted rank, although there is no report that rank was graded by quality of marble.^{cxc} Another story has it that a marble mortar displayed in the Palace was used to crush a recalcitrant mufti.^{cxci} Near Acre, three columns made a trough for cattle,^{cxcii} while in Greece a single Doric column-shaft was holloved out for the same purpose;^{cxci} and, in Egypt, a Pharaonic temple near Naase, seen in 1714, was re-used as a byre.^{cxci} And everywhere, whether damaged or not, columns found a new use as jambs and lintels to houses, as Denon observed in Alexandria.^{cxci} More modern concerns exercised the inhabitants of Tripoli who, although the telegraph lines were supported on fine cipollino columns, destroyed the lines for some unstated reason.^{cxci}

Plain floor slabs were popular, and generally lifted,⁹⁸ but *mosaic floors* seem (with few exceptions, such as Bizye)⁹⁹ to have been left strictly alone, as at S. John Stoudion in Constantinople,¹⁰⁰ or re-floored, as at Caesarea.^{cxvii} Naturally they came to light from time to time but, for example at Tripoli, were ignored.^{cxviii} At Córdoba, they were of no interest to the builders of the Mezquita.¹⁰¹ Sometimes a few tesserae were re-used for making grave-slabs, as in Christian North Africa, or perhaps re-used in mosques.^{cxix} Thus at Elaiussa Sebaste the columns have gone, but the *opus sectile* remains.¹⁰² Cyrene has revealed some very rich pavements¹⁰³ – still there on a site which has been extensively explored.¹⁰⁴ Were they already going out of fashion in late

⁹⁸ Kraeling 1962, 163–4 for the City Bath at Ptolemais: “The original elegance of the frigidarium, many of its elements taken from earlier structures, was only dimly visible in the remains. The floor had sunk irregularly in various areas. The marble paving had in large part been looted or relaid without reference to patterning. Cement patches were obvious everywhere.” 169: “The tepidarium was presumably originally paved with marble slabs, which would have been removed by looters before the building fell into ruins, for no traces survived.”

⁹⁹ Bauer & Klein 2006: The church of Bizye (Thrace) was later given an Ottoman marble and *opus sectile* floor, with Byzantine fragments of *opus sectile* re-used in both nave and narthex.

¹⁰⁰ Millas 2005, 221 for aerial view of S. John Stoudion, showing well over 70% of its splendid marble pavement intact.

¹⁰¹ Fernández-Puertas 2009, Figs 4, 16, 25, 26 for Roman mosaic fragments under the floor of the Mezquita.

¹⁰² Schneider 1999, 310–318 at Elaiussa Sebaste: the Basilica all'estremità nord dell'isola has retained large sections of its *opus sectile* floor, although nearly all its columns have been robbed out. Ibid. 2003, I figs 131, 141–3, 151–4 show the great majority of the *opus sectile* tiles of the agora still in place – and good enough to have restoration work done on them: cf. II 825–34.

¹⁰³ Bonacasa & Ensoli 2000, 98 at Cyrene, for the floor intarsie of the great triclinium of the House of Jason – which is about 90% intact, and very luxurious indeed. Blas de Roblès 1999, 138–9: the house also had a colonnade with surviving headless statues in place (five in the photo).

¹⁰⁴ Luni 2006, “La scoperta della città di Cirene – “Atene di Africa,” in Luni ed. 2006, 9–36, with period illustrations. Discusses Agostino Cervelli, Paolo della Cella, Padre Pacifico da Monte Cassiano, the Beechey Brothers, Pachó, then those who took material – the Warrington Brothers (1826–7), Vattier de Bourville (1848); then the dig of the Englishmen R.M. Smith and E.A. Porcher in 1860–1; then Dennis, attracted by the cemeteries. Blas de Roblès 2005, 173–216 for overview of Cyrene.

antiquity?¹⁰⁵ Or did stylistic perceptions change so quickly that earlier mosaics were simply overlaid, as in Jordan?¹⁰⁶ Can we say the same of *marble revetments* in parts of our Crescent – or was marble becoming scarce?¹⁰⁷ *Entablature blocks* sometimes re-found their original purpose (the best example being San Lorenzo fuori le Mura, in Rome) but, given the growing popularity of arcading, which rendered them partly superfluous, were often to be found making steps or framing doors, as were other architectural elements.^{cc} Even *ambos* could become ablution basins – and there seems to have been a vogue for their conversion in 1950s–1980s Anatolia.¹⁰⁸

Finally, we may suspect that in some instances antiquities were re-used for some kind of political purpose, just as were some in Rome for illuminating Cola da Rienzo's speeches.¹⁰⁹ However, although the fact of re-use is clear,¹¹⁰ much recent commentary on such re-use seems unable to substantiate claims of purpose, generally through a lack of contemporary documents whether written or monumental.¹¹¹ Throughout what follows, some examples and comparisons will come from Italy, both because of the intensity of archaeology and study of the Peninsula's antiquities, and because of their survival in the less population sections of the country.¹¹²

¹⁰⁵ Rossiter 2007, 378 for Carthage: "Decorative cut marble (opus sectile) floors have been found in only a few Carthaginian houses" – but the author doesn't speculate why this should be so. There is plenty of discussion of mosaic floors, no doubt because these elements have survived – later ages didn't want them. i.e. scholars are naturally restricted in their discussions by the nature and extent of the surviving evidence.

¹⁰⁶ Piccirillo 1995, 213–223: in the presbyterium of the north church of Hesban-Esbus, a lower mosaic floor replaced by another when the presbyterium was raised; and 217 is identical with that of the nave: "i due mosaici risultano stilisticamente simili e messi in opera dalla stessa equipe di mosaicisti." He dates lower mosaic to 2nd half 5thC or beginning of 6thC; and the upper one to 2nd half of 6thC. So why wasn't the lower mosaic just lifted?

¹⁰⁷ Ghedini & Bullo 2007, 349 for Africa Proconsularis: There are plenty of figured mosaics, and "The limited evidence of marble usage might possibly reflect the scarcity of archaeological remains: but this hypothesis is not very convincing given that marble revetments generally leave significant traces that are unlikely to escape the attention of excavators."

¹⁰⁸ Niewöhner 2007, on Anatolia, cats 324 & 325 two slabs from two ambos, with shell decoration, 324 at Karadigin and Moslemised as a mosque ablution basin, and inscribed with a 1970 date. Cat 325 at Ortaca, same use, with 1968 date – and both early Byzantine works! Cat 327, obviously a vogue for them, since this basin is from the same type of ambo, at Yalnizsaray, dated 1950.

¹⁰⁹ Franceschini 2002, for examples of "creative re-use" of the antique.

¹¹⁰ Tucci 2004, for 12th-century Rome and re-use, richly referenced.

¹¹¹ Fancelli 2002, 858: *latrici di inconfondibili messaggi estetici*. Ciranna 2002, 874 in S. Lorenzo film la ragionata disposizione dei frammenti constitui uno strumento di diffusione di un messaggio distacco dal puro valore formale: un'iconografia politica. Saradi 1997: re-use is "often a means to convey a specific political message." And again 422: "the use of spolia should be associated with the nostalgic appreciation of antique art. It is clear that spolia were incorporated in many new buildings, especially churches, as mere architectural ornaments."

¹¹² Todisco 2002, 119–140: "Sculture venosine," – in the town as well as the abbey buildings and church. 227–235 "Il riimpiego della scultura romana a Lucera."

*Pride and Prejudice**And to Make an End Is to Make a Beginning*

What of the attitudes of travellers to re-use, which affect the extent to which accounts are anything from non-existent to detailed? The nature and attainments of the travellers themselves vary considerably, though the majority before about the 1860s travel with serious intent, whether to write down inscriptions, collect antiquities, or simply improve their knowledge of the ancient world, usually by taking ancient authors with them and trying to match what they read or knew to have existed against what they saw on the ground, as at Sparta,^{ccci} stripped of antiquities by the mid-19th century,^{ccii} except for large numbers of re-used blocks in the late Roman fortifications,¹¹³ and some remains of the theatre.^{cciii} Sometimes, of course, travellers take with them accounts of earlier travellers, and the more cynical of them wonder just how much their predecessors actually saw, and how much they themselves relied on yet earlier accounts.^{cciv} Just how authoritative some of the accounts are is another matter. But re-use is certainly a new beginning. As Eliot wrote, “History may be servitude, / History may be freedom. See, now they vanish, / The faces and places, with the self which, as it could, loved them, / To become renewed, transfigured, in another pattern.”

Mis-use in Re-use

For Ibn Khaldun, such re-use was almost an admission of failure – of a febrile looting from ruins by cultures unable to quarry and import new material,^{ccv} or simply by poor people looking for something to sell.^{ccvi} But a whole range of varieties of re-use is a fact of life, as can be seen at Mérida;¹¹⁴ while at Rome it is clear that re-use was both well-planned

¹¹³ Frey 2006, 201–270 & figs 5.31–5.34; also 5.53–5.63 including re-used inscriptions.

¹¹⁴ Edmondson 2001, for re-use of monuments at Mérida, with plenty of examples (including the sacking of the cemeteries to build walls), 98–100: Reutilización constructura; 101–103 Reutilización funcional; and 101–103 Reutilización y retallado. Cruz Villalón 1985, reprints for Mérida nine plates from Mamador de los Rios’ *Monumentas arquitectónicas de Espana*, Madrid 1877 – much of which have disappeared. Ibid. 405–422 for the complexion of the visigothic city of Mérida – where not even the cathedral or the bishop’s palace have been located. Notes on the palace of the Duque de la Roca, early 16thC, built with a lot of visigothic materials – but dismantled in 1887, and only some of the material went into the museum. And cf. her unnumbered plan of the 60-plus visigothic pieces and fragments in the Alcazaba at Mérida, including the well-know pilasters.

and methodical.¹¹⁵ And for many later travellers, it was the re-use which allowed them to see the glory of the ancient world reflected in later monuments built from its remains^{ccvii} and, in some cases, how many buildings in late antique cities might be built from earlier blocks.^{ccviii} In several cases, of course, it was later rebuilding that protected, albeit in amended form, earlier structures, as at Olympia,¹¹⁶ and perhaps Ephesus,¹¹⁷ where so much has changed in the past half-century.^{ccix} In parallel fashion, it is their surprise at mis-use – as in Dumont's various examples from the 1860s^{ccx} – which alerts us to how antiquities could still be “useful.”

Although travel sometimes broadened the mind,^{ccxi} in other cases travellers were confident of the superiority of their own achievement even over that of the Romans, such as Rozet and Carette in 1850.^{ccxii} Travellers and archaeologists who viewed the re-use of ancient monuments were often adversely judgmental about what they considered mis-use in re-use, so to speak.¹¹⁸ Some, such as Browne in 1799, completely misunderstood how shafts were re-used.^{ccxiii} Henniker was equally disdainful in 1823 of a mosque at Heliopolis.^{ccxiv} Others frequently failed to consider just how the building of antiquities into (for example) fortresses had in fact preserved them. This was the case with the Great Frieze of the Pergamon Altar, and other elements of that city.¹¹⁹ Or the temple enshrined (not the correct word, perhaps?) in the fortress on Paros, at Parechia, its antiquities already remarked by Boschini in 1658,^{ccxv} and described more fully by Ross^{ccxvi} and then by Bent in 1885.^{ccxvii} Indeed it was the extensive use of logically laid remains which allowed Müller to make paper reconstructions on Paros, and to publish the results.¹²⁰ But of course, this is the kind of plodding, mechanical work for which Hogarth affects to look down on

¹¹⁵ Barresi 2002, 799: concordanze di misure e di elementi di reimpiego in diverse chiese, tali da suggerire l'idea di un coerente sistema di progettazione nelle chiese paleocristiane di Roma.

¹¹⁶ Herrmann 1972, 196–199 Late antiquity 4th–6thC at Olympia.

¹¹⁷ Ladstätter & Pülz 2007, for Ephesus, summary at 391: “The archaeological evidence proves that rebuilding took place and within public areas, such as agorae or buildings along the roads and included fountains and baths” – and not just reconstruction, but “efforts were made to restore the splendid appearance of the city, reflecting the restoration of its high urban status and commercial importance.” Bauer 1996, 269–299 for late antique Ephesus.

¹¹⁸ Cf. Canuto & Andrews 2008, 257: “There are few more self-referential enterprises in archaeology than the study of the re-use of abandoned structures.”

¹¹⁹ Radt 1999, 289–292 Das Byzantinische Pergamon. Fig. 231 for a reconstruction of the Byzantine city. Dörner 1989, 56–60 for the discovery in 1878–1879 of the Pergamon frieze in the Byzantine wall, plus foundation podium for the Altar itself.

¹²⁰ Müller 2003, *passim*.

the “Teutons.”^{ccxviii} For some, of course, ruins aren’t worth “an old brick kiln” – travellers being tyrannized by political correctness into admiring any heaps they came across.^{ccxix}

Autres Temps, Autres Moeurs

Certainly, preferences and prejudices often come across loud and clear, and which of course reflect different aesthetic and cultural assumptions from those of today.

Although there are a few (such as Seroux d’Agincourt) who prize mediaeval architecture in the 19th century, the main focus for our travellers is on the classical past, with the result that from excursions into our Crescent we learn much more about the classical structures and ruins than about their Lego-conversion into new architectural forms, let alone about Islamic architecture. This is a simple point, but crucial for understanding the viewpoint and inevitable bias of the majority of the travellers whose works are considered below. The usual 19th-century preponderent interest in the classical can easily be checked in other publications.^{ccxx}

Matters were changing by 1892, when Mahaffy flagged on the title-page of the 4th edition of his book “revised and enlarged (with a chapter on mediaeval Greece),” and explained why in the text, attacking the Germans at the same time.^{ccxxi} A related point is the slow start of mediaeval archaeology,¹²¹ so that we are often not equipped with the hard evidence (if that is what archaeology provides) necessary to compare developments and changes with earlier building states. We know about many monumental structures in our Crescent because travellers visited and described them, albeit in a wide variety of forms and depths,¹²² but little archaeology has hitherto been done on their later transformations, or the re-use of their architectural elements¹²³ – adaptation might in some circumstances be just as popular as dismantling.¹²⁴ Thankfully, this situation is

¹²¹ Kulikowski 2006, 142: except for Mérida, “the archaeology of the sixth century is virtually silent, a discipline still in its infancy.”

¹²² Tinguely 2000, 113–43 *L’écriture du topos*. On the wide variety of topographical descriptions.

¹²³ Zanolto 2007, 21–49 for an overview of re-use and scholarly attempts to understand it.

¹²⁴ Doggett 2002, for adaptive re-use after the dissolution of the monasteries in Hertfordshire. 65 concludes that adaptive re-use was widespread, and that it was not necessarily less so than recycling the materials for building elsewhere; for housing, workshops, culture etc.

changing,¹²⁵ for example in Asia Minor¹²⁶ (the location of many prosperous cities in Roman times)¹²⁷ even if some publications have taken some time to appear.¹²⁸

In spite of such exceptions, a preference for “good” styles ensured that censure was frequently applied to the buildings of the later centuries of the Roman Empire, such as Leptis Magna,¹²⁹ in the 18th^{ccxxii} and the 19th^{ccxxiii} centuries, or other sites in North Africa,^{ccxxiv} or Xanthus.^{ccxxv} In the same fashion, voices were raised against even the meagre funds devoted to the excavation of Christian remains,^{ccxxvi} perhaps because the great majority of these were build of re-used materials. Half a century later, Christian churches in Syria and Asian Minor still needed comprehensive study,^{ccxxvii} and the re-use of Roman sites could use some re-evaluation elsewhere.¹³⁰ Thus did attitudes prejudice both the acceptance, study and excavation of such “reckless” architecture. Nevertheless, re-use was sometimes intensive, as has been determined for Lycia and Pamphylia.¹³¹

In many cases the materials would be admired, if not their re-use, as Kinnear notes at Ascalon, where a church was a pot-pourri of re-use,^{ccxxviii} just as was the Crusader fortress.^{ccxxix} Or as Williams observes in Athens: “In the walls of the fortification, and in some of the buildings of the town, many pieces of sculpture were carefully preserved, and seemingly fixed in them as ornaments, not with taste, I grant, but still they were

¹²⁵ Ghedini & Bullo 2007, note 68 published houses in the towns of Roman Tunisia: cf. table 362–363.

¹²⁶ Brandes 1989, for towns in Asia Minor in the 7th–8thC, 81–131 for archaeological evidence of shrinkage and collapse, with 124–31 for some evidence of continuity. Or Doonan 2004 for an excellent overview of settlement through time, with field-walking, talking to the locals, etc. with an acknowledgment of how post-antique archaeology has a lot of scope in such regions, given the extensive Ottoman tax-records etc.

¹²⁷ Winter 1996, 167–187 on cult buildings, water and baths, ports and canals, in Roman Asia Minor.

¹²⁸ E.g. Leisten, Thomas, *Excavation of Samarra vol I: architecture*. Final report of the first campaign 1910–1912, Mainz 2003.

¹²⁹ Blas de Roblès 2005, 73–105 for Leptis.

¹³⁰ Bell 2005, deals with 256 churches and 116 burial sites associated with Roman buildings in mediaeval England: cf. 14–20: “A landscape of Roman structures,” and 152: “it is very likely that this is only a fraction of the true number of these sites, and that more will come to light, once their significance has been realised.”

¹³¹ Hellenkemper & Hild 2004, 234 for Lycia and Pamphylia: Diese intensive Spolienwirtschaft führte zwangsläufig zu einer Veränderung der Stadtbilder. Ruinöse Bauten und Denkmäler, offenbar versichtbare Bauten und ehemals vielgestaltige Nekropolen plünderte man für den Mauerbau. Das Denkmal in Patara mit dem Stadiasmus Patarensis wurde gelegt und die Quader in einem Turmbau vermauert. Der mächtige, weithin sichtbar Grabbau eines Konsularen in Attaleia blieb, als Stadtmauerturm umgewidmet, erhalten.

preserved.”^{ccxxx} Indeed, large amounts of funerary antiquities were re-used in the houses of the town,^{ccxxxi} perhaps a general characteristic of late antique housing.¹³²

There are some wince-making judgments, such as preferring the Mosque of Mohammed Ali in Cairo – in spite of the many flaws of its alabaster^{ccxxxii} – to the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem, the choir at Córdoba to the surrounding mosque,^{ccxxxiii} or believing that high-quality fretwork in a mosque meant it must be European.^{ccxxxiv} But one traveller thought the Mosque of Mohammed Ali already in bad condition soon after its construction, and looking like a cake of tallow.^{ccxxxv} Occasionally monuments are mis-dated, especially when material is in re-use, as with the walls of Nicaea – note that techniques for dating antiquities were acquired only during the recent centuries.^{ccxxxvi} Almost a museum in themselves,^{ccxxxvii} these fooled both Morritt^{ccxxxviii} and Hammer.^{ccxxxix} Travellers can spend two pages describing Joseph’s Well in Cairo – and a mere three lines on Saladin’s Diwan.^{ccxl} They can also describe the Al-Azhar Mosque in Cairo as the erstwhile church of Lazarus, which should ring a few alarm bells.^{ccxli}

Hence we should not expect structures rebuilt with ancient materials always to be appreciated. Even Hagia Sophia is heavily criticised by some,^{ccxlii} not least because of the disparate nature of its materials,^{ccxliii} beautiful though they were, described by one visitor as “reckless,”^{ccxliv} by another as “nothing admirable,”^{ccxlv} and by a third as not a patch on the Pantheon^{ccxli} This is in the context of an age that found much mediaeval architecture, such as the Duomo at Pisa,^{ccxlvii} unsatisfactory for the same reason. A British officer in Rosetta was pained “to see the order of things so prostituted and reversed,”^{ccxlviii} and another traveller drew a firm line between the stupendous and the beautiful.^{ccxlix} However, Mirza Abu Taleb Khan thought Hagia Sophia in Constantinople superior to St. Paul’s in London, and that it looked like a modern building.^{cccl} And indeed, the eponymous church in Trebizond was admired for its mosaics,^{cccli} and also for its columns,^{ccclii} as was the church at Sebaste/Samaria, Olin struggling to pin down its construction date in view of its re-used antiquities.^{cccliii} (The church at Nicaea also retained some of its vault mosaics in the 1730s.)^{cccliv}

Ruins and Re-use as Constants

Only by reading accounts such as that of Dussaud^{ccclv} is it possible to grasp just how many ancient ruins were to be found along some routes, often

¹³² Uytterhoeven 2007 for late antique housing, including Greece and points east, and North Africa.

no more than a few kilometres apart. Some today might tend to think of ruins as just towns and cities, with a few country temples. But much more than these were to be seen, as the following chapters will demonstrate. Unfortunately, great quantities as described by some of our travellers have disappeared, a prey to modernisation and an inexorable move into towns, for which building stone was vacuumed up across the countryside sometimes in short order. Europeans from the later Renaissance onwards were, of course, interested in ruins for a variety of reasons, including poetic nostalgia.¹³³ Paradoxically, ruins were sometimes seen as a means to spur architectural creativity, as well as “gestures to the ruination and obsolescence of past grandeur.”¹³⁴

Buildings often were ruined because of natural disasters and, in efficient and well-provided ancient polities, they were rebuilt.¹³⁵ But it is as well to point out at this early stage that there is nothing exclusively Roman (or Middle-Eastern – cf. England)¹³⁶ about landscapes of ruins, of consciousness about them,¹³⁷ or about their re-use or appreciation.¹³⁸ Examples of them can be found as far away as Central America,¹³⁹ as well as of course Rome herself, a crumbling Museum City since late antiquity.¹⁴⁰ After all, who but an idiot would quarry materials afresh if a convenient supply were to be available locally, especially of square-cut and therefore easier-to-use stone? The same applies to brick, and Delaine suggests that

¹³³ Heuer 2009.

¹³⁴ Elsner 2002, 206. And cf. Soane's *Memoirs* of 1835, 7–8, 66, for his Pitzhanger ruins.

¹³⁵ Winter 1996, 94–108 on rebuilding following natural disasters in Roman Asia Minor.

¹³⁶ Bell 2005, on the re-use of Roman structures in England: he deals with 256 churches and 116 burial sites associated with Roman buildings, but 152 “it is very likely that this is only a fraction of the true number of these sites, and that more will come to light, once their significance has been realised.” Cf. 14–20: “A landscape of Roman structures.”

¹³⁷ Forero-Mendoza 2002, 31–34 *Illustrations médiévales de la ruine*. Ibid., 39–54 *La découverte des ruines romaines par Pétrarque*.

¹³⁸ Caple 2010, with examples of veneration of earlier artefacts (through retention, cleaning, restoration, re-enactment, display).

¹³⁹ Stanton & Magnoni 2008: cf. 1–24 for the editors' overview: “Places of remembrance. The use and perception of abandoned structures in the Maya lowlands;” then see Child & Golden in *ibid.*, “The transformation of abandoned architecture at Piedras Negras;” and also Canuto & Andrews, “Memories, meanings and historical awareness: post-abandonment behaviours among the lowland Maya,” with the sting in the tail at 257: “There are few more self-referential enterprises in archaeology than the study of the re-use of abandoned structures.”

¹⁴⁰ Christie 2000, 306: “in the early 5th century as the barbarians were beginning their sightseeing tours of the old Roman heartland, the emperor shifted from Milan to the marshes of Ravenna. Rome thus had long ago virtually been relegated to an out-of-the-way Museum city, still cram-packed with monuments, but with many of these fine public buildings in serious need of attention.”

in Imperial times the very use of new materials “speaks strongly of the ideological significance of construction.”¹⁴¹ The states of the various enabling technologies were also an important factor.¹⁴² And in the overwhelming majority of cases, such re-use is indeed only for convenience, without any detectable overtones of triumphalism or the exercise of “power,” an attribute which seems to protect temples in late antique Egypt.¹⁴³ What is more, following Romanticism and the Industrial Revolution, we are tuned today to see ruins as picturesque additions to the landscape (in some cases, of course, deliberate and factitious additions); and to see the inevitable course of human history as progress and expansion.

Recent events in the banking world may have punctured some of that illogical optimism; but re-use is today popular in architecture.¹⁴⁴ Our ancestors (including many of the earlier travellers quoted below) saw decline as part of a natural cycle, caused perhaps by war, earthquake, disease (especially the apparently omnipresent plague)¹⁴⁵ or changes in trading patterns. Hence the word “ruin” appears frequently in their accounts, where towns are judged according to their current position on the Wheel of Fortune. Indeed, in many accounts the word appears several times on every page. Earlier travellers address such a rise-and-decline cycle for a multitude of reasons, as Mariti remarks,^{cclvi} and not just mere curiosity, so their interest in uninhabited ruins in the landscape is small to non-existent. But the majority of ruins were inhabited, amongst the splendour of which mediaeval people lived “like mice in their holes”¹⁴⁶ – a feature which accentuated current misery with past splendour, as Chandler saw

¹⁴¹ Delaine 2001, 246: “The widespread re-use of all building materials – brick and reticulate tesserae alike – in the late empire is therefore no more surprising than the burning of marble to make lime.”

¹⁴² Bes 2007, for technologies in late antiquity: including 11–12 for marble; 24–27 for construction and building; 31–33 for transport.

¹⁴³ Frankfurter 2008, 140: “Christians’ destructive responses to temples and images reflect some of the power that lingered in these sacred remains well through late antiquity.”

¹⁴⁴ Huygen 2008, 13: *Le réemploi, pour une richesse patrimoniale... une sauvegarde environnementale et un gage de cohésion sociale, donc une richesse territoriale, locale et planétaire.*

¹⁴⁵ Dols 1977, 143–235 for “The demographic effects of plague in Egypt and Syria,” including rural and urban depopulation, about which the Arabic sources are unanimous. Liebeschuetz 2002, 241: late antique boom in the E reversed by recurring plague and war.

¹⁴⁶ Radt 2001, 55: e.g. Pergamon declined in second half of 3rdC, and there was no further revitalization; Christian buildings simply fitted in to what was there (e.g. the Red Hall), so did not affect the urban plan in any way. Emperor Theodore Lascaris in 13thC laments “that his contemporaries lived in the ruins of a splendid past like mice in their holes.”

at Ephesus in 1775.^{cclvii} There were similar sentiments later in Cairo, where the days of glory were also seen as passed,¹⁴⁷ a decline also to be seen in the great late antique cities.¹⁴⁸ The locals were still living like mice at Philae in the mid-19th century, until the Pasha set about clearing the location for tourism.^{cclviii} Only in the Ottoman Empire was there, after 1453, “a competitive discourse with the past.”¹⁴⁹

Nor were all ruins ancient, of course: we should remember that invasions and war ruined many towns, sometimes permanently, during all centuries – and plenty is known of such devastation from 19th-century reports.^{cclix} Old buildings get re-used today, when their original purpose declines in importance. Churches often get converted, as do industrial buildings when production moves away and the tide of prosperity with it. Railway stations, built for that marvel of the 19th century, are converted in the name of “rationalisation.” For in areas of declining population, such old buildings are conspicuous because they were not being re-used, and are gradually falling into ruin, there being no local reason to employ their materials in something else – even when materials were carted there at great expense, as for some Wild West ghost towns.

But if ruins themselves are a constant, the way in which people consider them is probably very variable, the most extreme perhaps being the building of ruins in 18th-century Europe either as an aide-mémoire to the Grand Tour (although not all ruins were classical in style, thanks to a growing interest in the national past, real or imagined) or as a foil for philosophico-poetical thoughts. Note, however, that the standard Grand Tour got no further east than Italy or Dalmatia. The travellers with whom this book deals go further east for a variety of reasons, and are very different from the enthusiastic or bored yeomanry or aristocracy being shown the standard sights of Italy by a bear-leader.

A key question is just how the ruins of the antique were situated by their viewers and admirers. The answer is that they were seen irrevocably as part of the distant past, separated by technique, grandeur and almost everything

¹⁴⁷ Denoix 1992, on Cairo, citing 14th–15thC historians, 23: Quelquefois, la mention de la ruine affectant un lieu est liée de celle de sa splendeur passée... D'autre fois, la mention de la ruine est associée à l'évocation de la grandeur passée de ses habitants ou de l'existence passée d'un lieu fameux. All this within 19–25 a discussion of what might have been ruined, and how Ibn Duqmaq deals with such ruins.

¹⁴⁸ Bauer 1996, 301–388 for a comparison of late antique Constantinople, Ephesus and Rome (but his comparisons are not restricted to the three cities).

¹⁴⁹ Ousterhout 2004, 170, and 165–167 for Mehmet the Conqueror's visit to Troy.

else from the present day (whenever that was). Thus the classical tradition – which might have seen different re-uses for antiquities – did not exist, except in the sense of Panofsky's corpse, alternately buried and revived. This sense of distance was well expressed by Michael Psellus, writing in the later 11th century of Greece, but in terms of general applicability: "Un tempo, credo, la Grecia e tutte le terre vicine o (come l'intera Ionia) alla Grecia erano dedite alla cultura; ora invece sopravvivono solo nella storia, quasi cumuli di venerandi monumenti antichi, rovine abbandonate."¹⁵⁰ Travellers would have approved of the sentiment – just as they often disapproved of the eastern tendency in their own day, and frequently observed, to let things go to wrack and ruin.^{cclx}

- i PEF_1873_106
- ii PEF_1883_149
- iii Van_de_Velde_1854_ I_341
- iv Leake_1846_106
- v Duc_d'Orléans_1892_343
- vi Butler_1925_10
- vii Baratta_1831_71–2
- viii Slane_1841_362
- ix Crowe_1853_103–104
- x Lamartine_1848_ I_81
- xi Leake_1830_ II_380–2
- xii De_Bourgoanne_1809_ 610–611
- xiii Laborde_1809_ I_278
- xiv Mure_1842_ II_65–67
- xv Sterrett_1911_6–7
- xvi Sterrett_1911_18
- xvii Sandys_1673_60
- xviii Bartholdy_1807_ I_235
- xix De_Vere_1850_ I_220–221
- xx Bruce_1790_ I_viii
- xxi Davenport_ Adams_1871
- xxii Radcliffe_Travelling_ Fellow_1852_63–4
- xxiii Van_de_ Velde_1854_ I_196
- xxiv De_Vogüé_1876_11
- xxv Le_Camus_1889_ II_468
- xxvi Harvey_1861_171
- xxvii Guérin_1868_ I_ii–iii
- xxviii Bory-de-Saint- Vincent_1838_3
- xxix Dubois_de_ Montpéreux_1839_ III_388
- xxx Duc_d'Orléans_ 1892_364
- xxxi Féraud_1872_15
- xxxii Merrill_1881_81
- xxxiii Perrier_1842_10–11
- xxxiv Gell_1817_viii–ix
- xxxv Lycklama_A_ Nijeholt_1875_ IV_390–391
- xxxvi Davis_1874_166
- xxxvii Ansted_1844_209
- xxxviii Le_Camus_ 1889_ I_23
- xxxix Warren_&_ Conder_1884_311
- xl Drummond_1754_38b
- xli Millingen_1912_xi
- xlii El-Melity_1910_277
- xliii Hartley_1831_13–14
- xliv Ibn_Khaldun_1865_ II_276
- xlv Ibn_Khaldun_1844_43
- xlvi Leo_Africanus_1898_ III_117
- xlvii Mas'udi_1863_passim
- xlviii El-Edrisi_1866_231
- xlx Swinburne_1787_ I_ 115–16
- l Ceán-Bermúdez_1832_ viii
- li Laborde_1809_ III_216–17
- lii Irwin_1780_367–8b
- liii Madden_1829_211
- liv Senior_1882_ I_175
- lv Huart_1879_37
- lvi Michaud_&_ Poujoulat_1835_ Vila_267–8
- lvii Russell_1835_288
- lviii Choisy_1876_116
- lix Reinach_1886_5–6
- lx De_Bisson_1881_86
- lxi Pellissier_1853_269
- lxii Daux_1869_86–87
- lxiii Perrot_1890_8b
- lxiv Diehl_1893_310
- lxv Diehl_1893_1
- lxvi Association_ française_1896_ I_332
- lxvii Sterrett_1889_6–8
- lxviii Fellows_1839_203–4
- lxix Leake_1841_ I_101–102
- lxx Clarke_1814_ II_130b
- lxxi Buondelmonti_1897_ 219
- lxxii Sonnini_1801_ I_248
- lxxiii Ross_1843_17
- lxxiv Ross_1843_129–30
- lxxv Boschini_1658_64b
- lxxvi Ross_1843_ III_32
- lxxvii Guérin_1856_205b
- lxxviii Buondelmonti_ 1897_201–2
- lxxix Boschini_1658_14
- lxxx Ross_III_1843_37
- lxxxi Boschini_1658_2
- lxxxii Clarke_1818_ VI_580

¹⁵⁰ Cited in Pontani 2002, 51.

- lxxxiii Scrofani_1801_II_7
 lxxxiv Turner_1820_I_292
 lxxxv Dodwell_1819_II_191-2
 lxxxvi Mahaffy_1892_353
 lxxxvii Delacoulanche_
 1859_78
 lxxxviii Peiresc_1888_I_696
 lxxxix Leake_1830_II_8
 xc Curtius_1851_I_326
 xci Hughes_1820_I_365
 xcii Beulé_1873_I_110
 xciii Eton_1801_202-3
 xciv Hamilton_1811_7-8
 xcv Blakesley_1859_21
 xcvi Ibn_Haukal_1842_184
 xcvi Leo_Africanus_1896_
 II_679
 xcvi Shaw_1814_521
 xcix Poujoulat_1847_II_311
 c Boissier_1878_131-2
 ci SHD\$1_Génie_IH910
 cii Graham_1902_30-1
 ciii Robinson_1838_339
 civ Fabri_1849_II_48
 cv Blakesley_1859_277-8
 cvi Boissier_1899_32
 cvii Knox_1883_359-60
 cviii Daux_1869_136
 cix Pagni_1829_161-164
 cx Noah_1819_329
 cxi Temple_1835_I_
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 cxii Jouvin_1676_11
 cxiii Mac_Carthy_1819_
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 cxiv Pingaud_1887_140
 cxv Robinson_1856_509
 cxvi Maundrell_1823_117
 cxvii Allen_1855_II_34-5
 cxviii Evliya_Celebi_
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 cxix Eaton_2001
 cxx Bost_1875_171
 cxxi Tilt_1851_429-430
 cxxii Sainte_Maure_1724_
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 cxxiii Volney_1787_I_vi
 cxxiv Vandal_1900_120
 cxxv Moltke_1877_235
 cxxvi Lucas_1714_I_238
 cxxvii Trant_1830_13-14
 cxxviii Falkener_1854_9
 cxxix Sartiaux_1911
 cxxx Madden_1829_viii
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 cxxxii Breton_1814_I_v-vi
 cxxxiii Carette_1844_II_3
 cxxxiv Reinach_1891_
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 cxxxv Burckhardt_1822_
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 cxxxvi Pézard_1922_113
 cxxxvii Arundell_1828_
 27-43
 cxxxviii Jolliffe_1827_141
 cxxxix Wilkinson_1843_
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 cxl Hommaire_De_
 Hell_1847_Preface
 cxli Lubomirski_1880_185
 cxlii Knox_1883_46
 cxliii McBean_1876_52-3
 cxliv Ramsay_1897_I_2_
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 cxlv Massy_1905_273
 cxlvi Duval_1877_7
 cxlvii Rey_1883_8
 cxlviii Michaud_1829_
 III_425-9
 cxlix Clermont-
 Ganneau_1899_I_46-47
 cl Huart_1879_43
 cli Rey_1883_445
 clii Tobler_1859_41
 cliii PEF_1875_154
 cliv Rey_1871_209
 clv Conder_&_Kitchener_
 III_1883_240
 clvi Conder_&_Kitchener_
 III_1883_246
 clvii Ludolph_of_
 Suchem_1851_1048
 clviii Association_
 française_1896_I_356
 clix Sarre_1896_PL_XLIVff
 clx Saladin_1892_383-4
 clxi Newton_1865_II_27
 clxii Mortet_1911_I_34
 clxiii Ali_Bey_1814_I_236-7
 clxiv Jollois_&
 Devilliers_1821_183-5
 clxv Guthrie_1802_
 II_312-313
 clxvi Kinneir_1818_29-30
 clxvii Clarke_1817_VII_
 249-50b
 clxviii Turner_1820_II_79
 clxix Denon_1803_I_103
 clxx Brugsch_1855_10
 clxxi Galt_1812_367
 clxxii Norry_1800_27-28
 clxxiii De_Tott_1786_I_234b
 clxxiv Evliya_
 Celebi_1834_I_67
 clxxv Shaw_1814_516
 clxxvi Le_Camus_1889_
 I_297
 clxxvii Tietze_1975_34
 clxxviii Masterman_1895_
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 clxxix Tristram_1873_235
 clxxx Campbell_1842_287
 clxxxi Michaud_&
 Poujoulat_1834_IV_35
 clxxxii Guérin_1875_II_346ff
 clxxxiii Chandler_1817_
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 clxxxiv Hamilton_1842_
 II_143
 clxxxv Russell_1835_228-9
 clxxxvi Bucke_1840_I_32
 clxxxvii Temple_1835_I_
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 clxxxviii Mac_
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 clxxxix Jouannin_1840_211
 cxc Jouannin_1840_39
 cxci Azaïs_&_Domergue_
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 cxcii Richardson_1822_
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 cxcii Leake_1830_II_349
 cxci Lucas_1714_I_103
 cxcv Denon_1803_I_100-101
 cxevi Rae_1877_87
 cxevii Conder_&_Kitchener_
 II_1882_17b
 cxeviii Tully_1819_I_12
 cxcix Ibn_Battuta_1874_
 I_236
 cc Dubois_de_
 Montpéroux_1843_V_118
 cci Scrofani_1801_I_128
 ccii Wyse_1865_I_146-7
 cciii Fiedler_1840_I_323
 cciv Parsons_1808_29
 ccv Ibn_Khaldun_1865_
 II_277
 ccvi Taghri_Birdi_I_162
 ccvii Richardson_1822_I_
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- ccviii Tristram_1873_126
 ccix Curtius_1872
 ccx Dumont_1868_II_242
 ccxi Ramsay_1897_vii
 ccxii Rozet_&_Carette_
 1850_194-5
 ccxiii Browne_1799_79
 ccxiv Henniker_1823_61
 ccxv Boschini_1658_46
 ccxvi Ross_I_1840_44-52
 ccxvii Bent_1885_380
 ccxviii Hogarth_1910_145-6
 ccxix Fiske_1857_221-222
 ccxx Curtius_1891_304-319
 ccxxi Mahaffy_1892_
 437-438
 ccxxii Bruce_170_I_xxxviii
 ccxxiii Rae_1877_43-5
 ccxxiv Bruce_1790_I_xxix
 ccxxv Fellows_1852_491-2
 ccxxvi Poujoulat_1847_I_35
 ccxxvii Sterrett_1911_36-7
 ccxxviii Kinnear_1841_
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 ccxxx Williams_1820_320
 ccxxxi Broughton_1858_
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 ccxxxiii Chénier_1787_
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 ccxxxiv Hogg_1835_II_38
 ccxxxv Smith_1852_226
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 cxxl Van_Egmont_&_
 Heyman_1759_II_76
 cxxli Van_Egmont_&_
 Heyman_1759_II_67
 cxxlii Poujoulat_1840_I_
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 cxxliv Pardoe_1837_I_388
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SECTION ONE

THE MEDIAEVAL LANDSCAPE AND ITS FEATURES

CHAPTER ONE

THE MEDIAEVAL LANDSCAPE: AN OVERVIEW

When the ancient landscape fell into ruins, it became a mediaeval landscape, with different horizons and new uses for redundant antiquities serving its smaller population. Ancient towns were no longer sustainable or necessary, and many structures fell out of use for reasons cultural (theatres, amphitheatres, hippodromes), practical (aqueducts, baths and nymphaea) religious (temples) or social (basilicas). Life and agriculture became local, so roads and ports declined as well. Travellers could describe a still-mediaeval landscape in later centuries, relating how a now growing population dealt with the remains of Antiquity, sometimes obliterating whole sites.

Dismantling to Destruction

The marble richness of the remains of Antiquity surely impressed successors, impelling them to re-use the materials for new types of architecture, as perhaps happened at Córdoba, with its sumptuous mosque (with or without any realised political message).¹ But there was also some continuity: in the Hauran, for instance, the landscape was far from deserted, the locals still living in some of the Roman towns and buildings, equipped not only with stone doors,ⁱ but also newly-inserted columns.ⁱⁱ Plenty of antique columns and capitals, mostly in basalt but some in limestone, were re-used there.²

From late antiquity onwards, ancient monuments in our Crescent were quarried or completely disappeared because of the need for high-quality materials with which to build churches and mosques, and some prestigious houses. Religious buildings were considered special, and were often built with stones and marbles which – as could easily be seen – had preserved Greek and Roman structures for centuries. During the Middle Ages ordinary people lived in wooden or mud-brick houses, but with

¹ Ruiz Osuna 2007, 148 for Córdoba: marble enters in the late Augustan period, used by all public and private commissioners, como un element de adhesion al nuevo regimen e indicativo de su poder adquisitivo.

² Dentzer-Feydy 1990.

stone antiquities sometimes used to establish foundations, firm corners or window- and door-frames. Public monuments as ornaments for civic life, such as the ancients had built, were now rare – luckily so, or no ancient monuments would have survived the mediaeval centuries. In some cases, new constructions were built within or very close to ancient towns. Little detailed work has been done on how dismantled antiquities were re-used in the later settlements on the same antique site, but an exception is Alexandria,³ as part of a census of her surviving antiquities.⁴

But why not save time and trouble by always continuing to occupy ancient towns? This was usually impossible, because depopulation, earthquakes, and the ruination of structures and services (water, sewage, communications) had all conspired to make such complex entities uninhabitable, and life there sometimes little more than mere squatting. In any case towns, being artificial creations, had always been fed from the countryside. Hence from about the 6th century there was – and in part for the reasons listed above – a broad movement away from the towns and to country living, although several ancient towns survived, albeit with lower levels of occupation, and only partly inhabited. This move to live elsewhere and to build anew left the crumbling ancient towns as repositories of useful materials. The new builders lacked ancient infrastructure, including vast quantities of slaves, and plundering ruinous buildings was easier and quicker than quarrying afresh, particularly since re-use offered the attraction of blocks already cut into convenient formats or easy to trim or adapt to new uses (entablatures to doorframes, capitals as mortars, sarcophagi as cattle troughs, etc.). For obvious reasons, builders were particularly attracted to standardised blocks such as existed in many ancient walls. Even theatre seats, of which most such structures could provide

³ Behrens-Abouseif 2002, with concentration on the mosques, and emphasising 124 “la réutilisation d’ancienne structures qui impliquait des travaux continuels de restauration et de renovation.”

⁴ Tkaczow 1993, on Alexandria: detailed on re-use, e.g. her catalogue 1A, “Pier between lighthouse and island (secondary deposit of re-used ancient elements)” and 1B, “Submerged ruins around the pier and fort.” Cat 7 “Mosque of a Thousand Columns (re-used ancient elements)” but doesn’t think it was originally an adapted church, although possibly built from church remains. Cat 24 for Street Colonnade, in the Centre/Attarin, often mentioned by travellers, but which disappeared after the 1840s, nobody knows where. Cat 25 for the “Attarin Mosque (set of re-used ancient elements)” often mentioned by travellers, but destroyed in 1830. Cats 72–76 for the waterfront, and various submerged ruins, including fragments of columns.

several hundred, were popular for this reason – although whether their re-use indicated any particular attachment to the antique⁵ is doubtful.

Dismantling to destruction is a pattern also to be seen in the West, as country living took prominence over town living. The whole “package” interacted, to the detriment of the building stock. Roads declined because there was less long-distance trade, and presumably travel itself became dangerous; the water-supply and its storage lacked maintenance (as Mac Carthy discovered at Tripoli in 1819),ⁱⁱⁱ as did buildings and city walls, which were only occasionally repaired after earthquakes (as at Antioch);^{iv} drought was less easily handled. A half-way house is described by Carette in Algeria, with ruined Roman towns being the focus for the burial of Moslem saints, for markets, and as a convenient quarry for building materials.^v

For the most important structures in all growing and important towns, antique blocks were probably imported over great distances, as we learn from Muqaddasi's account of the building of the Al-Aqsa Mosque.^{vi} This might also have been the case, for reasons of prestige, with at least some of the columns of Kairouan, for we know that the tiles and marble for the mihrab certainly came from Baghdad.⁶ Other local antique structures were perhaps used for early Moslem buildings near Kairouan,^{vii} including the building of a spectacular minaret^{viii} that sounds similar to Pisa's Leaning Tower. Tissot locates other sites near Kairouan which he says provided material, although he gives no evidence.^{ix} Similarly, the adjacent settlements surely fed the city with building materials, and Al-Dimashki reports on their ruination by the 13th century.^x Several surviving funerary stelai seem to be cut from ancient blocks.⁷ Of course, subsequent re-use benefitted from the marbles already imported great distances by the original Roman builders, as for example was the case

⁵ Dangles 2004, 191 for fortress of Qalat Al-Mudiq near Aleppo: La présence en remploi de nombreux fragments sculptés [ex theatre seats] confirme la valeur symbolique attaché aux pierres antiques.

⁶ Tabli 1966, 253 at Kairouan, mihrab: Les carreaux de Chine qui la parent furent initialement importés pour servir à une salle de réception qu'Abu Ibrahim désirait aménager. De Baghdad on avait également importé pour lui du bois de teck destiné à confectionner des luths à son intention. Il en fit une chaire pour la mosquée. Il fit de même venir d'Irak, sous la forme de panneaux de marbre préalablement taillés, la niche de prière qu'il disposait dans la mosquée de Kairouan. Il se servit ensuite des carreaux dont il fut question pour orner la face de cette niche. Un homme de Baghdad lui en fabriqua d'autres qu'il ajouta aux premiers.

⁷ De Carthage à Kairouan 1982: presumably the stelai from Kairouan are recut antiquities, namely columns (cats 280, 281 and 284 (dated 866, 944 and 1048), and the prismatic stelai cut from ?entablatures, such as 282, 283 and 285 (dated 1034, 1044 and 1048/9)).

at Volubilis.⁸ But we should not assume that it was only such dismantling that destroyed ancient-now-mediaeval landscape, since archaeology itself is complicit therein, as Lemaire explains.⁹

Population Levels and Ancient Buildings

Smaller Populations in the Middle Ages

But why were so many ancient buildings available for re-use or demolition? Without smaller populations lacking manpower and perhaps skill, and often living under new social conditions in new villages or shrunken sections of ancient towns, ancient infrastructure, services and buildings might have survived in even larger quantities. But from late antiquity the general practice was to deplete the existing building stock for new structures, and leave what was left to further decay. For example, building declined in Epirus and Macedonia.¹⁰ Even with a population decline, scholars see renewed signs of vitality from the 8th century,¹¹ with consequences for the surviving monuments. Although we have no figures to prove the case (whereas there is much evidence on Roman building and re-building),¹² and in spite of necessary caveats,¹³ it is very likely that the numbers of sedentary inhabitants within our Crescent declined after Antiquity. And it is certain that in most areas any interest in living in town also declined, together with long-distance trade, which itself had an impact on the maintenance of communications.¹⁴ The trend is now of course in reverse, as in the province of Ramallah.¹⁵

⁸ Antonelli 2009, fig. 13 for map.

⁹ Lemaire 1997, 15–17: “Archaeology and the destruction of the landscape” – his comments often valid for our Crescent.

¹⁰ Sodini 2007, 311–336 for Macedonia and Epirus: prosperity there in 4thC and early 5thC, but thereafter 540–550 invasions and plague accentuated a decline, building quality declines, and “contacts were few and highly regionalized.”

¹¹ Delogu 1999, 256: “The Mediterranean did not become an underdeveloped area as a consequence of the disintegration of the Roman world. Although a contraction of social and economic life may have taken place on its shores in connection with the collapse of the Roman system and with islamic expansion, from the end of the eighth century symptoms of new political and commercial vitality appear” – viz in both Islam and Byzantium.

¹² Winter 1996, 338–59 for Roman Asia Minor: a very useful chart detailing building work, by whom, where, new/restoration, motives for work, financing, and source material. Ibid. 188–92 for building afresh, and restoration work.

¹³ Kulikowski 2006, 133: “the slackening of monumental construction, as well as the decline of the epigraphic habit, are not a priori signs of decline.”

¹⁴ E.g. Schneider 1999, 43–47 at Elaiussa Sebaste: Sebaste Bizantina.

¹⁵ Al-Houdalieh et al. 2009.

This is not to deny that some Moslem towns blossomed, and expanded their structures, such as the Mosque at Al Kufah, re-using more antiquities in the process.^{xⁱ} But against this is to be set evidence of near-desertification, for example in Palestine.^{xⁱⁱ} The smaller forts built with re-used materials within earlier enceintes surely indicates this,¹⁶ as it does in Western Europe.

But there seem to have been exceptions. Archaeology has suggested, however, that sites such as Corinth survived longer than was previously believed,¹⁷ and to have almost prospered from the 9th–12th centuries,¹⁸ as perhaps the antiquities at Acro-Corinth demonstrate, substantial in the 1840s^{xⁱⁱⁱ} and still so two decades later.^{x^{iv}} (Certainly, extensive surveys on a par with work done for Rome would be helpful.)¹⁹ Churches were being re-faced in the Cyrenaica as late as the 6th century²⁰ – and it has been argued that a church was still functioning at Caesarea into the 8th century,²¹ after which it was perhaps stripped of its marble for a mosque.²² Mérida apparently prospered, but on

¹⁶ Foss 1975, 747: “2. I see no reason to subscribe to the notion sometimes advanced that the sudden contraction in the size of cities indicates not a reduction in the population but a change of fashion by which only the most important parts of the city would be included within the fortification walls. The examples of Sardis, Ephesus and Ancyra are most instructive in this respect. In these cases, new walls built in the Dark Ages left outside their circuit areas of the ancient city which had been completely abandoned, not densely populated residential sections; the remains are unambiguous. Certainly, the new walls or fortresses would serve as places of refuge for the local populations which lived not behind them but scattered in settlements in the environs.”

¹⁷ Pettegrew 2008, suggests long-term prosperity in certain areas, certainly in the 5th and 6thC, with widespread rebuilding; and “extensive ex-urban civic and social structures live on to a later date, even into the 7th or 8th century” (260) – though trade declined from the late 6thC. Cf also Robertson Brown 2010.

¹⁸ Sanders 2002, for Corinth: the Roman city declined with earthquakes in 365 and 373 and burned by Goths in 395/6. Reckons population may have grown from 2–3000 in 9thC to a peak of 15–20,000 in 12thC – which is the period when the workshop quarter in the forum is built.

¹⁹ Spera 1999, for a survey between the Latina and Ardeatina, from the walls to the third mile. A model for what should be done elsewhere. Records everything, detailed and well-illustrated – a catalogue of evidence followed by surveys down the centuries. Concludes 464 by emphasising a cultura di riutilizzo. 441 estimates population in later 5thC at not more than 500,000.

²⁰ Bonacasa Carra 2006: building refaced in 6thC, and earlier well incorporated into the complex.

²¹ Magness 2003, 213 for Caesarea, and the octagonal church or martyrion erected in early 6thC on top of the temple platform overlooking the harbour: “The apparent depiction of this monument as the central feature in the mosaic floor of the Church of St. Stephen at Umm er-Rasas in Jordan suggests that it continued to function as a church at least into the eighth century, when the mosaic was laid.”

²² Holm 2004, for the octagonal martyrion, then church, “decorated inside and out with costly imported marble,” with originally eight pairs of marble columns, robbed out

a lower population base,²³ with plenty of antiquities to re-use,^{xv} and Saragossa presumably walled herself with marble antiquities, if we are to believe Al-Dimashki^{xvi} – unless this was only lime-plaster, with which her buildings were covered.^{xvii}

Nevertheless, population in our Crescent was probably lower (until 1900?) than it had been in Antiquity. In the Maghreb, for example, even in spite of the Arab invasions, agriculture suffered as much as the monuments, as Ibn Khaldun explains;^{xviii} and he observed similar effects in Syria.^{xix} In part of Tunisia, Daux in 1869 counted more than three hundred important ancient sites, now reduced to twenty-five Arab towns, and about thirty other settlements – “le reste de la population vit sous la tente ou dans des huttes.”^{xx} At Nicaea in the earlier 19th century, crops were sown within the walls. And as Vignon notes in 1887, Tunisia’s soil would support a larger population than it currently contained.^{xxi}

Growing Towns, Diminishing Antiquities

Towns with growing populations routinely continued to enhance their splendour from nearby or distant ancient remains, especially during the 19th century, as they had sometimes done since the Middle Ages. The difficulty is that there is little documentation about such population moves and fluctuations, so that it is difficult to know that impact they might have had on the antiquities. This is the case in Ottoman Greece from the 15th to the 17th centuries.²⁴ Military and colonial occupation occasioned great changes, as forts and whole new towns were developed to house the soldiery, as well as imported “overflow” or penurious settlers – a process seen in Algeria from the 1840s, or in Libya (long popular with Italian travellers,²⁵ but the first connections were commercial)²⁶ from 1911. Wars also caused populations to fluctuate, as can be seen from the late Roman

perhaps for the later mosque, together with green decorative stone. Evidence of earthquake collapse, perhaps in 749.

²³ Alba Calzado 2001: the medina occupied about one third of the Roman town. The 8th and 9thC occupation continues the past, re-using several Roman and Visigothic buildings. Cruz 2006, 171–202 for Visigothic habitation with plenty of re-used marble blocks in 6th–7thC, abandonment in 8thC, but reoccupied again in the emiral and caliphal periods.

²⁴ Bintliff 2007: his figs 11.1, 11.2 & 11.6 for populations in Boiotia in 1466, 1570 and 1687/8, show great influx of Albanians by 1570 – but these have declined by 1687/8; and Thebes (1497 families in 1570 as against 487 in 1466) is now down to 689. Same vol, 1–24 for editors’ explanation of how (1) “post-Byzantine era in Greece remains a poor stepchild of classical archaeology.”

²⁵ Pasqualini 2007.

²⁶ Ghisleri 1928, 78–87 for Tripoli and the Italian republics.

and Byzantine village of Rafid, on the Golan, re-abandoned most recently following the 1973 war.²⁷

Carthage & Tunis

A good example of the symbiotic relationship between old and new is provided by Carthage, which diminished as Tunis grew, prompting El-Bekri to make a word-play concerning the re-use of its marble.^{xxii} So intense was the re-use that by the early 20th century Boissière was walking on marble dust, not remains,^{xxiii} and observing some of what had once been there in modern walls.^{xxiv} The growing nearby city filled its mosques with antiquities,^{xxv} and perhaps sought to strip materials from Carthage to prevent their possible war use by Louis IX in 1270.^{xxvi} And, although the standing monuments proved difficult to demolish,^{xxvii} this spelled continuing destruction for the antiquities of Carthage, as several mournful entries in Gauckler's catalogue of mosaics make clear,^{xxviii} underlined by the experience of field-walking there,^{xxix} and reading mediaeval descriptions of large monuments then surviving.²⁸ Pellissier believes that, together with export to Genoa,^{xxx} the growth of Tunis was responsible – and certainly, Ottoman buildings in Tunis also helped deplete the site.²⁹ Methodical digging was taking place there by the mid-1830s, and the English already abstracting antiquities in their ships^{xxxi} – and able to extract mosaics because earlier robbers had taken no interest in them,³⁰ any more than they had at Aradi, near Hammamet³¹ – or any more than did the Turks in Hagia Sophia.^{xxxii} The late antique walls of Carthage, said to be of marble, and standing in the 14th century, probably along with other monuments,^{xxxiii} were dismantled presumably for the marble of which they were constructed. Indeed, for Arvieux in the mid-17th century, as for Carthage, “qui a donné tant d'épouvante et tant d'occupation aux Romains ne paroît plus. On la recherche au milieu d'elle-meme sans la trouver.”^{xxxiv} Indeed, all that remained by the 1670s of “the Beauty and Majesty of this City” (at least visible on the surface) was rubble, and “not one pillar or stone of any note,” as Covell relates.^{xxxv} At least part of the city was to be found underwater,^{xxxvi} as was Salacta.³²

²⁷ Urman 2006, 269–290.

²⁸ Sebāi 2002, identifies this structure as a church.

²⁹ Saadaoui 2001, 304–7 for stone for Tunis; 305–6 for search for antique pieces, especially during early Ottoman times. “Cette quête des matériaux antiques concernait les pierres de taille affectées aux soubassements des minarets, les blocs de marbre retaillés et consacrés au parement et au dallage, et surtout les colonnes pour les salles de prière.” Author believes main supply site still Carthage. Parts of a Roman aqueduct were also dismantled during this period for building materials.

³⁰ Maguire 2005: substantial remains in a once-magnificent 6thC basilica at Bir Ftouha, Carthage, indicating a lack of interest in them by plunderers.

³¹ Abed Ben Khader 2004.

³² Slim et al. 2004, 145–7 for Salacta, where walls are visible more than 20m into the water.

*Marble: The Stamp of Greece and Rome**A Profusion of Antiquities*

The Greeks of the classical and Hellenistic periods were the first to demonstrate on a large scale what could be done with marble – a highly symbolic material,³³ by building structures which have been thoroughly studied.³⁴ These survived well because of the durability of the material – and our travellers could easily observe how badly inferior stones had worn.^{xxxvii} After the Greeks the Romans, by means of trade, communications, colonisation, military requirements and their concomitant needs, imposed a marble and stone stamp on the landscape of our Crescent, with a city culture,³⁵ and flamboyant marble tombs.³⁶ This was not to be rivalled in most areas – for which, read in some cases “obliterated” – until well into the 19th century.

To conceive how splendid Roman cities were, archaeology and reconstructions are necessary.³⁷ Just what the relationship was between Romanisation and the existing cultures on which it was imposed is still a matter for discussion.³⁸ But the presence of marble, this versatile stone³⁹ and columns were sufficient to indicate to any traveller that an antique city or other complex was at hand.^{xxxviii} And some structures were intended to make an impact: the specific stones apparently chosen, at least in Asia Minor, by the commissioners and not the architects, often at great cost.⁴⁰ So impressive were their buildings (which stretched even to Mesopotamia)^{xxxix} that Al-Tabari tells of the Persian King forcing a Roman from

³³ Fischer 1996, 251: “Marble seems to have become a symbol of the linkage between Rome and the provinces.”

³⁴ Hellmann 2002 for sections on financing, quarries, chantiers; see especially chap 6, 82–102: *La vie d'un chantier*; and chap 6, 103–120: *L'élévation d'un bâtiment*.

³⁵ Kulikowski 2006, 132: “Urbanization and Romanization were interchangeable phenomena, inasmuch as becoming Roman meant creating a Roman-style townscape.”

³⁶ Cormack 1997, 153 manifestations of Romanisation include imported construction techniques and the increased use of marble.

³⁷ Golvin 2003 – excellent set of keyed drawings/reconstructions of ancient sites, with short explanations. Laronde & Golvin 2001 for Roman Africa – good maps, and especially useful for its views of ruins, facing drawn reconstructions of them.

³⁸ Hingley 2005, 14–48 for romanization and social change from various points of view, discussing attitudes in the West from the 19thC onwards, and especially in recent scholarship.

³⁹ Rapp 2002: 127–31 for marble; 243–73: Building, monumental and statuary materials; with 267–73 on weathering & decomposition.

⁴⁰ Barresi 2003, 94–108, including overview of quarries; 151–204 for estimated costings for various monuments.

Antioch to build for him,⁴¹ and tradition has the Persians vacuuming up columns and other marbles from all over the Near East.⁴²

Indeed, so many stones came to Rome from the quarries – a true embarrassment de richesses – that columns dropped overboard for some reason near Ostia were not even recovered.⁴³ Such profusion was to be seen in the mediaeval landscape. Just as was Al-Maqrizi by the remains in Egypt in his day,⁴⁴ so many later travellers, such as Volney near Alexandria,⁴⁵ Rozet in Algeria,⁴⁶ or Maspero in Tunisia,⁴⁷ were amazed by the sheer extent and variety of the ruins they saw, stretching across now-deserted landscapes. In Tunisia, for example, ruins abounded even in the 1860s.⁴⁸ And in Algeria the Duc d'Orléans was especially taken by Cuicul, because it had no Byzantine accretions from the late Empire.⁴⁹ He would certainly have known about Byzantine rebuilds from antiquities,⁵⁰ and must have deduced Byzantine respect for earlier monuments,⁵¹ since the French army was doing much the same, and sometimes in haste, as when they secured Alexandria⁵² – although the locals found plenty to take to the kilns in succeeding decades.⁵³

Continuing Amazement

Moslems and others visited ancient monuments in our Crescent long before Westerners, and admired them.⁵⁴ But then cultural tourism is ancient, and some Islamic princes were indeed interested in the classical as well as the more recent past,⁵⁵ as is of course evident from Islamic re-use of classical motifs and materials.⁵⁶ Sometimes, however, such interest was laced with a keen eye for booty, as when Chosroes – establishing a track-record of dismantling churches for their marble⁵⁷ – visited Apamea⁵⁸ and was said to have carried off columns from the Antioch/Aleppo region.⁵⁹ Indeed, the marble dazzled almost everyone – for just as they had not necessarily seen any ancient remains at home, so also the same could be true of luxurious stones. In fact, some of the finest of marbles

⁴¹ Baccini Leotardi 1989, for 132 pieces found recently in the Fiumicino canal (Fosso del Fiumicino), and now with the Soprintendenza in Ostia. She concludes they are from shiploads part-lost because of the current, difficulty of manoeuvring, etc. The blocks include 38 africano, 10 pavonazzetto, 14 cipollino, 8 portasanta, 4 giallo antico, 5 alabaster, and the rest various.

⁴² Kaldellis 2009, 178–191: Ancient ruins and the Byzantine beholder: a view of the “sights” in Greece.

⁴³ Finster 2001, 373–389 for an overview of Islamic use of classical art and architecture, and review of the literature. 378 and fig 3 for the classical capitals re-used in Qasr ak-Hair al-Garbi, now Damascus Museum.

were rarely to be found in North Africa, because their quarries were imperial property, and the luxurious stone was exported to Rome,^{lvi} some of it eventually to be re-used in Ravenna, a later imperial capital.⁴⁴

Both lavishness and size were generally admired. At Baalbek, from a report of 1225, perhaps the giant columns named the “people of the columns” who lived there.^{lvii} In 1858, in the plain of Tyre, Azaïs & Domergue were similarly captivated by the remains they saw there.^{lviii} Spoilsports such as Horace Vernet found such an interest in gigantism trivial,^{lix} yet as early as the 10th century, commentators marvelled at huge constructions such as Baalbek,^{lx} and praised its “marble,”^{lxi} some of it no doubt part of the Moslem additions.⁴⁵ Later travellers praised the buildings built from the temples’ remains,^{lxii} including the great Saracen wall,^{lxiii} in a similar way to how Ludolph of Suchem praised the walls of Rhodes.^{lxiv} Indeed, in an ominous pre-echo, the Crusaders had admired the antiquities of Rhodes before those walls were built.^{lxv} Crusaders must have seen many, but they wrote of few – a mistake corrected later, when some travellers listed both pagan and Christian remains there.^{lxvi} And some of our early travellers admired churches for their marble, not mentioning (or knowing? Or caring?) that they were seeing antiquities in re-use.^{lxvii}

In Egypt⁴⁶ as well, Abd Al-Latif was struck by the Pharaonic remains at Memphis^{lxviii} – as was Al-Dimashki at Akhmin, although he attributed the work to the Copts.^{lxix} This might not have been unusual, since the Fatimids were already interested in the Pharaonic past.⁴⁷ For Webster in 1830, the sheer scale of what was to be seen outmatched anything in Italy.^{lxx} These monuments seemed to be inexhaustible, with plenty left in the 15th century,^{lxxi} although much had been removed for building elsewhere and some was to be seen in modern Cairo.^{lxxii}

The wider Ottoman Empire also provided plenty of ruined ancient towns, and admiration for antiquities^{lxxiii} went hand-in-hand (of course) with taking their materials for re-use (as happened in Cairo).⁴⁸ The dilemma was just as grave elsewhere, as Flinders Petrie pointed out in 1918.^{lxxiv}

As late as 1847, Castlereagh tells us of the “days of Syrian splendour” evoked by the remains he saw.^{lxxv} De Saulcy reports in 1853 on splendid structures on the shores of Lake Tiberias.^{lxxvi} Lucas was similarly astonished in 1704 by giant columns near Lattakia,^{lxxvii} much larger than the colonnades in the town itself,^{lxxviii} and impressed by a church outside the town.^{lxxix} The

⁴⁴ Zanolto 2007, Catalogues the re-use in Ravenna by building. Re-use not just economics, but a way of emphasising the imperial importance of the city.

⁴⁵ Gaube 1998, for a useful overview, well illustrated and noted.

⁴⁶ Bagnall & Rathbone 2004 for an overview from Alexander to the Copts.

⁴⁷ Cannuyer 1999, for Fatimid interest in Pharaonic Egypt – a well-referenced overview.

⁴⁸ El-Masry 1991: for marble-rich buildings constructed after the Turkish takeover of Cairo.

harbour outside the town was also rich in re-used column-shafts,^{lxxx} Guérin being amazed by their profusion, and attributing their use to the Moslems or Crusaders.^{lxxxi} Equally, the modern buildings of which were clearly built with antiquities, as Allard noted in 1864.^{lxxxii} A little later, a large church to the south, at Tortosa/Tarus, is described,^{lxxxiii} which Maundrell reckoned in 1697 was restorable.^{lxxxiv} And one traveller (D'Estournel in 1844) fancied he could tell the nature of the monument among whose detritus he was walking by the nature of the marble fragments.^{lxxxv}

Untouched Remains, Abandoned Towns

In our Crescent, then, a popular refrain right up to the early 20th century was not only how many monuments remained, but also how Roman the landscapes still looked, even if in ruins – sanctuaries, towns and agricultural hinterland, practically untouched by encroaching sedentary civilization. Some of these were identified in Algeria by the French in the 1830s,^{lxxxvi} and aerial photography has helped chart settlement patterns.⁴⁹ After all, very large numbers of Roman sites have survived and been identified in recent decades.⁵⁰ But many were not discovered by our travellers, and this in itself was confusing, for example in efforts to discover “Troy,” which was of course a popular occupation in the 18th and 19th centuries,^{lxxxvii} somewhat helped by industrious Turkish excavations to discover reusable antique blocks.^{lxxxviii} New settlements often grew up near Roman installations, as in Syria,⁵¹ or indeed new imperial towns such as Bougie,^{lxxxix} refurbished if not rebuilt from the Qal’a,⁵² so that travellers could describe ancient roads and monuments, as at Announa,^{xc} and sometimes paint lyrical pictures of renewal.^{xci} Again, locals could speak of ancient cities almost perfectly preserved,^{xcii} and archaeologists could dig at sites sometimes untouched by extensive recent occupation.⁵³ Some sites, indeed, formed “tells” containing centuries of Roman and Byzantine occupation.^{xciii}

⁴⁹ Morizot 1997, for the Aurès: summarises 276–279 prosperity at the end of antiquity, but 280–284 dwindling of urbanization after the Arab conquest.

⁵⁰ Poulter 2002: his main example is from Bulgaria. 252: in Veliko Turnovo county, c. 2000 sq km, in Bulgaria, 268 Roman and late Roman sites have been identified.

⁵¹ Hamarneh 2003, 45–94 for Syria: I villaggi sorti presso i castra romani, with a catalogue 247–258.

⁵² Idris 1962, 499–504 for Bougie to the Qal’a.

⁵³ Camp 2001, 247–70 for site summaries in Athens, 271–318 for site summaries throughout Attica.

A principal reason for the survival of antique towns was that so many of them had been left to decay – to transform⁵⁴ – during the Middle Ages, as populations dropped and commerce disappeared,⁵⁵ with only scant occupation of the ancient remains, as at Hippo,⁵⁶ and the degradation or re-use of non-mediaeval building types such as theatres.⁵⁷ Nevertheless, vast quantities of ancient temples disappeared over the centuries.⁵⁸ The current belief is that classical city-types were replaced by something new, for example in North Africa.⁵⁹ Elsewhere, the picture is more confused,⁶⁰ but it seems clear that in Asia Minor, for example, most towns remained unoccupied after their collapse. Certainly, many earthquakes claimed large numbers of victims⁶¹ – and presumably towns. In Syria, however, any decline has been found to be less severe than previously stated.⁶²

⁵⁴ Delogu 1999, 244 on the project entitled the Transformation of the Roman World: “The title invites us to give up categories like decay and its opposite, progress, in order to qualify historical processes.”

⁵⁵ Schreiner 1999. NB his maps reprinted from Jones and Vryonis of cities in Asia Minor: enormous number from the classical period; but Vryonis’ map of the first half of 11thC shows perhaps a tenth of the Roman quantity.

⁵⁶ Laporte 2005.

⁵⁷ Lavan Objects 2007, 129–157 – bibliographical essay dealing with monumental streets, baths, and “entertainment buildings.” Useful listing 153 of repairs to theatres known from various sources – epigraphy, literature, archaeology.

⁵⁸ Hahn 2008, 337 in Alexandria “of almost 2,500 temples, barely two dozen can be verified by name.”

⁵⁹ Leone 2007, 167–279 for Byzantine N Africa: processes of transformation, with any “urban strategy” disappearing from the late 6thC. Table 14, 239–279 for transformations, refurbishments, fortifications, abandonments. 287 concludes that “cities declined from the point of view of their classical function, but were then transformed into new settlements following (most of the time) a controlled process of devolution/evolution and re-adaptation” – i.e. she has it both ways?

⁶⁰ Kennedy 1998, 55 in Andalucia “some cities thrived while others disappeared or shifted their sites.” 57 “These changes happened over a long period of time... Continuity of occupation did not necessarily mean continuity of urban life” – so little is known about Visigothic cities, and “no major urban church has been discovered in its entirety.” In Andalucia, some ancient street plans survive, others are lost. 60: In Syria, public open spaces and buildings transformed for commerce and industry. Bourghades prosper while larger cities decline.

⁶¹ Guidoboni & Ebel 2009, table 10.1 for earthquakes with at least 10,000 victims, from AD 1000 to today.

⁶² Magness 2003, 195–214 answers the chapter title “Did Syria-Palestine decline in the mid-sixth century?” with a resounding NO, concluding 214 that “the archaeological evidence contradicts Kennedy’s claim that Syria and Palestine suffered a dramatic decline in population and prosperity beginning in the mid-sixth” – quite the reverse. This prompts any reader to enquire why anyone should in the first place have believed Kennedy’s dictum, if it does indeed contradict the evidence – unless the evidence has only recently come to light, in which case it was too early for dicta. Tate 1992, especially 303–330: une seconde expansion (330–550) and 333–342: Crise ou stagnation? (550–610) – believes any crisis translated here into stagnation and pauperisation, rather than decline.

Ironically, of course, the more prosperous the ancient settlements actually were, the less likely it is that anything beyond their building skeletons would remain, since reusable materials would have been abstracted.⁶³ It is sometimes excavation that leads to revised conclusions,⁶⁴ sometimes a study of Islamic sources and evidence on the ground,^{xciiv} sometimes a new perspective provided by ancient historians,⁶⁵

Dismantling the Mediaeval Landscape

The Roman landscape, marked by its monuments and services (such as centuriation – recognised only in the early 19th century,⁶⁶ in spite of its sometimes being visible from the ground,⁶⁷ and being widespread – as for example around Tunis)⁶⁸ was the visible expression of empire.⁶⁹ We naturally possess more information about its destruction – or should that be transformation?⁷⁰ – than we do about its original state, sometimes from legislation,⁷¹ sometimes from the odd document.⁷² Many of the travellers

⁶³ Pensabene, including catalogue of elements, and illustrations. A limited “marmorizzazione” compared with Leptis Magna or Sabratha, probably for lack of finance.

⁶⁴ Ladstätter & Pülz 2007, 428 in spite of the upbeat tone of the paper, conclude that it took “decades” to clear away the 3rdC destructions, and restoration did not get going until late 4thC, and even then the population was lower, and decline is visible in public monuments as well as in Christian architecture.

⁶⁵ Liebeschuetz 2006, 476–8 concludes that whether one sees transformation or decline depends on a viewpoint, the latter view seeing modern societies as inferior to classical ones – whereas today “we no longer consider the disappearance of the classical world an unmitigated disaster.”

⁶⁶ Troussset 1994, 70–81: by Falbe, Consul-General of Denmark in the Régence: he made a map, showing some centuriations around the peninsula of Carthage – and reading Appian 1.3.24 convinced him these were foundation of Caesar’s colony.

⁶⁷ Tate 1992, I, 230–9 for cadastration in northern Syria, with several of his images aerial ones; but his two images of Gebel Has (figs 274–5) show that centuriation was also visible from the ground – but no early travellers appear to have noticed it.

⁶⁸ Chevallier 1961, for aerial photographs and maps.

⁶⁹ Hingley 2005, 1–13 for an overview of “Globalizing Roman culture”; author’s aim is to provide 2 “an up-to-date review of useful approaches that have been developed to explain the ways that material culture related to ‘Roman’ identity.”

⁷⁰ Noble 1999, for a description of the project, and a report card. Kardulias 2005, for Isthmia, 1–11: “The problem: transition or collapse?” Aillagon 2008: exhibition catalogue with short introductions. Liebeschuetz 2001, 284–317 for “Decline and the beginnings of renewal in the East.”

⁷¹ Emmel 2008, on the destruction of temples in Egypt, 180: “The general tendency of the anti-pagan legislation of Arcadius and Honorius is clearly a desire to appropriate temple buildings for public use, while at the same time recognizing a precedent for the destruction of pagan cult images and altars.”

⁷² E.g. Hubert 2007, 130: In Rome, the Baths of Nero still in use at end of 5thC, but abandoned by the 9thC; Baths of Caracalla restored late 5th-early 6thC, but the others go

who much later reported on it were complicit in that destruction, while others chronicled a population expansion that obliterated much more than did the souvenir-hunters and archaeologists, some of whom, such as Stéphane Gsell, briefly catalogued material in re-use.^{xcv} Photographs taken during early archaeological expeditions, such as that to Baalbek in 1902–1904, are instructive in showing just how much has been dismantled (and photographed with substantial walls, and large numbers of collapsed blocks) in the past century.⁷³ But again, it is the contrast between European landscapes and our Crescent which impressed travellers. In Europe, the Roman landscape began to disappear with increasing speed as the pressure of people (pre-Black Death and then post-Renaissance) whittled away both the monuments and much of the landscape in which they sat, so that the common use of columns and other ancient monuments as markers in mediaeval charters^{xcvi} disappeared with the monuments themselves. Different ways of living, and different trade patterns, also had a knock-on effect on the survival or obliteration of ancient towns, as in Spain,⁷⁴ or indeed Italy, where at Venosa large quantities of antique pieces are scattered through the mediaeval town.⁷⁵ Given earthquakes, wars and ruination, our mediaeval forbears must have been very used to living cheek-by-jowl with ruins – whether permanent, being dismantled, or being rebuilt.

Marble and Mortar

Building in Brick

Marble and other stonez are far from being the only possible structural building materials, and the Romans generally built the skeleton in brick/

out of use [and what does “restored” mean here?]. A 602 letter of Gregory the Great is the last known reference to a public and secular bath.

⁷³ Krencker & Zschietzschmann 1938, e.g. Hosn Sfiri, Hibbariye, Der el Ashair (which is shown in Abb. 396 with dwelling attached), Kalat Fakra (where the temple has been put back up with considerable anastylosis). In some cases, such as Hosn Niha (Abb. 138) the blocks were surely too large to move. Der el Kala has a church built into the temple, columns in antis of which are still standing (Abb. 1–6 & Taf. 2, 117).

⁷⁴ Sillières 1990, 606–608: in Spain the Reconquista means some old centres abandoned, and new ones established – with a new road network.

⁷⁵ Todisco 1996, for Venosa: pl. 76 for plan keyed to the photographs of Venosa showing 29 locations in Venosa itself (of which the Abbey of S. Trinità is only one) wherein antiquities were re-used.

tile or concrete, and used marble for the cladding and decoration. When they or the Greeks used large stone blocks, these presented a problem for later centuries, requiring much work to move and/or recut. Hence there is a preference in the Middle Ages for small building-blocks, and mortar is necessary for this purpose, whether they are brick, stone or marble. Building with very large blocks requires no mortar – vide antique temples etc passim – so the use of mortar in large quantities is in itself a departure from at least some antique practices. At Sardis, it was the removed marble which provided for the c. 660 refurbishment – and fed a lime kiln there.⁷⁶

Bricks and tiles were themselves easily recycled, as we shall see – but fresh mortar had to be provided, and its manufacture required sending marble to the kilns to make good lime. In this sense brick is a complementary or alternative building material to marble, the two being united in that marble can feed brick construction because it makes the best lime for building in brick. We should be aware, therefore, that building in brick had a knock-on effect on marble antiquities, and that kilns probably consumed huge quantities of them – statues and reliefs probably most of all, because white marble makes the best mortar.

If many antique buildings had often had walls built of large blocks, and roofs partly supported by columns, all managed without mortar but usually with lead or iron clamps, building in brick required other techniques, and was in fact much more sturdy and long-lasting than marble in some climates.^{xcvii} Before Augustus left Rome built of marble, so to speak, the structures were made out of brick or tile, the units held apart or stuck together (whichever theology of bricklaying one prefers) by very large quantities of mortar. Much of the marble would be hung against such brick walls like pictures – so little wonder that recyclers treated such cladding as precisely that, and perhaps even named mosques in gratitude for the materials burnt near it and for it.^{xcviii}

⁷⁶ Foss 1974, 737–738: “The highway through the centre of the city was rebuilt, paved now with cobblestones instead of marble. It was constructed directly over the ruins of the old colonnade and shops, and lime for its bedding was made in a kiln in one of the abandoned rooms of the gymnasium from the marble decoration of the complex.” The city was destroyed by the Persians in 616.

Brick was much in demand for mediaeval building in the East^{xcix} and possibly in Spain.⁷⁷ Taking it from the excavations seems to have been a perk for the local workmen in the late 1890s at Assos.^c And it was not only Roman structures⁷⁸ which provided the materials – witness the degradation of Ctesiphon,^{ci} where the marble and mosaic which were a Roman diplomatic gift from Justinian I⁷⁹ presumably vanished long before the bricks which supported them. Because villagers mined it for bricks, Babylon was a dangerous site since collapses were frequent, as Rich comments in 1818.^{cii} This was the city which supplied the bricks with which Baghdad was built,^{ciii} and observably so, as Pietro della Valle reports.^{civ} However, he did not visit Babylon itself, considering the trip itself too dangerous, because of robbers^{cv} – only one of the various kinds of dangers travellers might.^{cvi} Babylon was still being robbed out in 1840, and of stone slabs as well, for sale in Baghdad.^{cvii} Such bricks could also be used to smarten up mud-walled towns,^{cviii} to line canals for factories,^{cix} or even to build bridges, as at Basra.^{cx} Similar re-use happened, for example, in Georgia, where the Geguti Palace was effectively dismantled in the earlier 19th century, and monuments at Kutaisi before it.^{cx}

Stucco was to provide an important form of wall cladding both in mediaeval Europe and in Islam, and we probably know so much about it (in comparison with other cladding, including marble and tapestries) precisely because it itself could not be recycled, so tended to remain after the rest of buildings were stripped, as at Samarra – except for fragments of marble which were to be found on the ground, not just at Samarra itself,^{cxii} but in its region as well.^{cxiii} Were it to glisten,^{cxiv} good stucco required ground marble⁸⁰ and had to be thick were it to be worked into patterns. Ibn Khaldun describes the effects sought.^{cxv}

Occasionally we glimpse antiquities being prepared for the kilns. Presumably the marble sarcophagus found at Haidra, broken into ten-centimetre squares, was for the lime-kiln, rather than the work of an unnecessarily industrious iconoclast.^{cxvi} May we assume that such church-building often entailed burning up ancient marbles for lime? Garston in the Archipelago in 1825 thinks so, having witnessed temple columns carted off to adorn a monastery, and other elements burned for lime.^{cxvii}

A Plethora of Lime Kilns

Just like the stone-cutting workshop amidst the rubble of Ephesus,⁸¹ so the existence of lime kilns is a sign of continuing life via building construction: not of course of antique buildings, but of new structures,

⁷⁷ Araguas 2003, 28–9, 307–308 touches on Roman re-use in Spain, but has no definitive statement of large-scale re-use.

⁷⁸ Montelli 2006 for the re-use of antique bricks in S. Italy.

⁷⁹ Canepa 2008, 138.

⁸⁰ Nardini 2007, for ground marble in Venetian stuccoes. Montana 2002 for marble in Serpotta's stuccoes.

⁸¹ Landstätter & Pülz 2007, for Ephesus: some damaged houses were filled in with rubble, e.g. Terrace House 2, where a stone-cutting workshop was established (fig 17).

easier and quicker to build with mortar than in dry-stone precision fitting. Unfortunately, it was marble's characteristics which condemned so much of it to the kilns – so much for the immortality of the material.^{cxviii} Our travellers saw many limekilns in the course of their journeys, because they were most conveniently located in or very near ancient monuments, destroying antiquities (since the burnt lime weighed about one-third less than the introduced marble).

The few towns surviving without much post-antique change because of rampant robbing-out are very exceptional. Several show a distinct change over the past two hundred years. Thus in 1839 much remained of Stratonikea,^{cxix} a city much visited by travellers, being on a main road.⁸² But a modern block-by-block catalogue of its remains⁸³ shows how much subsequently went into nearby towns. It has been suggested that in North Africa prestigious materials were saved;⁸⁴ but this seems contradicted by the evidence from –for example – Ephesus, where the urban environment degrades, and kilns are markers for this.⁸⁵ Indeed, Tingitana is said to have declined to mere provincial importance as its urban fabric declined.⁸⁶

⁸² Özgan 1999, 12–20 for the history of study of the city, from Sheard in 1709 onwards.

⁸³ Mert 2008, for Stratonikeia. The rich survivals, in this well-illustrated catalogue, demonstrate just how much has been lost from most Hellenistic and Roman sites. 91: the number of blocks catalogued in theatre 98, Gymnasium 104, Bouleuterion 3, Temple 88, City Gate & Nymphaeum 33, etc. – 359 blocks in total. Marble is from local quarries. 207–211 of the Temple, with its 26 columns, 8 bases have survived, and 2 shafts, plus 3 fragments and 4 capitals. 251–272 for the City Gate, all four Corinthian capitals from the arched passageways survive, perhaps because they are 1.02m high and .80m in diameter. But the shafts have gone, including those for the Nymphaeum.

⁸⁴ Leone 2007, 213–217 for Byzantine North Africa: The Re-use of Building Materials and Lime Kilns: Evidence in the Decay of the Urban Fabric? Not decline, but choice: 216 in Byzantine period, re-use in private houses is haphazard, but for public works “suggests the presence of an organisation controlling the maintenance and re-use of building materials, especially marble decoration.”

⁸⁵ Pülz, A., Ephesos in spätantiker und byzantinischer Zeit, *Forum Archaeologiae* 53/XII/2009 (<http://farch.net>: Auch zur Nachnutzung des Byzantinischen Palastes gelangen wertvolle Erkenntnisse. So bietet ein Kalkbrennofen direkt an der südlichen Außenwand des Tetrakonchos aus dem 10.Jh. einen terminus ante quem für die Aufgabe des Palastes... Ebenfalls in mittel- bis spätbyzantinische Zeit datiert auch ein kleines Gräberfeld an der südlichen Langhauswand der Palastkapelle (Abb. 4). Bei den Gräbern handelt es sich um einfache Kisten, die aus Steinen, Marmorplattenfragmenten und Ziegelbruchstücken zusammengesetzt worden waren... massiven Überbauungen im Bereich der Palästra des Hafengymnasiums und der östlich vorgelagerten Verulanushallen dar. und peristyle houses in Hell-Roman tradition: die wie die Peristyle selbst sehr qualitativ dekoriert gewesen sind. Polychrome opus sectile Böden (Abb. 6–7) sowie mehrfarbige Mosaikpavimente zeugen Wandmalereien, die nur in spärlichen Resten erhalten blieben, von der ehemals exquisiten Ausstattung der Häuser und damit von der Prosperität ihrer Besitzer.

⁸⁶ Villaverde Vega 2001, 368 concludes that in Tingitana there was a decline of urban centres, and “una prima gran recesion de la romanidad” under the Empire, with reduction to peripheral status in the Late Empire.

Near Djerba, Leo Africanus described a poor village whose only income came from selling lime to Tripoli – lime made from the marbles of the nearby Roman town.^{cxx} Mármol, also in N. Africa, identifies town-walls as modern precisely because they are built with mortar.^{cxxi} At Tipasa, when fortification walls were building, kilns went in the middle of a cemetery – and immense quantities of lime were required for the task.⁸⁷ On Delos, there was a lime-kiln near the Temple of Apollo in 1851, as the inhabitants of nearby islands took their pick of materials.^{cxxii} Archaeologists have disinterred plenty of kilns, as at Ptolemais, within the City Bath and in other buildings⁸⁸ Lime means building, and by the 1880s there was little antique left at Tripoli beyond a few degraded columns on the beach,^{cxxiii} although plenty went into the town's streets and mosques.⁸⁹ Many scholars were happy to have antiquities pointed out to them, for example Mahaffy at Megalopolis in 1876,^{cxxiv} where the theatre was already a sorry sight three decades before, as Fiedler^{cxxv} and Ross^{cxxvi} relate. At Athens, Vimercati in 1849 mourned the loss of the stadium.^{cxxvii} Did theatres perhaps survive at Side^{cxxviii} and at Patara^{cxxix} (including most of its seats)⁹⁰ because there was no town nearby? At Epidauros, a private house took over a temple in the Middle Ages – accompanied by a lime kiln.^{cxxx} In 1880 Guérin noted a collection of materials ready for the kiln at Nabarta, in Palestine.^{cxxxi} In Greece, both Christians and Moslems put antiquities into the kilns.⁹¹

Lime kilns were to be seen on Anaphe in 1835, eating up the antiquities,^{cxxxii} and on Rhodes in 1852, doing likewise.^{cxxxiii} And we are told in 1842 that some of the drums of the Temple of Jupiter in Athens went to lime to make modern buildings.^{cxxxiv} (Presumably these were from domino-collapsed column drums, since 17 or 18 columns were standing in 1687, and 16 today.)⁹² Some rebuilding in 1830s Greece was the result of that country's recent troubles, as Urquhart relates – but statues were sent to the lime kilns to help the work along.^{cxxxv} For Jomard in 1818, the only blocks remaining in some Egyptian landscapes were the large ones too big to move, or useless for making lime.^{cxxxvi}

But on Samos, where antiquities were still being dug up in 1835, presumably for destruction or export,^{cxxxvii} there was surely no excuse for a lime kiln. This was at Tigani, set up where the marbles could most easily be brought to it – once again in the middle of the theatre.^{cxxxviii} Jomard reports the same at the amphitheatre at Antinoe in 1818,^{cxxxix} while five years later Henniker reports

⁸⁷ Baradez 1957, for Tipasa: 6 kilns, 5 of them averaging 200–300m from the port. All built in the middle of a cemetery, 1stC, and the kilns author suggests 145/146. 294: reckons the enceinte required 4000–7000 cubic metres of lime.

⁸⁸ Kraeling 1962, 253–256: furnace in Room 14 re-used as a lime kiln. For lime-burning in other buildings, cf. 148, 156–7, 159, 163, 168, 170, 172–3.

⁸⁹ Blas de Roblès 2005, 21–34 for re-use in Tripoli mosques and streets. 30–33 for spectacular sculpture from Leptis in Tripoli museum. 127–129 for Mussolini's arch at Charax (Medina Sultan) of 1940–42, with the frieze reliefs on the grass at the local museum.

⁹⁰ Millas 2005, 196 for aerial view of Patara theatre, with most seats and substantial parts of stage surviving intact.

⁹¹ Hamilakis 2007, 68–69.

⁹² Sacconi 1991, 115.

the site being robbed for materials for Siout/Asyut.^{cxl} Is this what happened near Tripoli in Libya, or is the traveller simply confused?^{cxli} Perhaps the port was still choked up as it had been when Pococke visited in the 1730s,^{cxlii} and hence the easiest way to deal with antiquities was to burn them. Viquesnel reports the same re-use of the theatre blocks at Erekli, disgusted that the local authorities have not stopped the practice.^{cxliii} Equally, what was the excuse for not using the quarries at Athens? Or indeed those near Olympia where, with some difficulty, the local aga plundered the site for his constructions?^{cxliv}

Statues to the Kilns

Unfortunately, the fact of lime-burning (and sometimes of the choicest marbles) assuaged some Western guilt about spiriting antiquities back home. The practice gave Hogarth what he considered an alibi for digging for and abstracting antiquities – the “lust of loot.” After all, anything left behind would only end up burned in the kilns.^{cxlv} Gregory uses the same alibi at Thebes in 1859.^{cxlvi} Certainly, much had disappeared since Wansleben’s description of the city in 1673.^{cxlvii} But given the dearth of marble in Syria, did its imported monumental decoration, including sarcophagi,⁹³ suffer disproportionately?

And of course statuary marble – the target of collectors – was easiest to deal with, and made high-quality lime^{cxlviii} – hence the host of surviving statue-bases for epigraphers to analyse, but with nothing atop them for the art historians. Nor was it only marble which was destroyed: in the East Cathedral at Bosra, presumably both the bronze workshop and the lime kiln were fed with antiquities from this structure and nearby.⁹⁴ The purer the marble, the better the lime.

Perhaps as early as late antiquity, unwanted statues went to make lime: is this perhaps what happened at Sagalassos?⁹⁵ On Crete, such kilns were still being set up in the 1860s,^{cxlix} and Spratt in 1865 tells of finding at Lebena only the foot of a colossal statue, the rest having gone to the kiln a few years previously.^{cl} But it was the “Minoans” who skewed out appreciation of that

⁹³ Butcher 2003, 203–211 for marble and other stones in Syria, including the necropolis at Tyre.

⁹⁴ Dentzer-Feydy 2007, 137–146 for the “East Cathedral” at Bosra, with materials re-used from Nabatean and Roman structures. 146 spoliation of this church for a bronze workshop on the site, including lime kiln to process marble fittings, at end of Omayyad period.

⁹⁵ Eck & Mägele 2008, for fragments of a colossal foot in Sagalassos, the notional reconstruction done from a comparable colossal statue in Charchell.

island.⁹⁶ Perhaps this is what happened at Paphos, on Cyprus, where the hand of a colossal statue was given to Clarke in 1817.^{clii} Nevertheless, colossal statues were still visible on Greek islands in the 1860s,^{cliii} and Hamilton found two near Teos in 1842, projecting slightly from the ground.^{cliii} Such colossi probably once existed – but did not survive – in large quantities.⁹⁷ Heude saw (a non-classical) one at Ctesiphon in 1819.^{cliv} At Eleusis in 1738–9, the colossal statue of the Goddess projected some seven feet from the ground.^{clv} Pococke noted one at Alexandria Troas in the 1730s.^{clvi} In 1701, Veryard mentions a colossal statue of Diana on Delos:^{clvii} did this really exist and, if so, what happened to it? Just why such statues survived is not clear – and equally unclear is the reason for the early Moslems throwing such a statue into the sea at Rhodes.^{clviii}

Antiquities Feed New Building

Deserted Towns as a Source

Although some sites remain virtually untouched to this day,^{clix} the largest change to the complexion of the mediaeval landscape was for local building activities. It seems likely that in many areas monuments survived well into the second millennium,^{clx} and began to suffer only as increased population and new building activity took their toll. Leake makes this basic point,^{clxi} and then proceeds to list sites which he found largely untouched because of their distance from current populations.^{clxii}

New cities devastated nearby ancient sites, such as Kavalla and Philippi, already being dismantled by the 1540s.^{clxiii} In Algeria Féraud – a resident, not a traveller – worked out that antiquities in the new town of M'sila came from the ancient site of Bechilga three kilometres away.^{clxiv} He tries to work out how materials could be transported over distance, and stands amazed by the richness of the re-used materials he finds in M'sila.^{clxv} Some sites which are today moderately prosperous were nearly-deserted in past centuries. An example is Bosra,⁹⁸ in Syria, where Roman structures on the main streets have been

⁹⁶ Cf. Pendlebury, J.D.S., *The archaeology of Crete: an introduction*, London 1939, 365–376 for three pages and a map on the Roman period, followed by a sketch-list of Roman sites – in a 400–page book, dedicated of course to the Minoans.

⁹⁷ Ruck 2007, 51–228 for cult statues, statues on columns, and arches. 221–272 for colossal statues in late antiquity. Concentrates on Rome.

⁹⁸ Meinecke 2005, 1–9.

rebuilt as houses, probably in the past century.^{clxvi} Here the Roman theatre was converted into a fortress,⁹⁹ and its architectural skeleton well-covered.¹⁰⁰ Indeed, this original use was not easily recognisable in the 19th century, even to Burckhardt, who certainly went inside^{clxvii} – although Bertou reckoned he had not.^{clxviii} The scenae frons and cavea, in fact, were not dug out until the late 1940s.¹⁰¹ Not far distant was Um El Jemal, which Graham found near-perfect, like an apparition out of the Arabian Nights.^{clxix} Many of the plentiful Roman towns in the Hauran were deserted by the 19th century;^{clxx} but luckily, whole cities in this region still lay underground at the end of that century.^{clxxi}

Acquisitive Foreigners meet Avaricious Locals

European travellers were also part of the destruction process for, observing the general indifference and naïvety of most people they met, the majority were keen to appropriate any portable antiquities for trivial sums of money. However, many report with dismay just how fast the locals learned values and poker-like bidding. Generally, persistence was required by travellers seeking inscriptions and other antiquities, entering houses^{clxxii} and mosques, and conducting negotiation with village elders. Generally trivial amounts of money were spent, but occasionally antiquities were perforce left in place, so “avaricious” were the locals, as at Nicaea in 1669, refusing to sell to the French.^{clxxiii} Here nearly all the post-antique structures were built with antiquities.^{clxxiv}

Town Expansion & Trade Bury Antiquities

In some cases the dismantling of antiquities was the result of the expansion of modern towns (as at Larnaka),^{clxxv} the movement of populations, or indeed of colonisation. From the 19th century onward, towns expanded dramatically, and this devastated the antiquities far more than the ad hoc stripping of the previous millennium had done.

⁹⁹ Meinecke, “Die Zitadelle,” in Meinecke & Aalund 2005, 21–54. Fortification dated to 1202/1252 in several campaigns.

¹⁰⁰ Yovitchitch 2004, for the citadel at Bosra: fig 10 for photo of the digging out of the Arabic buildings from the theatre – the great majority of the columns and the rest of the Order of the scenae frons had simply been left in place, and apparently not touched in any way.

¹⁰¹ Dentzer-Feydy 2007, 129–130, 173–178.

The pressures effected the destruction of ancient Haifa, largely reduced to rubble by the 1880s,^{clxxvi} with only fragments of marble and porphyry to be picked up by the end of that decade,^{clxxvii} much like Alexandria.^{clxxviii} Moderate distances, such as that between Volubilis and Meknès (which is 30km distant) did not prevent large-scale destruction,^{clxxix} perhaps because the Roman roads were still viable.¹⁰² And indeed, Volubilis itself had been occupied by Moulay Idris,^{clxxx} conveniently to hand, and perhaps attractive for its coloured marbles, most of which have gone.¹⁰³ At Cartama in Spain (where the municipality left an inscription noting the discovery of their temple),^{clxxxi} Carter laments the vision of the classical city in contrast with the poverty of the settlement now on top of it^{clxxxii} – though some mediaeval impositions were more substantial.¹⁰⁴ He should have examined the plentiful antiquities built into the houses of the town.^{clxxxiii} In the 16th century, Morgado could still glimpse that heritage in Seville's Islamic remains^{clxxxiv} – although these were hidden behind classicising architecture for the visits of both Charles V (1526) and Philip II (1570).¹⁰⁵ And Ponz reports large numbers of columns there in the 1780s.^{clxxxv} As late as the early 19th century, Ronda^{clxxxvi} preserved many antiquities, taken from its nearly namesake, Old Ronda.^{clxxxvii} Indeed, there is plenty of re-use in Spain, and it is now being studied in detail.¹⁰⁶

Frequently, antiquities were hidden below modern constructions, as at Sidon.^{clxxxviii} In some cases, of course, the surface yielded little because the poverty-stricken environment meant that so much had been removed. In others the town had much declined, as at Nicaea,^{clxxxix} its buildings frequently hit by earthquakes,¹⁰⁷ and seen by Porter in 1835 as essentially dead.^{cxc} Della Cella makes a similar observation for Benghazi^{cxc} (whose monuments disappeared quickly),^{cxci} and Cagnat for Tabarca.^{cxci} Tabarca had foreign traders in the 11th century^{cxci} – so did they load up with marble? Also Seetzen for the Bekaa Valley,^{cxcv} and Tissot for Tozeur.^{cxcvi}

¹⁰² Rosenberger 1998, 231 suggests the ancient road network “semble s’être en gros maintenu avec, vers le Sud, les antennes de Sala et Volubilis.”

¹⁰³ Antonelli 2009, 121: “a very limited amount of stone and marble species was observed in situ or accumulated as roving materials.”

¹⁰⁴ Nünnerich-Asmus 1993, 304–305 for the Roman temple at Idanah-a-Velha, with a mediaeval structure on top, the Roman walls standing 2m high.

¹⁰⁵ Wunder 2003, 208 relaying Vicente Lleó Cañal: “by means of such scenographic methods Seville succeeded in offering an image of itself in which the Islamic and medieval city disappeared, being replaced by another at once modern and classical; an image, therefore, of what it aspired to be, not of what it was.”

¹⁰⁶ Utrero Agudo 2006: re-use includes columns at Tricio (pl. 4), Foncalada, Asturias (14 – looks like a completely re-used stone arch); Idanha, Portugal (12: re-used granite blocks); El Trampal, Cáceres (17, 166: granite building blocks, and granite pillars inside); Montélios, Braga (30, 173: blocks, columns and capitals – supposedly 24 columns/capitals there in 17thC); Valdediós, Villaviciosa (40: column shafts and bases); Marmelar, Evora (76: stone buttress blocks).

¹⁰⁷ Guidoboni & Comastri 2005, earthquakes, Cat 032: Attalates relates that the great church at Nicaea collapsed in a quake in 1065.

Unfortunately, even at the end of the 19th century, large-scale construction from monumental remains was occurring, as at Jerash, which went from desert ghost-town to growing city by the 1890s.^{cxvii} Its Circassian settlers, determined builders and agriculturalists, surely used antiquities here as they did elsewhere.^{cxviii} Seetzen was astonished it was so little known,^{cxix} but this was perhaps because it was totally deserted,^{cc} as early photos show.¹⁰⁸ It remained so into the 1880s,^{cci} when Circassians settled there, some in huts on the other side of the river^{ccii} but some in the theatre.^{cciii} They caused considerable but unspecified damage to the monuments there.^{cciv} What happened to the antiquities of Anjar, after Armenians were resettled there in 1939? As already noted, travellers were frequently struck by ancient grandeur next to modern poverty, as for example Barth at El Djem,^{ccv} or Horace Vernet at Alexandria,^{ccvi} Boissier at El-Kantara,^{ccvii} or Perrier at Castel Pellegrino.^{ccviii}

Deserted ruins were even more promising, as in 19th-century Algeria.^{ccix} But these existed elsewhere: Jerash had been a “total ruin” as early as the 13th century,^{ccx} and this history ensured it contained rich remains.¹⁰⁹ Earlier travellers were much more likely to encounter such Roman ruins than prosperous towns, as El-Edrisi found between Tunis and Hammamet,^{ccxi} at least one site destroyed by the Moslems.^{ccxii} Ibn Khaldun, on the other hand, contrasts the vigour of Cairo with the decline of the Maghreb in his own day.^{ccxiii}

Attitudes to the Antiquities

Attitudes to the antiquities – both those of locals and of travellers – changed over time. But our travellers were not usually impressed by the attitudes of most locals. In the estimation of Rifaud in 1820s Egypt, for example, the villagers were simply not interested in the ancient monuments which surrounded them,^{ccxiv} whereas for Davis in 1874 some Turkish villages actually used antiquities as decoration.^{ccxv} Elsewhere they sometimes mistook natural rock for colossal statues,^{ccxvi} and sometimes held whimsical opinions about supposedly local sources of stone and marble.^{ccxvii} Some travellers developed attack mechanisms against such insouciance, and saw more antiquities as a result.^{ccxviii} Others saw the ruins and re-used remains as latent reminders of “good architecture,” for an eventual rebirth.^{ccxix}

One caveat is that travellers were so spoilt for choice monument-wise that only the most committed were curious about what lay below ground, the majority requiring something spectacular to admire, and remaining

¹⁰⁸ Seigne 2002.

¹⁰⁹ Kuhnen 1990, 187–190 for Jerash.

distinctly sniffy about sites with famous names but little to see. Eleusis left Galt cold, as he explains.^{ccxx} This was perhaps because a colossal bust had been taken to England in 1801.^{ccxxi} An unfinished one remained there in the mid-19th century,^{ccxxii} although there was not enough to impress Catherine de Gasparin in 1848.^{ccxxiii} Bruce felt much the same about Lep-tis Magna because so much of it was buried.^{ccxxiv} Conversely, walking through contemporary towns sometimes gave the strong impression of the antique one beneath it, as Arundell felt at Ushak.^{ccxxv}

The Importance of Travellers' Accounts

Some regions (such as Cilicia)^{ccxxvi} remained virtually untouched until the 19th century, except for local spoliation,¹¹⁰ prompting French calls for serious and lengthy expeditions.^{ccxxvii} Our travellers' accounts, therefore, can often attest to a landscape that in some cases has been lost, and in others that was radically changing, and where sometimes archaeology can no longer help.¹¹¹ Even abandoned landscapes are used to contrast ancient civilization with contemporary dearth.^{ccxxviii} Indeed, their accounts of the fate of antiquities often include the reason why they are being described – namely that they are in the course of destruction to meet new or changed settlement obligations. The feelings expressed range from disappointment and sadness to outrage – sentiments which serve to chart the Western belief (growing, perhaps, since the later 16th century), that antiquities were monuments of importance, and hence to be drawn, copied and preserved.

The disparity with local attitudes is a stark one, where antiquities could be of no interest at all, an impediment to ploughing, the site of magic (and perhaps buried treasure – the only reason for travelling in the estimation of some locals)^{ccxxix} and therefore dangerous, or a useful quarry of building materials, which Roman monuments provided in great variety.¹¹² In this last case, the ground was so churned up that excavation was pointless, as at Odemisch,^{ccxxx} or indeed late-19th-century Tyr.^{ccxxxi} Modern maps – where these existed – were not always of much use in reconstructing the ancient landscape in those areas where monuments were scattered or little was to be seen. Sterrett even writes of finding inscriptions refer-

¹¹⁰ Hellenkemper & Hild 1986, on Cilicia, with photos of re-used material 38–40 in front of mosque at Sichinum/Sokun; 71 in Turkish cemetery at Kizilisali.

¹¹¹ Michel 2001, 4–7 for relative weights of information given by archaeology and literary sources for the study of Byzantine and Umayyad-period churches in Jordan.

¹¹² Hesberg 2005, 19–31 for Roman building materials.

ring to an ancient town, and only then going off in search of surviving remains.^{ccxxxii} But in some cases, the walls of ancient houses still stood, even though vegetation had invaded the ruins.^{ccxxxiii} Nor were older maps much more forthcoming: Buondelmonti's maps show Michelin-like symbols for towns; some mark ruins – but ancient cities only get thoroughly marked from the 18th century.¹¹³

Disappearing and Surviving Monuments

Travellers Describe Dismantling

If, in the West, an increasing population gave rise to the fear that “even the sites of ruins” would disappear,^{ccxxxiv} in our Crescent, with few exceptions the sentiment of “the grandeur that was Rome” does not antedate the early 19th century, although the knowledge among locals that big money was sometimes to be had from antiquities-collecting foreigners is much earlier. Of course, travellers scanned the landscape with classical texts to hand, and often could not match what they read with what they didn't see.

Thus Scrofani at Argos in 1801: “On ne distingue aucun objet quand nous approchâmes des murs d'Argos . . . Nous marchions déjà dans la ville, le croiriez-vous?”^{ccxxxv} – and he then tries to locate known monuments and tombs: “Mais hélas! Après avoir un jour et demi cherché inutilement pour trouver le gymnase, le temple de Vénus, celui de Pallas Trompette, je me suis forcé d'abandonner l'entreprise.”^{ccxxxvi} Waldstein, excavating the Argive Heraion in the 1890s, found nothing more than foundations and rubble.^{ccxxxvii} By the later 19th century in Greece, it was easy to blame disappearances on the lack of control exercised by the Greek government – but of course, they could supervise only a few monuments.^{ccxxxviii} In other words, monuments disappeared where there was no government control – or were sometimes destroyed by building works sanctioned by the government. For one modern scholar, a dearth of sculptural remains in Syria is due to a mix of earthquakes, sultans and indeed re-use.¹¹⁴

¹¹³ Sphyroeras 1985, pl. 4–8 for Buondelmonti's Rhodes, Chios, Andros, Samos & Amor-gos. Fig 41: Petri's 1571 edition of Strabo does indeed mark four column suites near to Eres-sus on Lesbos; anonymous maps of 1584 of Myconos and Delos mark “ruynes” and “Temple ruyné”; fig 124 for Edward Wells' *New Set of Maps of Ancient and Present Geography*, 1700 and various editions to 1738. Specialist maps such as Choiseul-Gouffier in 1782 for Paros & Delos do better, with specific monuments marked on Delos – but no quarries on Paros.

¹¹⁴ Skupinska-Lovset 1999, 34–35. On the Preservation of Portraits from Syria: “the quan-titative poverty of the material from Syria and Palestine, in relation to Asia Minor is to be observed.” Wear and tear, *damnatio memoriae* etc., then invasions, religious changes.

Because they were well aware of their predecessors' sightings, travellers could estimate how much had disappeared before their own time. On Santorini in 1850, Benoît described just how many antiquities the island had once contained, what happened to them, and how few remained.^{ccxxxix} In 1801, these had included statues.^{ccxl} Leycester in 1850 does describes a marble church near Emporion,^{ccxli} and cites an author from 1656 describing the island's riches.^{ccxlii} By the end of the 19th century, nothing was to be seen above ground on Chios.^{ccxliii} And even when monuments were visible, lack of excavation meant a limit to information gained.¹¹⁵ In Tunisia, Pellissier in the 1840s can no longer locate a splendid temple at Kissera described by Bruce and Peyssonnel.^{ccxliv} In Lower Egypt, Niebuhr in the 1770s already signalled that there was little left to see, since the remains had been plundered for building materials.^{ccxlv}

Luxury Items Disappear

The more sought-after the material, the less of it usually survived, which could form part of the sophistication of Raphael's Chigi Chapel.¹¹⁶ For example, the erstwhile presence of marble veneer was all too often recognised only by the various fixings which once held it in place. Examples include the stadium at Athens,^{ccxlvi} the theatre at Silifke,^{ccxlvii} the "Palace of Priam" at Alexandria Troas,^{ccxlviii} or buildings at Ephesus.^{ccxlix} Even Tebessa, some 200km from Kairouan and neary as far from the sea, lost her veneers.^{cc} The same signs were to be seen in the baths of Rome (which survived in disuse),¹¹⁷ or in churches in Constantinople,^{cccli} although some of these may have been to support plaster, suggests Merrill.^{ccclii} In a modern excavation in Tunisia,¹¹⁸ just over 111kg of decorative stone was collected – an index of how thoroughly such sites were cleaned out (the materials

But serious earthquakes at Berytus 349, Antioch 528, and a series "pulverised the Phoenician coast" between 551 and 555. Then important earthquakes 738, 746, 859/860 and 992. Author explains dearth of inscriptional material as chiefly through mutilation before re-use in Crusader-period structures. The Sultans systematically destroyed coastal settlements to deter piracy – but suggests peace worse, for "ancient constructions have been re-used, many monuments devastated, metals fragmented and melted down, marble and limestone burnt to chalk."

¹¹⁵ Lassus 1947, XX defect of De Vogüé and Butler c'est d'être fondés uniquement sur un examen des monuments tells qu'ils étaient conservés, sans fouilles.

¹¹⁶ Bosman 2005, 354: in the Chigi Chapel "Raphael used classical kinds of marble that could only be obtained as spolia."

¹¹⁷ Hubert 2007, 127–142. No public bathing at all in Rome between the early 7thC and the early 13thC. 142: Quant aux structures elles-mêmes, elles nous échapperaient largement, si ce n'était la découverte du complexe de la Crypta Balbi, où les bains chauds et surtout le sudatorium exigeaient des structures particulières de tradition antique.

¹¹⁸ Dodge 1992: "111.629 kg of decorative stone has been recorded thus far (of which 87.575 kg derives from the field survey.)"

went into later buildings, as at Testour).¹¹⁹ Much the same seems to have happened in luxurious houses at Ephesus.¹²⁰ Indeed, wall veneer must always have been a luxury commodity, partly because of the God-created images it could sometimes display, as in Haghia Sophia.^{ccliii} But it was usually difficult to remove for re-use,¹²¹ pace Kraeling,¹²² and large areas of re-used marble wall veneer are difficult to identify. However, Damascus might have managed the relocation task for the Umayyad Mosque^{ccliv} and perhaps also for palaces.^{cclv} As another indication of its price and scarcity, even well-appointed houses, such as the Casa del Cortile Dorico at Hierapolis, imitate it in fresco,¹²³ while stucco, sometimes with marble as an ingredient,¹²⁴ becomes increasingly important.¹²⁵ In 15th-century Cairo, coloured pastes (red and black) supplied the lack of suitable marbles,¹²⁶ and again underlining the scarcity of large panels (unless it was taste that dictated a modified opus sectile effect).

North Africa

Algeria: It is not only the mediaeval landscape that should interest us, and indeed Christianised ancient cities,¹²⁷ but rather the inherited landscapes furnished with the re-used monuments of antiquity. For example, Tefesed was reachable from Algiers by boat, and some of its remains were

¹¹⁹ Saadaoui 1996, 63–145 for the Great Mosque of Testour, founded beginning of 17thC; its courtyard has 20 antique limestone columns, various, with Corinthian capitals, while the prayer hall (cf. figs 50–55) has 48 antique shafts and capitals: author reminds us 104 that Testour is on a Roman site, and 12km from Dugga; columns etc different in diameter, height, ornamentation and style. 104–119 for the columns and capitals, Table 2 for characteristics of all the pieces – material, base, shaft, capital, etc. – Of 75 listed, he notes 26 as reworked.

¹²⁰ Koller 2003, on Hanghaus 2 at Ephesus, Fig 2: this house yielded fragments of no fewer than 24 distinct marbles, porphyries and alabasters.

¹²¹ Kalinowski 2005, 490: at Bir Ftouha, Carthage the floor tiles were systematically removed, and “most of the marble left behind in trench fills was the thinner and more friable wall-veneer that was more difficult to detach successfully.”

¹²² Kraeling 1962, 235, of Ptolemais: “the ease with which valuable marble slabs could be removed from walls.”

¹²³ Zaccaria Ruggiu 2007, figs 10–15.

¹²⁴ Palazzo-Berthelon 2006 – including the use of marble as an ingredient, for example at Parenzo and Khirbat al-Mafjar.

¹²⁵ Cantino Wataghin 2006 for an overview.

¹²⁶ Bakr 2005, 351: “The shortage of natural decorative stones, especially coloured marble, that was used to inlay marble and limestone wall panels both inside and outside buildings, forced the artisans to look for a cheap and easy alternative.”

¹²⁷ Brands, Gunnar, “Die spätantike Stadt und ihre Christianisierung,” in Brands & Severin 2003, 1–26 for overview.

dismantled for building-work in that city.^{cclvi} The mediaeval landscape itself was to change during the 19th century, but the inherited landscape more so, since its monuments were those in Islamic towns and cities, and there can be interchange between Islamic and inherited ancient forms and techniques.¹²⁸ Sometimes, with rebuilds using antiquities, there might even have been a hint of Christian sabotage against the Moors.^{cclvii}

Some modern structures were built directly on top of Greek or Roman settlements, while others imported their antiquities from elsewhere. 19th century urban regeneration and westernisation, as well as colonialism, were to affect such towns radically, as many centuries-old monuments were destroyed or re-used once again and the resultant structures again degraded. This is to be seen in the French alterations to the monuments of Algiers,^{cclviii} the almost complete destruction of the Kasba,^{cclix} and the diminution in the number of mosques.^{cclx} They also dismantled antiquities at Russcada/Philippeville^{cclxi} and at Sétif,^{cclxii} erecting poor buildings in the process,^{cclxiii} but keeping meticulous records.^{cclxiv} Saint-Arnaud describes in 1855 what 1500 incomers plus the army garrison did to ancient Russcada from 1830.^{cclxv} (The Italian army was also to make use of Byzantine defences in Libya.)

The untouched city of Lambaesus, far from habitation, offered a rich field for French officers collecting inscriptions,^{cclxvi} although that same army soon destroyed much of it.^{cclxvii} This is in spite of the vaunted level of education of France's staff officers, stated in 1838 to be competent to find and date monuments,^{cclxviii} as well as by the devotion of Arabic-speakers to the development of scholarship.^{cclxix} Part of the problem was that North Africa's Roman monuments were compared with those of Greece, and found wanting; so that a colonel in 1838 could advise the Minister that the only parts worth studying were the fortresses.^{cclxx} This attitude also stated that, given that neither architecture nor sculpture in Africa offered the interest of these arts in Greece, or Italy, the officers of the Etat-Major would do fine for dealing with the military architecture of Africa, perhaps with the addition of somebody from the Académie des Beaux-Arts "pour s'occuper des ruines spécialement sous le rapport des formes et de la nature de leur construction."^{cclxxi} The end result, a Commission, was a mixture of soldiers and scholars, and undertook a survey of Algeria much in the tradition of that for Egypt,¹²⁹ but not published in anything like

¹²⁸ Mancho 2006, for interchange between Christian and Moslem stuccoes.

¹²⁹ Dondin-Payre 1994A, including the antiquities he collected, some blow-by-blow accounts of the difficulties of examining and extracting material in Algeria, and an account of the 2000-plus drawing he made and sent back to Paris. Well illustrated – and see the plates of Delamare's drawings of material in architectural re-use, which he drew for the inscriptions they contained, not for the fact of re-use.

the extent or detail of the Napoleonic venture.¹³⁰ The French developments met with generally favourable reactions as Algeria became partly settled by Europeans during the 19th century,^{cclxxii} enabling a large amount of archaeology in the Levant as well¹³¹ – an archaeology which of course was intimately related to French policy and diplomacy around the Mediterranean.¹³² But in the earlier years, the French certainly destroyed many antiquities in Algeria, as Carron describes for Constantine and the dismantling of churches there.^{cclxxiii}

Tunisia: Carthage was the most famous antique site of North Africa, a large Roman city, and conveniently located on the coast next to a good harbour. We find it first plundered by Africans, not Europeans. There was enough left for Ahmed Ben Qali Mahalli to write, in the 10th century, that “La construction en est belle et l’arrangement remarquable: des palais de marbre blanc y étaient surmontés de statues coloriées représentant des hommes et toutes sortes d’animaux... aujourd’hui en ruines.”¹³³ El-Bekri asserts a high level of spoliation in the 11th century, because “Le marbre est si abondant à Carthage que si tous les habitants de l’Ifrikiya se rassemblaient pour en tirer les blocs et les transporter ailleurs, ils ne pourraient pas accomplir leur tâche.”^{cclxxiv}

Supposedly a thriving city in the first decades of Islam,^{cclxxv} it suffered continuous dismantling presumably by its inhabitants, who sold or traded the materials to foreigners who arrived by sea. According to Ibn Sa’id Gharnati (died 1274 or 1286), at Carthage “se trouvait des idoles de marbre représentant toutes les espèces d’animaux, des hommes” [presumably mosaics he saw in the theatre?], but that the ancient city was destroyed in the time of Abd El Melik Ben Merwan (reigned 684–687), who transported materials thither to Damascus – which is possible, given Muqaddasi’s description of 985.^{cclxxvi} Et-Tidjani emphasises^{cclxxvii} that there was a large population there in the early 14th century. The implication is that many people did indeed come from far away, but the quantity of available antique blocks defeated them. Subsequently, Edrisi (d. 1165?) noted that “les fouilles ne discontinuent pas, les marbres sont transportés au loin dans tout le pays, et nul ne quitte Carthage sans en charger

¹³⁰ Dondin-Payre 1994B. The history of the Commission 1830 onwards, illustrated with documents, drafts of reports, and finds. An excellent, detailed account, with annexes of communications with Paris, the chronology of the Commission, and short biographies of the members.

¹³¹ Toutain 2004 on the publication and popularisation of Poidebard’s photography via books and articles.

¹³² Gran-Aymerich 2000; Thobie 2000.

¹³³ Fagnan 1924, 9, 155.

des quantités considérables sur des navires ou autrement; c'est un fait très connu."^{cclxxiii}

But usable or even limeable marble seems to have been scarce by Charles V's day, for he sent to Sicily for lime and bricks.^{cclxxix} Shaw, in 1738, bemoans the lack of fine monuments – nothing there to rival this once-rival of Rome.^{cclxxx} And although by 1832 Falbe finds the remains pitiful,^{cclxxxi} they were still be plundered by the locals at the end of the 19th century.^{cclxxxii} Of course, Carthage was far from the only area of North Africa where statues were to be seen scattered around.^{cclxxxiii}

Morocco: Although there were never as many ancient monuments there as further east, ruins also vanished on the Atlantic coast of Morocco,¹³⁴ which was as far West as the Romans – or anyone else! – could go in North Africa.^{cclxxxiv} Some monuments no doubt disappeared during the Middle Ages,¹³⁵ some perhaps re-used during princely building sprees, destroyed, and built yet again.^{cclxxxv}

At Tangier, where El-Bekri saw so much in the 11th century,^{cclxxxvi} there were still fine antiquities to be admired, and others no doubt to be dug up, in the 1830s.^{cclxxxvii} As already indicated, the monuments decreased more quickly the nearer they were to the Mediterranean coast,¹³⁶ but also as land was cleared for ploughing and blocks also removed for building, as at Dchar Djedid,^{cclxxxviii} confusing most attempts to understand what had once stood there, as for example to the fortress at Bordj Halal.^{cclxxxix} Much the same might have happened at Cnidus.^{cxxc} Nor were the blocks left as they were found, being frequently broken up into convenient sizes, thereby destroying decoration and meaning.^{cxcci} The occasional sophisticated building boom, as in early 14th-century Morocco, must also have depleted the ancient monuments,^{cxccii} as perhaps also happened in 16th-century ^{cxcciii} and then in 18th-century Fez,^{cxcciv} which had a reputation for the quality of its buildings,^{cxccv} with its private houses still marble-rich in that century.^{cxccvi} It had much impressed Lithgow nearly two centuries earlier.^{cxccvii}

¹³⁴ Rosenberger 1998: Morocco less settled in Islamic times because less so also in Roman times, by comparison with Ifriqiya, further east. 231 Les conquérants ont rencontré quelques centres antiques qui subsistaient, bien diminués et transformés... Dans un cadre urbain déclinant, près des monuments croulants, subsistait une vie modeste.

¹³⁵ Thiry 1998 – not just the Banu Hilal, but also Egypt, responsible for decline and ruin in North Africa.

¹³⁶ Lazreg & Mattingly 1992, 9–62 Previous work on the Roman remains of Leptiminus. – visitors only from 1820 onwards. This extensive and completely documented account is necessary because of stone-robbing – much less remains today that the earlier visitors saw and described.

Greece and its Islands

The same destruction seen in Turkey happened at Corinth, where the peristyle of a Doric temple “on the western outskirts of the modern town” suffered over the years. Seven columns remained erect; but Wheler counted twelve in 1676, eleven of them with their architraves; Meyer found one column fewer in 1785, and Hawkins found it in its present state in 1795, for “The columns were demolished by the Turk whose house stands upon the site, because they stood in the way of some new buildings he was projecting.”^{ccxcviii} Similar alarm was expressed about the remains on Aegina vanishing,^{ccxcix} some of them into modern buildings.^{ccc} (This also happened in Turkey: at Lampsacus on the Dardanelles, much of the ancient town went into constructing the modern one.)^{ccci} Indeed, slicing up column shafts there seems to have quickly reduced a temple to rubble in 1820.^{cccii} The Greek islands, so convenient for robbing, also suffered, although less populated ones such as Andros retained visible statues into the mid-19th century.^{ccciii} In areas such as the Cyclades, local building and passing traders had cleared almost everything out by the end of the 18th century.^{ccciv}

Cyprus: On Cyprus, naturally rich in marble buildings given its history, while there were substantial ruins remaining in the 16th century,^{cccv} Seetzen in 1805/6 thinks the ruins may have been robbed for the benefit of Jerusalem in the early 19th century,^{cccv} and Sonnini in 1801 fulminates against the Turks as barbarians who have dismantled for common building “des édifices superbes, des temples élégans.”^{cccvi} Again, Baker reports in 1879 that there is nothing left to be seen on the surface^{cccviii} – although he would have found plenty between Larnaca and the sea.^{cccix} This is no doubt because travellers such as Edward Clarke had given chapter and verse in 1801 illustrating how the island was ripe for the picking.^{ccc} Yet already in 1738–9 Sandwich thought the reason for the lack was that it had suffered from “the Arabs, and other barbarous nations,”^{cccxi} perhaps because their contemporary buildings were usually not admired.^{cccxi} Certainly, for Mariti the best area to review any remaining antiquities from Nicosia was in the Turkish graves on the outskirts,^{cccxi} since the interior was a dog’s dinner of re-used and remained ruins^{cccxi} – or perhaps to view the conversion the local church of Haghia Sophia into a mosque, incorporating ancient columns and probably furniture from that church.^{cccxi}

Delos: As for Delos^{cccvi} Maurand, travelling in 1544, describes the riches he saw there.^{cccvi} Yet this island was ravaged by people from nearby islands looking for building materials,^{cccvi} surely for centuries, but then more extensively from the mid 19th century. Hence between 1835, when Leake still found plenty there,^{cccix} and the end of the century, much more had disappeared.^{cccix} In the

1670s, however, Spon & Wheler say there were sufficient to build a complete town^{cccxxi} – they also saw columns there without corresponding capitals, presumably because the latter had been easier to ship away.^{cccxxii} Sainte Maure also writes of Delos that “Delos ne montre aucun reste de ses fameux édifices; tout ce qui la peut rendre présentement célèbre.”^{cccxxiii} But at least one would-be excavator in the 1830s thought the exercise no longer worthwhile,^{cccxxiv} and Benoît in 1851, having read up the earlier accounts, was shocked by the “ruins of ruins.”^{cccxxv} Nevertheless, quantity-surveying was not necessarily a talent of travellers: Sonnini in 1801 thought the ruins of Delos had already themselves been ruined by scavengers for building materials and blocks suitable for tombstones.^{cccxxvi} The fact that it is today presented to cruisers as an unspoilt island of (partly rebuilt) antiquities may help us understand just how much more was there (for the taking!) in 1600 or 1800.

Samos: Again, antiquities plentiful in one period appeared cleared out 150 years later. The Heraion on Samos was larger even than the last Temple of Diana at Ephesus, and boasted 155 columns. These were of varying dimensions, in mostly limestone drums. All have vanished (and only some of the columns were of marble, the others of limestone), except for one – as have those from the adjacent four buildings, two of them small temples, one with marble columns. Thus on Samos, in 1658, Boschini claimed that the great temple was in excellent condition, with its cult statue.^{cccxxvii} In 1699, De La Motraye notes the still considerable ruins of the old city, the Turks taking the best material^{cccxxviii} – perhaps because by this time the Greeks were not allowed to extract materials from ruins.^{cccxxix} Much earlier, Buondelmonti had of course also seen plentiful ruins there, but perhaps even then insufficient columns were standing for him to be able to parse the layout of the great temple^{cccxxx} – making one wonder whether Boschini did in fact visit the remains. Pococke saw bases and pedestals, and statue-parts, in the late 1730s.^{cccxxxi} Much later, Ross records the losses by 1842,^{cccxxxii} seeing sufficient destruction to be philosophical about it all.^{cccxxxiii} And Guérin, in 1856, chronicles antiquities going into a new fort in 1821, as well as into an unfinished church,^{cccxxxiv} and records antiquities lost in other parts of the island in recent years, leaving behind only a few fragments.^{cccxxxv} He notes that one column remained of the Heraion, and that not complete.^{cccxxxvi}

Egypt and Syria

Although it is sometimes possible to chart losses between the Middle Ages and the 19th century, as at Akmin,^{cccxxxvii} survivals were often extensive. But they were going fast by the 1850s, the villagers at Akmin digging deep to find the ancient materials.^{cccxxxviii} We also know more about Egypt from the mid-19th century than about Syria or Turkey, because travels there (steamboat and railway) was more convenient, as the guidebooks remarked.^{cccxxxix} (Turkey and Syria would catch up decades later.)

At Cairo, built in part from ancient ruins, more survives than in any other Islamic city – but amongst the few survivals¹³⁷ much has been lost, because conservation and restoration began too late.¹³⁸ It may have been otherwise in Byzantium.¹³⁹ In Syria, and as a consequence of the import of materials (wherever from), the Umayyad Mosque in *Damascus* was a monument so rich, as described for example by Muqaddasi^{cccxl} and by Ibn Haukal,^{cccxli} that one 14th-century European traveller, Jacopo da Verona, put its quality above that of any churches in Italy^{cccxlii} – though this was before Tamerlane's devastation.^{cccxliii} Of course, he saw it while the marble pavement in the prayer hall was intact, as well as most of the wall mosaics^{cccxliv} – although these were apparently refurbished in that century^{cccxlv} – not to mention further beautification provided by sawing up Roman monuments in the early 13th century.^{cccxlvi} Furthermore, he claimed that the large columns outside were bigger than those flanking the lagoon in Venice^{cccxlvii} – perhaps the natural thing for a Veronese to say. Blount makes the same comparison for the shafts in Saladin's Diwan at Cairo.^{cccxlviii}

Elsewhere on the Nile, Henniker could also compute losses in 1823.^{cccxlix} So careless were the ransackers up the Nile, that near Edfou discarded or "valueless" pieces were strewn around in profusion.^{cccl} Bruce was amazed by the sheer quantities of marble and other stone he saw in Egypt.^{cccli} In the north of Syria, indeed, visiting the so-called "Dead Cities,"¹⁴⁰ travellers expressed astonishment at what they saw because, thanks possibly in part to the unattractive limestone used, little had disappeared or been changed since ancient

¹³⁷ Maury 1983 for re-use in Cairo houses: pl. XLIIb for a composite capital re-used in Maison al-Sadat (17thC foundation?); pl. XIV, XVI Maison Sabsiri (17thC?) with parts of its marble veneer decoration still in place.

¹³⁸ Pauty 1932, 73: Lorsque le Comité de Conservation des Monuments de l'art arabe voulut entreprendre, en 1882, le classement des maisons, beaucoup n'existaient plus. Aujourd'hui, le nombre des édifices civils à peu près complets est réduit, et les vestiges des autres n'offrent plus guère qu'un intérêt archéologique. Of his excellent photographs, several show structures on their last legs, others structures already fully or part destroyed.

¹³⁹ Bouras 2002 for the recycling of materials in Byzantium: author suggests such re-use is "directly connected with the attitude of the Byzantines toward the restoration of old ruins, their re-use, and, in general, the conservation of the existing environment. Characteristic here is the praise paid by Nikephoros Gregoras to Emperor Andronikos II who maintained the old buildings and did not succumb to the vanity of constructing new ones."

¹⁴⁰ Butcher 2003, 145–157 for the Dead Cities; 157–161 for the Hauran.

times,^{ccclii} and many settlements were still inhabited.¹⁴¹ Pococke had visited several in the late 1730s.^{cccliii} Nor were these settlements necessarily small: thus Robinson charts Draa as being two-and-a-half miles in circumference.^{cccliv} At Kunawat in 1855, Porter can actually measure building dimensions, so little damaged are some buildings.^{ccclv} Wolcott Redding in 1873 wrote admiringly of the whole region and its plentiful remains,^{ccclvi} and Lindsay in 1838 was similarly amazed by the standing remains of Soaba.^{ccclvii} Likewise Campbell hymned the monuments of Thebes,^{ccclviii} and Lucas counted myriad columns there,^{ccclix} although most structures were almost rubble by the mid-19th century.^{ccclx} Yet Porter in 1855 at Schurbah/Shuba took pleasure in walking down an almost perfect Roman street.^{ccclxi} Half a century later, however, Flinders Petrie raised the alarm about the possibility of damage by new settlers.^{ccclxii} Although the usual stone here is a very dour limestone, Elliott professed to find marble remains as well.^{ccclxiii} Schurbah survived and was inhabited in the 19th century;^{ccclxiv} Bosra in Syria still uses its ancient city roads, and several of the monuments. Askalon was similarly rich, but in the 14th century.^{ccclxv}

Antiquities Near the Sea

Nearer the sea, of course, antiquities disappeared quickly, as we shall see in detail in a later chapter. They were doing so even by the 16th century, as Pierre Belon¹⁴² notes in 1586 at Gortyna on Crete (where Buondelmonti claims to have seen 2000 columns and statues with his own eyes):^{ccclxvi} “Les ruines de Cortyna, sont moult grandes, et y a encores pour le présent quelque petit nombre de colonnes droictes, plantées en terre... Les pierres des murailles ont esté enlevées hors de là, d’autant qu’elles estoient de belle pierre de taille tirées de la susdicte quarrière, et ont esté transportées aisément, car la mer n’en est guère loing”^{ccclxvii} – indeed, no more than 20km distant. But these were being dismantled almost as Belon wrote, and as Belli confirms,^{ccclxviii} although the theatre still retained some of its marbles.^{ccclxix} Much remained for De la Porte to admire in 1765,^{ccclxx} and they were described as extensive in 1801.^{ccclxxi} But even if ruins were still widespread at Gortyna in the 1830s,^{ccclxxii} quantities had already gone by the 1850s, many probably to local villages^{ccclxxiii} some of which, of course, sat on top of ancient towns.^{ccclxxiv} Syria/Palestine was

¹⁴¹ Tchalenko 1953, plates XXXIII–XXXV: XXXIII for the “Dead Cities”: Le Massif Calcaire: distribution actuelle des lieux habités; XXXIV: ditto sites antiques; and XXXV ditto lieux habités dans l’antiquité. These show more of the sites inhabited in antiquity, but the majority of those antique sites still inhabited today.

¹⁴² Tinguely 2000, 71–96 for Pierre Belon, and 268–9 for his itineraries.

likewise once rich in statues – but no longer.¹⁴³ In Tunisia, however, statues seem to have lain untouched for decades, and even from the middle of the 19th century.^{ccclxxv} Pellissier, indeed, came upon a cache in a trench in the early 1840s – parts sticking above the sand.^{ccclxxvi} On the south coast of Crete, some columns and capitals went early to Venice,^{ccclxxvii} and statues as well,^{ccclxxviii} while others were re-used in local Venetian structures.^{ccclxxix} This was centuries after the bronze colossus was simply abandoned at Barletta.¹⁴⁴ On Symi, Turner thought columns marked the site of a temple – but found that the villagers had simply imported them to build a church.^{ccclxxx} Even on the seaboard of Syria, although the towns had suffered mightily from siege, earthquake and war, the countryside itself remained rich in ruins, with column shafts in great quantities.^{ccclxxxi} All these would have been well-known to mediaeval European traders.¹⁴⁵

Survival, Dismantling and Destruction

As many of the above examples suggest, we should not underestimate the destruction wrought on some sites. Some of this was due to religious hatred (which Sauer maintains requires much more study),¹⁴⁶ some to warfare.¹⁴⁷ But much destruction was dismantling for re-use. At Caesarea, we catch the dismantlers “in the act,” as it were, in the process – in this case forever unfinished – of reworking blocks from the theatre.¹⁴⁸ And we

¹⁴³ Eck 2008, 273 in Syria/Palestine: “Roman cities had statues scattered all over them... It was taken for granted that statues were an expression of life in an urban community and of the image that this community had of itself.”

¹⁴⁴ Salerno 1990, 49 notes 11–12: part of the booty from the 4th Crusade, but La statua e stata abbandonata per parecchio tempo sul fondo marino in seguito al naufragio della nave che la trasportava a Venezia.

¹⁴⁵ Favreau-Lilie 1999, for a very well-documented account of the importance of the Latin states in Syria for commercial relations with the Genoese, Pisans and Venetians.

¹⁴⁶ Sauer 2003, 15 “There has been an astonishingly low level of interest in the material traces of image destruction in archaeological literature” – suggests contemporary peace movements, and the shunning of war, so that “Profound cultural changes in prehistory are now hardly ever interpreted as being the result of invasion, but almost always of acculturation.” Fig 5 for sites mentioned in the text – “an arbitrary selection of a small fraction of relevant sites” most in the West, but several in Turkey, Palestine and Egypt.

¹⁴⁷ Foss 1975, 742–743: “The most important new evidence from archaeology is the revelation of great destruction. The sources were not merely indulging in rhetoric when they wrote of the violence of the attacks. Parts of Ancyra were burned and left in ruins, Sardis virtually ceased to exist, Ephesus was partly destroyed.”

¹⁴⁸ Turnheim & Ovadia 2002, 35–50 for Caesarea Maritima: for ornamented marble blocks from scenae frons of theatre, and some from other sites in the town. Authors believe they came from quarry unfinished, and were to be finished on site – except a lot never got

learn from travellers how much had gone since the 18th century.^{ccclxxxii} Elsewhere, we learn nothing about the work in progress: thus at the massive and richly decorated mid-6th century basilica at Bir Ftouha, Carthage, the work rendered nothing more than fragments, which spells exact and efficient dismantling on an almost industrial scale.¹⁴⁹ Although in many cases plundering was random and unorganised, at sites such as Bir Ftouha it was clearly a business, efficiently undertaken and thorough, by people who knew exactly what they could sell.¹⁵⁰

Slim pickings also remain at the once-rich site of Abu Mina,¹⁵¹ already mentioned for its marble colonnade, and still functioning, and with rich marble, when El-Bekri visited in the 11th century.^{ccclxxxiii} At Carthage, however – which was, of course, much larger – Leone points out¹⁵² that dismantling was much less systematic. There, the destruction was for re-use, but in some cases, even new “tenants,” as for example the Russians at Caffa, in the Crimea, a Greek settlement founded from Miletus, destroyed much of what they found, without erecting much of interest with the relicts, while other once-antique sites had been left empty even by the time the Turks arrived.^{ccclxxxiv}

Shifting Landscapes

Sand and Silting

Another reason the ruins in some mediaeval landscapes survived as if in aspic was because silting, wind-blown sand, or coast movements had

finished; and 47: “Many of the blocks, however, had apparently been sawn and polished in a later period for re-use, damaging their original form.”

¹⁴⁹ At Bir Ftouha, Carthage, cf. Bessière 2005: they collected over 4000 fragments – nearly all very small ones, as the drawings demonstrate – so small that the reconstruction of columns and capitals can only be hypothetical. 209: “la basilique avait été entièrement démontée jusqu’aux fondations; le décor architectural, souvent en marbre, n’a évidemment pas échappé à l’entreprise.” Cf. their computer reconstructions) c. 80 × c. 50m, with a 37-metre-long basilica.

¹⁵⁰ Kalinowski 2005, 490 at Bir Ftouha: “A number of clues suggest that the main part of the basilica complex was systematically dismantled in order to recuperate the marble decorative architectural elements for re-use, or to be burned for lime.”

¹⁵¹ Grossmann 1989, 121–5 for marble decoration at Abu Mina – very few pieces of marble have survived here, and those much damaged: cf. pl. 55ff. Cf. pl. 60a–b for survivals of opus sectile jigsaw pieces, described 257–8. Pl. 60c–d for marble with bronze anchors attached.

¹⁵² Leone 2007, 215 No pattern to re-use in North Africa: at Carthage Antonine Baths were stripped, bit by bit; whereas at Bir Ftouha, spoliation was swift and systematic.

changed the terrain and converted cities and monuments from sea-accessible to marsh-surrounded and difficult of access, at least from the sea. Or they had no modern trade routes inland, as at Elaiussa Sebaste,^{ccclxxxv} in the hinterland of which many splendid antiquities have survived.¹⁵³ In Spain, perhaps so many Roman villae remain along the Guadalquivir because the river had silted up since Roman times.^{ccclxxxvi} Nomads occupied many antique sites, often because they were suitable gathering-places, and desertification – which they had often helped create by the uncontrolled grazing of their flocks – did not worry them. It will bear repeating throughout this book that nomads had no interest in antiquities (and certainly not in destroying them) except for temporary shelter and occasional treasure-hunting – a stance which puzzled many Europeans, but helped Ibn Khaldun in his definition of (counter-) civilisation.^{ccclxxxvii} As Maspero remarked, it is civilization – that is, rather than barbarism, it was European travellers who destroyed monuments.^{ccclxxxviii}

In some places later communities, much smaller than their classical antecedents, have not made a disastrous impression on the antiquities, which can still be visited with pleasure. Ptolemais¹⁵⁴ was part-buried in sand rather than aspic when she lost primacy to Apollonia,^{ccclxxxix} the latter's churches protected from petty pilfering and excavation by the tumbled blocks and columns of the structures,^{ccxc} not to mention the silting-up of the western port by Byzantine times.¹⁵⁵ Russell admired the site in 1835.^{ccxc} Indeed, in the Cyrenaica, Della Cella found ancient cities almost complete, sanded-in, and inhabited only by a few Bedouin tents.^{ccxcii} They were rich in Pentelic and Parian marble.¹⁵⁶

Wind-blown sand also protected some parts of Leptis Magna,^{ccxciii} where nature was encroaching by the time of Procopius,^{ccxciv} and the small rooms in the Severan Basilica, converted into chapels, had raised floors. (In Egypt, temples such as Esne were buried forty-feet-deep in sand.)^{ccxcv} Here, from what Smyth could see in 1816, the whole site had been stripped and smashed

¹⁵³ Durugonul 1998, for the region behind Korykos and Elaiussa Sebaste; some towers of the most beautiful masonry, some even with drafted corners. Many towers are still intact (bar earthquake damage) because they are so far from the sea, and not of marble.

¹⁵⁴ Kraeling 1962, 22–8 for the Byzantine period at Ptolemais: large fortress built in the early 5thC, together with the “magnificent Fortress Church” – so still prosperous, until in later 5thC administration is moved to Apollonia (it is not known why), and decline proceeds apace. Blas de Roblès 2005, 145–159 for Ptolemais.

¹⁵⁵ Blas de Roblès 2005, 217–236 at Apollonia most of the blocks and column-sets are in sandstone. But there were two ports, and the W. Central and E churches have their marble column-sets largely intact. Why? Hidden under drifting sands?

¹⁵⁶ Attanasio 2006: 10 quarry-sites identified, but 45.7% of the sculpted marble is Pentelic, against 43.7% from Paros.

up^{cccxcvi} – because he could not dig down to the original ancient level. This was in part because the French had already been taking large columns from the site in 1688 and partly, perhaps, because looters found enough on the surface so that they did not need to dig.^{cccxcvii} Not surprisingly, the Egyptians were well aware of what sand could do – now covering, and now revealing antiquities.^{cccxcviii} Such was also the case with cities preserved in the sands of Egypt, such as Thebes.^{cccxcix} And as a result of such sand, the upper registers of temples were available for foreign graffiti^{cd} – and then of course the lower registers when that sand had been removed.

Archaeology: A Great Help to Looters

If villagers intent on building caused much destruction of monuments, then archaeologists unwittingly helped in the destruction of the mediaeval landscape. Westerners were supposedly endowed with near-magical powers for reading inscriptions, and hence knowing where treasure was buried (this will be dealt with in a later chapter); it followed logically that, where they dug, there was treasure to be found – or, at the very least reusable antique blocks. So archaeologists were watched closely, and their excavations helped along for other purposes.

This happened at Laodicaea,^{cdi} and to De Cesnola on Cyprus.^{cdii} And at Leptis Magna, the British uncovered antiquities, and the locals and Tunisians broke them up and took them away.^{cdiii} Guérin, indeed, found himself in a dilemma while excavating in Palestine, in the face of predatory locals, including his own workmen, as he explains.^{cdiv} Long used as a quarry,^{cdv} Cnidus was also stripped of marbles after excavators had helpfully dug them up.^{cdvi} In the Galilee, the excavator's finds were destroyed by the Bedouin hunting treasure, and by nearby residents seeking building materials.^{cdvii} At Cyrene, Hamilton suggests that the marble from the theatre was stripped in Antiquity.^{cdviii} He may be correct, although when it did disappear is unknown – probably gradually, given the large quantities of attractive coloured marbles in the region,¹⁵⁷ and the frequent later visitors,¹⁵⁸ and then excavations.¹⁵⁹ Before these, the ground was thickly covered with vegetation, which protected the antiquities.^{cdix} Mosaic pavements disappeared from Tunisia^{cdx} – and from Palestine, where

¹⁵⁷ Pensabene 2006.

¹⁵⁸ Thorne 2005, 23–96: for explorations of Cyrene: explorers, antiquarians, archaeologists; starts with Consul Lemaire's visit from Tripoli in 1706, then a few minor visits, then on to the Beecheys; a painstaking book, identifying individual tombs looked at by these early visitors, and quoting at length from Beechey and the rest.

¹⁵⁹ Bonacasa & Ensoli 2000, 11–17 for the history of the modern excavations at Cyrene.

tourists picked them up to take home^{cdxi} – and by 1918 they were disappearing from Syria as new houses were built.^{cdxii} At Ascalon, local building profited from the dig in 1814 by Hester Stanhope,^{cdxiii} who appears several times throughout this book. This was supposedly allowed because she assured the authorities there was treasure to be recovered (and she kept faith with them by breaking up a statue),^{cdxiv} but did nothing but damage, going through at least three occupation layers, as Michaud & Poujoulat describe.^{cdxv} Tobler details how materials unearthed were then re-used^{cdxvi} – although apparently at first re-covered with earth by the local Aga^{cdxvii} who, traditionally, owned what was under the earth.

Miscellaneous Pilfering

At Jerusalem, an Arabic inscription supposedly marked a place where, by digging, antique blocks could be found for repairs and reconstructions.^{cdxviii} Locals might also suspect that any digging involved treasure, so that it was quite possible to lose everything except one's shirt, in which robbers allowed travellers to escape.^{cdxix} Furthermore, there is plentiful anecdotal evidence that local masons knew more about local antiquities than did visiting archaeologists.^{cdxx}

This is borne out in several examples: Ascalon possessed a splendid mosque in the 10th century,^{cdxxi} but some of the monuments had fallen down when Ibn Battuta visited in the 14th century.^{cdxxii} Although strewn with rubble by the mid-19th century,^{cdxxiii} the town retained impressive remains into the 1880s,^{cdxxiv} but materials were filtered off to Gaza and Jaffa^{cdxxv} (where the materials went into the port and elsewhere.^{cdxxvi}) This was in spite of Government regulations, but all on a very small scale, as Hester Stanhope remarks.^{cdxxvii} A new convent also benefited.^{cdxxviii} This happened in part to the large monument Poujoulat saw^{cdxxix} in the Bekaa in 1860, at Madjel Aanjar.¹⁶⁰ Inconveniently large blocks were sawn up as necessary,^{cdxxx} although several buildings in both Ascalon and Jaffa incorporate re-used materials.¹⁶¹ The digging also helped further destruction on Cephalonia, where excavated blocks were soon re-used for a new church on the site.^{cdxxxi}

¹⁶⁰ Blas De Roblès 2004, 171–172 for illustrations of Madjel Aanjar, reckoned the site of Chalcis, with temple on top of the hill.

¹⁶¹ Petersen 2001, 99 for re-used materials in Ascalon. Ibid. 161–175 for re-used materials at Jaffa.

New Landscapes Involve Dismantling

To build anew, old buildings had frequently to come down, because of their location, or because they offered tempting building materials more conveniently and much more cheaply than quarrying fresh blocks. Large modern complexes might be built directly on top of ancient ones, as on the island of Samos,^{cdxxxii} or prestigious churches apparently built with antiquities brought from Constantinople.^{cdxxxiii} Sometimes the work of destruction was recognised and lamented as such, even entailing invidious comparisons with the monumentality of the Greeks. Comparisons between past and present were, as already indicated, common; and these were usually to the detriment of the present. A variation on this theme (which will crop up throughout this book in the accounts of travellers) was the almost inevitable comparison between present poverty and past grandeur among several Moslem populations.^{cdxxxiv} This was also a theme pursued by scholars such as Ibn Khaldun. He had no analogue in the West, and himself not only drew on centuries of Moslem scholarship,^{cdxxxv} but had also visited more towns than the majority of travellers.^{cdxxxvi}

Examples of Dismantling to Destruction

Syria & Egypt

Elsewhere, an increased rate of settlement diminished the ancient remains. Hama, which may have had a fortress after the manner of Aleppo, had lost it through pilfering by 1822.^{cdxxxvii} Jomard in 1818 gives a dismal assessment of Alexandria^{cdxxxviii} – which the French invasion was itself helping to destroy. Van de Velde in 1854 watched as loads of materials were brought to Beirut for re-use, at the expense of Tyre and Sidon.^{cdxxxix} In 1918, Flinders Petrie noted that many of the great churches described by de Vogüé in northern Syria had disappeared, at the hands of an influx of settlers.^{cdxli} Much the same happened to non-classical antiquities down the Orontes.^{cdxlii}

Mediterranean Islands

Very few antiquities were not “dismantled to destruction,” one exception being the monuments to be seen in the fortress at Parrecchia on Paros, so clearly laid out that Leake could reconstruct them in his mind’s eye.^{cdxliii} Nevertheless, the British had extracted sculptures from the island by the mid-17th century,^{cdxliv} and material was later taken by the British to Malta.^{cdxlv} As a result many of the Roman antiquities on that island had disappeared by the end of the 18th century,^{cdxlv} leaving behind the megalithic material which was of no use for modern building. Yet Malta had once been rich in antiquities worthy to be noticed in the 16th century.^{cdxlvi}

Libya

Leptis Magna¹⁶² was too big to disappear, and it provided much marble for Europe¹⁶³ – much of it no doubt taken in late antiquity, especially the marble veneer. There was plenty: its columns were still being re-used in 19th-century mosques in Tripoli,^{cdxlvii} perhaps for decorating the town,^{cdxlviii} and certainly for conversion into millstones^{cdxlix} – which were used to protect at least one Coptic monastery entrance from marauders.^{cdl} At the majority of antique sites, unfortunately, information about later occupation was lost because only the classical period interested the excavators.¹⁶⁴

“Passed Away in Ignominious Utility”:^{cdli} Re-uses for Antiquities

The purposes for which antiquities were abstracted from the Roman landscape were many and various, as censuses demonstrate.¹⁶⁵ Travellers such as Ross, at Athens in 1832, can rattle off lists of re-use, from target-practice to dooreposts.^{cdlii} Other uses include:

Houses & Fortresses

Mediaeval houses were frequently built straight on top of older walls, and with old materials, as for example in Greece.¹⁶⁶ In new buildings the aim, no doubt, was to make as few adjustments as necessary for the new destination.¹⁶⁷ One element it is difficult to assess is plague, which would have reduced manpower, hence increased the cost of transport as well, and perhaps thereby disposed people to re-use old materials.¹⁶⁸ This could also have been the position

¹⁶² Blas de Roblès 1999, 60–90 for a well-illustrated survey.

¹⁶³ Laronde & Degeorge 2005, 200–203 for chronology of Leptis Magna right through ancient, Vandal, Arabic and later periods, including visits of al-Abdari in 1289–90, of the surgeon Girard (1672–9, written up in his *Histoire chronologique du royaume de Tripoly*), a captive at Tripoli; 1686–8 for Consul Claude Lemaire's despatching of columns to France; 1694 for the first description of the ruins by the chevalier Durand, etc.

¹⁶⁴ Bir Ftouha: Kalinowski 2005, 489–535. 489: “Excavators of the 19th and early 20th century either had little interest in the Arab periods or missed the ephemeral evidence which often consisted of the modification of existing structures, or the construction of wells, cisterns and silos, or other utilitarian structures.”

¹⁶⁵ Hamarneh 2003, for Syria: His catalogue notes in its succinct and well-referenced descriptions for each village where earlier buildings have been transformed for later use, or materials re-used from now-gone structures.

¹⁶⁶ Sigalos 2003, 200: “This suggests that preceding spatial forms greatly influenced the plans of Middle Byzantine structures.”

¹⁶⁷ Hanna 1984, 36–7 details the 1191/1777 accounts for the Sadat al-Wafa'iyya Mosque: notes wages paid to the marble workers much lower than to the woodworkers, which “leads one to conclude that much of the marble was re-used marble, already cut up and shaped into form so that the marble workers involved in the project would only have to make certain adjustments.”

¹⁶⁸ Dols 1977, 268–71 for the effects of plague on labour in Cairo: increased building activity, perhaps from bequests from the dead; “The decline of land values may also have encouraged the donation of unprofitable lands for charitable purposes. Since the

in 16th-century England.¹⁶⁹ But large structures required masses of materials. Roumeli Hisar, built in haste, supposedly swallowed several churches^{cdliii} and, although only fragments are now visible in its walls, many more were to be seen in the 1830s.^{cdliv} In the Dardanelles, shafts formed the support for some public toilets.^{cdlv}

Compacting Roofs

One new application which impressed western travellers was the use of column-shafts to flatten the earth on rooftops – an indication in any village that some ancient site was nearby^{cdlvi} – or indeed, as at Samothrace, imported.^{cdlvii} If the roof was not properly rolled, the earth with which every roof was covered would let the rain in.^{cdlviii} Huart observed the same use at Mount Hermon,^{cdlix} Bent on Naxos,^{cdlx} and Temple on Samos.^{cdlxi}

Supporting Trees

On Cos/Stanchio granite and marble columns (and according to one traveller porphyry and verde antico as well^{cdlxii} – a popular stone in Rome)¹⁷⁰ were used to support an immense but drooping tree in the main square. This was also admired by Clarke^{cdlxiii} and Choiseul-Gouffier,^{cdlxiv} although part of it gave way in the late 19th century.^{cdlxv} Stanchio certainly had plentiful antiquities to choose from,^{cdlxvi} and one might wonder whether supporting trees with column-shafts was once more popular: Mytilene, for example, equalled the Cos/Stanchio spread with a giant cypress tree,^{cdlxvii} which was in part where her antiquities had gone.^{cdlxviii} Witmann reports in 1804 an identical use for marble columns on Patmos,^{cdlxix} where a capital was used as an altar table.^{cdlxx} And here, Guérin saw column-shafts by the harbour in 1856.^{cdlxxi}

Agricultural Work

On Cyprus, Baker castigates the farmers for not using some of the many columns lying around to help harrow their fields, without considering that perhaps the farmers knew better how to work their land than he did.^{cdlxxii} In Serbia, however, a few farmers did indeed use marble rollers for threshing;^{cdlxxiii} and navvies used them for road-making in Palestine;^{cdlxxiv} while on Rhodes, small

government's death duties and confiscation of properties belonging to plague victims added greatly to its revenue, the funds may have been used for new monuments and other structures. / In fact, there were an unusually large number of monumental buildings constructed in the sixth decade of the fourteenth century" – and suggests the Sultan Hassan might have been financed from such government revenues.

¹⁶⁹ Howard 2007, 20–24 for "Costs of purchase, costs of conversion" of disestablished religious buildings in 16th-century England; 25 for deliberate destruction at Lewes Priory, perhaps "motivated by the re-sale value of the Caen stone."

¹⁷⁰ Lazzarini 2007, 37: Corsi counted 218 shafts of verde antico there, mostly in churches – but 511 shafts of cipollino verde. Verde antico slabs also paved the Hadrianic Baths at Leptis: *ibid.*, 239 fig 7.

circular altars made handy blocks for mounting horses^{cdlxxv} – or similar antiquities made holy water stoups in the Cyrenaica.¹⁷¹

Millstones for Grain and Olive Presses

The *Description de l’Egypte* notes that granite shafts were broken up in Rosetta (which had possessed plentiful ruins at the start of the 18th century,^{cdlxxvi} already mentioned by Deschamps in 1678)^{cdlxxvii} for the same purpose.^{cdlxxviii} In Alexandria, some of the columns of the “Palace of Cleopatra” (the Serapaeum) were going the same way in the 1720,^{cdlxxix} and this was still happening in 1818.^{cdlxxx} In Cairo, some of the enormous columns from the Citadel may have gone this way by the mid-century.¹⁷² Further up the Nile, the same process was observed at Akmin.^{cdlxxxi} We shall come across many examples of this re-use throughout the course of this book – although sometimes the hardness of the stone defeated conversion^{cdlxxxii} – another reason, as Jomard suggests, why some stones were left alone.^{cdlxxxiii} Millstones were cut from the columns by residents of the island of Myconos in the 1750s,^{cdlxxxiv} who presumably got from Delos the marble church adornments Fiedler noted in 1840.^{cdlxxxv} The same slicing-up happened on Crete in 1837, destroying a temple in the process^{cdlxxxvi} – and probably some of that island’s own antiquities.^{cdlxxxvii} El Djem lost some of its antiquities for the same purpose,^{cdlxxxviii} as did Thrysus.^{cdlxxxix}

The above re-uses are trivial, and noted here because they sprang to the eye of the observant traveller as something out-of-the-ordinary. The ruins of the mediaeval landscape had a great fall, pulled down by scavenging builders or shaken down by earthquakes or decay. No doubt large quantities of them reside to this day in the walls, foundations and in the cellars of later structures. But like Humpty Dumpty, concerted effort could not put them back together again, because except for the few spectacular sculpted blocks or inscriptions retrieved for museums, the rest will have been cut or hacked back, mutilated, or hidden within later walls. In a sense part of the mediaeval landscape still exists – but concealed in disjointed pieces within later structures.

¹⁷¹ Bonacasa Carra 2006, fig 6 for marble base with swags transformed into a holy water stoup – and a cross inserted between the swags.

¹⁷² Ormos 2009, fig 198: lithograph by Ludwig Libay (from his *Egypt, scenes of a voyage to the Orient: Drawn from nature and ed. by L. Libay*) of the Bab al-Nasr in 1856, showing three disused and large millstones, presumably cut from large column shafts, in front of the gate.

- i Lindsay_1838_II_131
- ii Ewing_1895_357
- iii Mac_Carthy_1819_II_246-247
- iv Procopius_Wars_1914ff_II_xiv_6
- v Carette_1848_IV_357-8
- vi Le_Strange_1890_98
- vii Al-Baladhuri_1916_I_371
- viii El-Bekri_1859_70-71
- ix Tissot_1888_580
- x Al-Dimashki_1874_337
- xi Caetani_1909_858
- xii Caetani_1912_415
- xiii Russegger_I_1_1841_75
- xiv Breton_1862_364-365
- xv Ponz_VIII_1784_106-153
- xvi Al-Dimashki_1874_353
- xvii El-Edrisi_1866_231b
- xviii Ibn_Khaldun_1863_I_66-7
- xix Ibn_Khaldun_1863_I_312
- xx Daux_1869_13-14
- xxi Vignon_1887_131
- xxii El-Bekri_1859_98
- xxiii Boissier_1912_48
- xxiv Boissier_1912_51-52
- xxv El_Fezari_1898_18
- xxvi Péchot_1914_II_172
- xxvii Ibn_Khaldun_1865_II_247
- xxviii Gauckler_1910_Item_605f
- xxix MacGill_1815_74
- xxx Pellissier_1853_235-236
- xxxi Pückler_Muskau_1839_II_227-8
- xxxii De_La_Ferté-Meun_1821_133-4
- xxxiii En-Noweiri_1841_571
- xxxiv Arvieux_1735_IV_33
- xxxv Covell_1893_123
- xxxvi Bruce_1790_I_xxi
- xxxvii Ross_1863_210
- xxxviii Hamilton_1837_51
- xxxix Maudrell_1853_137
- xl Al_Tabari_1869_II_79-80
- xli Michel_le_Syrien_1901_II_401
- xlII Al-Maqrizi_1900_71
- xlIII Volney_1792_I_3
- xliv Rozet_1833_I_11
- xlV Maspero_1883_43-44
- xlvi Daux_1869_7
- xlVII Duc_d'Orléans_1892_350
- xlVIII Diehl_1893_295
- xlIX SHD\$2_1M581-1
- I Lindsay_1838_I_27
- II Ibn_Khaldun_1854_IV_394-5
- lii Zerkechi_1895_126
- liii Agapius_II_2_1912_458
- liv Procopius_Wars_1914ff_II_xi_2
- lv Michel_le_Syrien_1868_192
- lvi Graham_1902_77
- lvii Le_Strange_1890_261
- lviii Azais_&Domergue_1858_15-16
- lix Vernet_1844_97
- lx Mas'udi_1865_IV_87
- lxi Ibn_Haukal_1800_43b
- lxii Burckhardt_1822_15
- lxiii Walpole_1820_306
- lxiv Ludolph_of_Suchem_1851_27
- lxv Geoffrey_de_Vinsauf_1848_179-180
- lxvi Sicard_1729_144-5
- lxvii De_la_Guilletière_1676_I_409
- lxviii Abd_Allatif_1810_185-7b
- lxix Al-Dimashki_1874_35
- lxx Webster_1830_II_129
- lxxi Ariosto_1878_85-6
- lxxii Bruce_1790_I_123
- lxxiii Hammer_1844_I_66
- lxxiv Flinders_Petrie_1918_1
- lxxv Castlereagh_1847_II_230-1
- lxxvi De_Saulcy_1853_II_502
- lxxvii Lucas_1704_243-4
- lxxviii Allen_1855_II_190-1
- lxxix Lucas_1704_243
- lxxx Purdy_1826_314
- lxxxi Guérin_1880_I_19
- lxxxii Allard_1864_128-9b
- lxxxiii Van_Egmont_&Heyman_1759_II_309
- lxxxiv Maundrell_1811_314
- lxxxv D'Estournel_1844_I_226-7
- lxxxvi SHD\$3_Génie_GrIH48
- lxxxvii Clarke_1817_VII_145-6
- lxxxviii Clarke_1817_VII_131-2
- lxxxix Beylié_1909_10
- xc Carteron_1866_228-229
- xcI Boissier_1878_134-5
- xcII Pückler_Muskau_1839_I_310-11
- xcIII El-Edrisi_1866_116
- xciv Caetani_1909_512
- xcv Gsell_1893_70
- xcvi Huillard-Bréholles_II_1_1852_369-70
- xcvii Dolomieu_1922_68b
- xcviii Le_Strange_1890_247
- xcix Gilliéron_1877_53
- c Clarke_1898_13
- ci Geary_1878_I_123
- cii Rich_1818_22-3
- ciii Della_Valle_1650_689
- civ Della_Valle_1650_691
- cv Della_Valle_1650_704
- cvi Madden_1829_viii-ix
- cVII Baillie_Fraser_1840_II_13
- cVIII Rich_1818_9
- cix Jowett_1822_129-30b
- cx Bell_1911_74
- cxI Dubois_de_Montpéreux_1839_II_204-5
- cxII Beylié_1907_128-129
- cxIII Bell_1911_240
- cxiv Vitruvius_1914_206-207_&_213-214
- cxv Ibn_Khaldun_1865_II_373
- cxvi Cagnat_&Saladin_1894_165
- cxvii Garston_1842_107-8
- cxviii De_Vere_1850_78
- cxix Fellows_1839_255
- cxX Leo_Africanus_1898_III_180-181
- cxXI Mármol_1667_II_95
- cxXII Benoît_1851_387b
- cxXIII Melon_1885_76b
- cxXIV Mahaffy_1892_338

- cxv Fiedler_1840_I_362
 cxvi Ross_1841_74
 cxvii Vimercati_1849_17
 cxviii Beaufort_1818_153
 cxix Beaufort_1818_2
 cxx Reinach_1891_126-7
 cxxi Guérin_1880_II_441
 cxxii Ross_1840_64
 cxxiii Newton_1865_
 I_247
 cxxiv Rangabe_1842_7
 cxxv Urquhart_1838_II_60
 cxxvi Jomard_1818_II_5b
 cxxvii Ross_1843_122b
 cxxviii Guérin_1856_
 208-9
 cxxix Jomard_1818_
 II_15-16
 cxl Henniker_1823_98
 cxli Tully_1819_I_18
 cxlii Pococke_1814_641
 cxliii Viquesnel_1867_
 II_149
 cxliv Bartholdy_1807_
 II_105
 cxlv Hogarth_1910_121-2
 cxlvi Gregory_1859_
 II_21-22
 cxlvii Omont_1902_I_
 125-126
 cxlviii Dumont_1868_
 II_238-241
 cxlix Spratt_1865_II_198
 cl Spratt_1865_I_352
 cli Clarke_1817_IV_44
 clii Spratt_1865_I_242
 cliii Hamilton_1842_
 II_16-17
 cliv Heude_1819_110
 clv Sandwich_1807_84
 clvi Pococke_1811_709
 clvii Veryard_1701_354b
 clviii Agapius_II_21912_
 482
 clix Fellows_1839_47-8
 clx Millet_1916_4
 clxi Leake_1841_I_100
 clxii Leake_1841_I_100-101
 clxiii Belon_1588_128-129
 clxiv Féraud_1872_322
 clxv Féraud_1872_325-326
 clxvi Porter_1855_157
 clxvii Burckhardt_1822_
 233-4
 clxviii BICA_1837_168
 clxix Graham_1858_250-1
 clxx Lindsay_1838_II_152
 clxxi Ewing_1895_357-8
 clxxii Tristram_1873_97
 clxxiii Omont_1902_34-5
 clxxiv Lechevalier_1800_
 I_36
 clxxv Mariti_1760-7_24
 clxxvi Conder_1881_I_303
 clxxvii Conder_1887_96
 clxxviii Vetromile_1871_
 II_28
 clxxix Tissot_1877_149
 clxxx Mouléras_1902_113
 clxxxi Ponz_
 XVIII_1794_95-6
 clxxxii Carter_1777_
 II_96-7b
 clxxxiii Napier_1842_
 I_128-129
 clxxxiv Morgado_1587_
 277-278
 clxxxv Ponz_IX_1786_72
 clxxxvi Jacob_1811_342
 clxxxvii Jacob_1811_326
 clxxxviii Maudrell_
 1853_39
 clxxxix Aucher-Eloy_
 1843_64-5
 cxc Porter_1835_I_226
 cxci Della_Cella_1840_259
 cxcii Rohlf's_1871_I_43
 cxciii Cagnat_1884_II_139
 cxciv El-Bekri_1859_139
 cxcv Seetzen_1855_III_294
 cxevi Tissot_1888_685
 cxevii Peters_1893_4-5
 cxeviii Ewing_1895_64
 cxcix Seetzen_1859_
 IV_205-206
 cc Radcliffe_Travelling_
 Fellow_1852_40
 cci PEF_1881_218
 ccii PEF_1885_167-8
 cciii Conder_1885_158b
 cciv Ewing_1895_234
 ccv Barth_1896_I_31
 ccvi Vernet_1844_35-36
 ccvii Boissier_1878_132
 ccviii Perrier_1842_33
 ccix Fabre_1846_379-380
 ccc Le_Strange_1890_462
 ccxi El-Edrisi_1866_138
 ccxii El-Edrisi_1866_148
 ccxiii Ibn_Khaldun_1865_
 II_360
 ccxiv Rifaud_1830_114
 ccxv Davis_1874_267
 ccxvi Vandal_1900_127
 ccxvii Brocchi_1842_
 III_514-15
 ccxviii De_Saulcy_1853_I_46
 ccxix Mariti_1791_II_135
 cccc Galt_1813_100
 ccxxi Leake_1841_II_161
 ccxxii Clark_1858_37-8
 ccxxiii Gasparin_1848_I_115
 ccxxiv Bruce_1790_I_
 lxxii-lxxiii
 ccxxv Arundell_1834_I_105
 ccxxvi Langlois_1861_110
 ccxxvii Raoul-
 Rochette_1850_235
 ccxxviii Della_Cella_1840_
 Preface_vii
 ccxxix Davis_1874_194
 ccccc Reinach_1891_153
 cccxi Charnes_1891_50
 cccxii Sterrett_1889_
 17-18
 cccxxiii Langlois_1861_180
 cccxxiv Roscoe_1838_27
 cccxxv Scrofani_1801_I_141
 cccxxvi Scrofani_1801_
 I_148
 cccxxvii Waldstein_1892_6
 cccxxviii Wyse_1865_I_147
 cccxxix Benoît_1850_
 618-19
 ccxl Sonnini_1801_I_337
 ccxli Leycester_1850_32
 ccxlii Leycester_1850_34
 ccxliii Deschamps_1894_16
 ccxiv Pellissier_1853_290
 ccxlv Niebuhr_1776_I_78
 ccxlv D'Estournel_1844_
 I_98
 ccxlvii Langlois_1861_115
 ccxlviii Choiseul-
 Gouffier_1842_III_361
 ccxlix Arundell_1828_34
 ccl Seriziat_1868_474
 ccli Millingen_1912_53b
 cclii Merrill_1881_400-401
 ccliii Clavijo_1859_38
 ccliv 'Abd_El_Basel_
 1896_225

- cclv Gaudefroy-
 Demombynes_1923_36
 cclvi Poujoulat_1847_
 II_310
 cclvii Jackson_1811_38-9b
 cclviii Armand-Pignel_
 1836_123-4
 cclix Pückler_
 Muskau_1839_I_28
 cclx Gaffarel_1883_646
 cclxi Rozet_ &_Carette_
 1850_35b
 cclxii Diehl_1893_10
 cclxiii Carron_1859_64
 cclxiv SHD\$4_Génie_
 GRuH910
 cclxv Saint-Arnaud_
 1855_I_212b
 cclxvi Renier_1851_58
 cclxvii Péchot_1914_I_237
 cclxviii Bory-de-Saint-
 Vincent_1838_2
 cclxix Barges_1859_409
 cclxx Bory-de-Saint-
 Vincent_1838_10
 cclxxi Bory-de-Saint-
 Vincent_1838_10
 cclxxii Playfair_1891_81
 cclxxiii Carron_1859_84
 cclxxiv El-Bekri_1859_
 105-106 (completed
 1068)
 cclxxv El-Kairouani_
 1845_52
 cclxxvi Le_Strange_
 1890_228
 cclxxvii Et-Tidjani_1852_
 254 note 1.
 cclxxviii El-Edrisi_
 1866_133
 cclxxix Mármol_1667_
 I_487
 cclxxx Shaw_1738_151
 cclxxxi SHD\$5_MR_1675
 cclxxxii Boissier_1899_53b
 cclxxxiii Mármol_1667_
 II_396
 cclxxxiv Meakin_1901_150
 cclxxxv Al-Tenessay_
 1887_153-4
 cclxxxvi El-Bekri_1859_248
 cclxxxvii Roscoe_1838_183
 cclxxxviii Tissot_1876_15
 cclxxxix Tissot_1881_32-3
- ccxc Turner_1820_III_34
 ccxci Russell_1835_203b
 ccxcii Ibn_Khaldun_1854_
 IV_180
 ccxciii Leo_Africanus_
 1897_II_68-69
 ccxciv Anon_1785_70
 ccxcv Leo_Africanus_
 1896_II_420-1
 ccxcvi Anon_1785_69
 ccxcvii Lithgow_1906_324
 ccxcviii Leake_1830_
 III_245-7
 ccxcix D'Estournel_1844_
 I_126
 ccc Wordsworth_1837_267
 ccc Castellan_1820_I_
 240-1
 cccli Castellan_1820_I_257
 ccclii Fiedler_1841_II_222
 cccliv Morritt_1914_214-15
 ccclv Cobham_1908_54
 ccclvi Seetzen_1854_II_98
 ccclvii Sonnini_1801_
 I_60-61
 ccclviii Baker_1879_54
 ccclix Colonna-
 Ceccaldi_1882_18
 ccclx Cobham_1908_381
 ccclxi Sandwich_1807_391
 ccclxii Shaw_1738_192
 ccclxiii Mariti_1791_I_109
 ccclxiv Mariti_1909_44
 ccclxv Mas_Latrie_1850_522
 ccclxvi De_Riedesel_
 1802_254
 ccclxvii Maurand_1901_
 156-8
 ccclxviii Benoît_1851_387c
 ccclxix Leake_1835_III_96
 ccclxx Diehl_1893_137-9
 ccclxxi Spon_ &_
 Wheler_1679_I_135
 ccclxxii Spon_ &_
 Wheler_1679_I_139-40
 ccclxxiii Sainte_
 Maure_1724_41
 ccclxxiv BICA_1830_10
 ccclxxv Benoît_1851_387
 ccclxxvi Sonnini_1801_
 II_313
 ccclxxvii Boschini_1658_72
 ccclxxviii De_La_Motraye_
 1727_196
- ccclxxix Georgirenes_
 1678_4
 ccclxxx Buondelmonti_
 1897_227
 ccclxxxi Pococke_1811_642
 ccclxxxii Ross_1843_122
 ccclxxxiii Ross_III_1845_
 52-53
 ccclxxxiv Guérin_1856_
 201-2
 ccclxxxv Guérin_1856_
 257-8
 ccclxxxvi Guérin_1856_215
 ccclxxxvii Sauneron_1952
 ccclxxxviii Smith_1852_211
 ccclxxxix Jouanne_ &_
 Isambert_1861_956
 ccclxl Muqaddasi_1896_
 18-19
 ccclxli Ibn_Haukal_
 1800_42-3
 ccclxlii Jacobus_de_
 Verona_1895_292
 ccclxliii Hammer_1844_
 I_444
 ccclxliv Tilley_1864_367
 ccclxlv 'Abd_El_
 Basel_1896_216-17
 ccclxli 'Abd_El_
 Basel_1896_203-4
 ccclxlvii Jacobus_de_
 Verona_1895_292b
 ccclxlviii Blount_1636_39
 ccclxlix Henniker_1823_107
 cccll Rochfort_Scott_
 1837_I_335
 ccclli Bruce_1790_I_361
 cccllii Porter_1855_II_91
 ccclliii Pococke_1811_523
 ccclliv Robinson_1837_
 196-7
 cccllv Porter_1855_II_102-3
 ccclvi Wolcott_
 Redding_1873_333ff
 ccclvii Lindsay_1838_
 II_156-157
 ccclviii Campbell_1739_
 382
 ccclix Lucas_1704_150-1
 ccclx Cadalvène_1841_
 I_340-1
 ccclxi Porter_1855_II_76
 ccclxii Flinders_
 Petrie_1918_87

- ccelxiii Elliott_1838_II_320
 ccelxv Monk_1851_II_284-5
 ccelxv Le_Strange_1890_402
 ccelxvi Buondelmonti_1897_178
 ccelxvii Belon_1553_8
 ccelxviii Belli_1854_22-3
 ccelxix Belli_1854_21
 ccelxx De_la_Porte_1765_I_270-271
 ccelxxi Sonnini_1801_I_447b
 ccelxxii Rochfort_Scott_1837_272
 ccelxxiii Savary_1853_131
 ccelxxiv Hamilton_1842_I_413-14
 ccelxxv Tissot_1888_206-207
 ccelxxvi Pellissier_1853_303
 ccelxxvii Belli_1854_12
 ccelxxviii Falkener_1854_17
 ccelxxix Pashley_1837_I_313-14
 ccelxxx Turner_1820_III_27b
 ccelxxxi Burton_&_Drake_1882_I_170-2b
 ccelxxxii Stanhope_1846_I_235
 ccelxxxiii El-Bekri_1859_5
 ccelxxxiv Dubois_de_Montpéroux_1843_VI_153
 ccelxxxv Langlois_1854_IV_45
 ccelxxxvi Ford_1846_26
 ccelxxxvii Ibn_Khaldun_1863_I_310
 ccelxxxviii Maspero_1883_46-47
 ccelxxxix Mac_Farlane_1850_I_317
 cccxc Hamilton_1856_84
 cccxi Russell_1835_167-168
 cccxii Della_Cella_1840_195b
 cccxiii Della_Cella_1840_43
 cccxiv Procopius_Buildings_1940_VI_iv_1-3
 cccxcv Castlereagh_1847_I_124
 cccxcvi Smyth_1854_480-481
 cccxcvii Omont_1902_I_311-312
 cccxcviii Al-Maqrizi_1900_631
 cccxcix Stephens_1839_31
 cd St_John_1834_I_315-16
 cdi Davis_1874_96
 cdii Cesnola_1878_253-4
 cdiii Smyth_1854_489
 cdv Guérin_1875_II_408
 cdv Clarke_1814_II_130
 cdvi Waddington_1853_46
 cdvii Guérin_1880_I_228
 cdviii Hamilton_1856_42-3
 cdix Russell_1835_175
 cdx Gauckler_1910_10
 cdx Michon_1853_I_235
 cdxii Flinders_Petrie_1918_7
 cdxiii Stanhope_1846_III_163
 cdxiv Stanhope_1846_III_166
 cdxv Michaud_&_Poujoulat_1834_V_383-4
 cdxvi Tobler_1859_42-3
 cdxvii Turner_1820_II_294
 cdxviii PEF_1873_136b
 cdxix Sicard_1717_120-1
 cdx De_Lasseur_1922_118
 cdxxi Muqaddasi_1896_54
 cdxii Ibn_Battuta_1874_I_126-127
 cdxiii Tobler_1859_33-34
 cdxiv PEF_1879_184
 cdxv PEF_1875_155
 cdxvi Guérin_1868_I_6
 cdxvii Stanhope_1846_I_195
 cdxviii Laorty-Hadji_1854_274b
 cdxix Poujoulat_1861_383
 cdx PEF_1885_172
 cdxxi Riemann_1879_II_58
 cdxiii Guérin_1856_227
 cdxiiii Thévenot_1727_303
 cdxv Paul_1865_96
 cdxvi Ibn_Khaldun_1844_28
 cdxvii Ibn_Khaldun_1844_299-300
 cdxviii Burckhardt_1822_146
 cdxix Jomard_1818_II_83
 cdx Van_de_Velde_1854_I_61-62
 cdxl Flinders_Petrie_1918_4
 cdxli Conder_1885_33
 cdxlii Leake_1835_III_85-7b
 cdxliii Thévenot_1727_I_331-332
 cdxliv Ross_1840_40
 cdxlv Bres_1816_350-1
 cdxlvi Fontano_1545_75-76
 cdxlvii Rohlfis_1871_I_28
 cdxlviii De_Bisson_1881_11
 cdxlix Smyth_1854_479-480
 cdli Reybaud_IV_1844_41
 cdlii Mrs_Walker_1886_163b
 cdliii Ross_1863_171-172
 cdliiii Hammer_1844_I_223
 cdliiv Moltke_1877_37-38
 cdliiv Michaud_&_Poujoulat_1835_II_146
 cdlii Hartley_1833_266
 cdlii Tozer_1890_319
 cdlii De_Pardieu_1851_363
 cdlix Huart_1879_32
 cdlix Bent_1885_353-4
 cdlii Temple_1836_I_107
 cdlii Sandwich_1807_338
 cdliiii Clarke_1817_VII_249-50
 cdlix Choiseul-Gouffier_1842_I_170-1
 cdlix Paton_&_Hicks_1891_XLVIII
 cdlixvi Sandwich_1807_337
 cdlixvii Walker_1897_194
 cdlixviii Oliver_1801_62
 cdlixix Wittman_1804_92-3
 cdlix Guérin_1856_92
 cdlix Guérin_1856_13b
 cdlixii Baker_1879_28
 cdlixiii Spencer_1851_I_85
 cdlixiv Hull_1885_149

cdlxxv Newton_1865_I_178
 cdlxxvi Lucas_1704_47
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 1678_84
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 II_Appendix_24

cdlxxxi Reybaud_VII_1834_
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 cdlxxxii Conder_&_
 Kitchener_II_1882_17
 cdlxxxiii Jomard_1818_II_23
 cdlxxxiv Drummond_
 1754_108
 cdlxxxv Fiedler_1841_
 II_267

cdlxxxvi Pashley_1837_
 I_105-6
 cdlxxxvii Boschini_
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 cdlxxxviii Kennedy_1846_
 II_120-1
 cdlxxxix Temple_1835_
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CHAPTER TWO

GREEK AND ROMAN TOWNS

The move to the countryside in Late Antiquity left many antique sites to fall to ruin. In Western Europe, town revival and re-use of the antique dates from at least the year 1000, and obliterated many ancient remains completely. In our Crescent, on the other hand, ancient towns in many areas stayed generally unplundered until the 17th century onwards, when our travellers provide lists of where and how antiquities were employed in the construction of new towns, or exported into museums in the West.

From Town to Countryside

Primacy of Towns

Towns, where the varieties of Roman architecture were displayed,¹ have until recently been considered by scholars the centrepiece of Greek and Roman life. This reflects the simple fact that down the centuries there has been a tendency in Europe to ignore what Roman countryside remained because of the greater prominence of erstwhile Roman towns, which also affected the layout of later settlements built on top of them, such as Arabic towns.²

For even if within an often much-altered environment,³ and re-jigged or abandoned monuments, thanks in part to legislation to preserve buildings,⁴ many erstwhile Roman towns – in Spain, for example – continued some form of civic life, and had antiquities rebuilt into their structures (or vice versa!). This happened at Cartama,ⁱ and especially Mérida,ⁱⁱ where the Temple of Diana

¹ Hesberg 2005, for a typological survey of Roman architecture, with 276–281 a brief bibliography by type. Ibid. 63–77 for its place in city life.

² Petruccioli 2002, for discussion of grid plans.

³ Kardulias 2005, for Isthmia, 47–56 “The debate over the transition from late antiquity to the early Byzantine period.” Including the urban-rural divide.

⁴ Cattani 2002: wide ranging – not just Italy.

provided resources in late antiquity and also in the Renaissance,⁵ beautifying houses and churches.ⁱⁱⁱ Other classical areas were now occupied, now abandoned.⁶ Indeed, a whole range of monuments there found an afterlife,⁷ although these have degraded over the past two centuries.⁸ As Guardia remarks for Catalonia, much has survived only because it was re-used.⁹ Seville, liberally scattered with antiquities in the 19th century^{iv} (as perhaps had once been nearby towns such as Lebrija)^v had taken its antiquities from nearby Itálica, at least by tradition,¹⁰ current since at least the 16th century;^{vi} and cartloads were removed in the 1830s to dam the river.^{vii} Possibly the third stage of the Great Mosque there, on columns, benefitted from the now-ruined Madinat al Zahra, as perhaps also the baths.¹¹ A later tradition suggests that it was Seville which was the Roman town^{viii} – and indeed a town which got some of its antiquities from Jerusalem.^{ix} Münzer, in Seville when the Great Mosque had been part-dismantled and the new Cathedral building, says there were 90 columns in that building, but these were apparently of local stone.^x The townscape of Palencia had little to show for its Roman past, but its antiquities were collected into museums.^{xi} The richness of such towns and monuments is reflected in enthusiastic descriptions of the marbles used,^{xii} and comparisons with Western setups, such as Leo Africanus in North Africa.^{xiii}

⁵ Mateos Cruz & Sastre de Diego 2001, for late antique re-use of elements of the Temple of Diana in Mérida; *ibid.* 403–411 for re-used material in Don Alonso Mexia's Palacio de los Corbos, end of 15thC.

⁶ Alba & Mateos 2006: “progressive dismantlement” in the 5thC onwards. Fig 341 marble fragments: *desechados procedentes del estriado de los fustes de mármol (del templo) devastados para reutilizar los bloques.* 364–372 on use of the site for housing 5th–8thC. 372–380 abandonment and reoccupation. Well-illustrated epilogue, with usefully labeled photographs.

⁷ Picard 1996, on Mérida: includes plentiful quotation, with sections on Moslem admiration for military architecture, especially the city walls (107–109), on the originality and beauty of the ancient monuments, including the aqueduct, the palaces at the Alcazaba, the bridge (109–111), and also the Christian buildings of the past (111–113).

⁸ Nünnerich-Asmus 1993, 294–295 & pl. 64–5 for the architrave blocks from a Hadrianic structure re-used in the so-called Hornito de Santa Eulalia, hence illustrated fig 130 through A. Del Laborde's engraving; cf. 64a–b for the surviving fragments.

⁹ Guardia 2006, survey of re-used material in Catalonia at 204–211.

¹⁰ Luzón Nogué 1999, 17–57 Itálica from the Renaissance onwards, and antiquities extracted. Trunk 2003, 19 for tradition that some or nearly all of the sculptures came from Itálica, and a few from Don Fadrique's trip to the Holy Land 1518/1520. But much seems to have come from Italy. Author does not (cannot?) indicate source in the catalogue entries.

¹¹ Valor Piechotta 2008, Seville: 150–160 for baths. 123–141 for the Great Mosque, begun 1172. 134 for the third construction stage of the mosque, 1189–1198, apparently with shafts and capitals brought from Madinat. According to their computer reconstruction, the original building had arcades on pillars, not columns. 118–160 but the Mosque of Ibn Adabbas, 829–830, did have columns.

Move to the Countryside

But the movement away from towns in late antiquity and later (for example in Asia Minor¹² or in Palestine or Arabia)¹³ is in part a result of Christianisation, with the changes this also wrought in the life of the city.¹⁴ As Saradi remarks, “The Lives of saints are marked by an anti-pagan and anti-urban message, a message against the basic elements of antique culture.”¹⁵ This did indeed directly counter part of the Roman rationale for the beautification of their cities,¹⁶ perhaps incorporating powers which needed somehow to be neutralised, usually through mutilation¹⁷ or outright destruction.¹⁸ But we should also be aware of the large quantities of settlements in the hinterland of antique towns, as at Side.¹⁹ Perhaps the shift also left urban temples in shrunken or abandoned cities an easier and earlier prey to dismantling,²⁰ and the fate of Roman antiquities in Western cities shows how little survived.²¹ Decline with some similar characteristics is also seen further east,²² and civic space degrades as central authority withers.²³ This is not the place for any extended discussion on why Roman towns declined, except to note that there was less commerce over long distances. A lower population, and earthquakes also played a

¹² Brandes 1989, for towns in Asia Minor in the 7th–8thC, 15–22 for an overview of the sources written and archaeological. Ibid. 28–43 for city life as seen in 6th–8thC (largely Byzantine – a few Arabic) sources. Poulter 2007 for an overview.

¹³ Di Segni 1999, for building in Palestine and Arabia: little is later than Justinian, except that (165) “new churches sprout like mushrooms after a rainstorm” in the later 6thC and beyond. Author suggests (165) that places like Jerash and other cities were “slowly being abandoned... in favour of the countryside.”

¹⁴ Brenk 2003, for a broad survey, including overview case studies of Philippi (8–10), Jerash (10–24), Bosra (25–27) and Apamea (28–31). Butcher 2003, 395–397 on Syria: The Christianization of the landscape.

¹⁵ Saradi 2008, 113.

¹⁶ Foerster 2008, 79 on marble sculpture: “Among the causes for pride of the citizens of the helleneis poleis in the Near East should be included the rich embellishment of the towns, their public and private monuments, with a variety of high-quality imported marble statues from the workshops of Asia Minor, Greece, and occasionally Italy.”

¹⁷ Pollini 2008, for the destruction or deliberate desecration of pagan statues.

¹⁸ Trombley 2008.

¹⁹ Nollé 1993, 15–23 for long list of Siedlungen und Ruinenplätze auf den Territorium von Side.

²⁰ Eingartner 2005, 109–129 for the location of temples within the urban setting in North Africa, and 131–157 for a survey of various cities.

²¹ Hesberg 2008, with examples largely from Germany, and discussion of a “neue Sakral-topographie.”

²² Sharma 1987, 122–31 for India: Nature of Early Medieval Monastic Settlements; i.e. decrease of urban elements, absence of seals, paucity of metal money, decrease in craft tools and craft work, and fall in trade; e.g. Roman coins and goods show a sudden drop in the 3rd century.

²³ Butcher 2003, 261–269 for Syria.

part, and all such changes engendered conditions accelerating the decline of the urban environment, as at Ephesus.²⁴ But one factor in the possible survival of temples is the survival of pagan practices in town and countryside, as suggested for Spain.²⁵ Equally, the repopulation of ancient towns after (and probably during) the Middle Ages affected the re-use of their antiquities, as in Greece.²⁶

Discerning Town Plans

As early as the 15th century, well-read men discovered and described ancient town layouts. Fabri was interested in the signs of occupation – and marble-looting – he found in Palestine in the 1480s.^{xiv} Some travelers also described towns' water supply, as at El Campillo, near Alicante^{xv} But in our Crescent, many cities and their landscapes were unaltered since antique and mediaeval times and well into the 19th century, except that they were in ruins. These included some little-known but obviously important sites, such as Bala Hisar,^{xvi} or Sagalassos,^{xvii} where beautiful capitals survived in 1828, and pedestals – but not the statues to go on them.^{xviii} (The story was similar near Eskisehir in 1824.)^{xix} The exception was some re-use of antique materials in subsequent centuries to make churches, fortresses, mosques, tomb and houses on the ruined sites, or sometimes carried away.

We can trace a continuing (re-) development through colonnaded streets, which were a prominent feature of the Roman imprint in the East,²⁷ such as at Aphrodisias,²⁸ Perge²⁹ or Jerusalem^{xx} (cf. the Madaba Map), and perhaps last

²⁴ Ladstätter & Pülz 2007, 394–6 for evidence of earthquake devastation at Ephesus. 398 restoration priorities were first water, then fountains, then “the restoration of the city’s civic and luxurious appearance.”

²⁵ Quiroga & Martínez Tejera 2006, 125: el lento progreso de la cristianización en el medio rural para determinadas áreas de la Península y otro, síntoma y consecuencia de lo anterior, el mantenimiento de prácticas y espacios culturales paganos tanto en la ciudad como en el campo.

²⁶ Bintliff 2000, for assessing the Byzantine countryside: 44–45 devastating depopulation after the Black Death of 14th–15thC, and repopulation with Albanians: cf. the 1466 defter; fig 12 for Graeco-Roman cities and later villages in Boeotia.

²⁷ Bejor 1999: his tentative catalogue 125–128 lists 86 – and he promises he will return to the subject. Barresi 2003, 297–299 for colonnaded frontispieces – un tratto caratteristico delle città romane di Asia Minore. Klinkott 2008 for an overview of colonnaded streets.

²⁸ Millas 2005, 144 for aerial view of Aphrodisias theatre and colonnades. Under half the shafts survive in the colonnaded street up to the acropolis.

²⁹ Millas 2005, 308–309 for aerial view of Perge, colonnaded street and adjacent market, itself colonnaded; with perhaps 50% of the shafts surviving.

seen at Abu Mina.³⁰ These would often be re-used for shops and houses.³¹ It is becoming more evident that Arab invasions did not upset ancient landscapes,³² although re-use often demolished most evidence for such colonnades, as at Alexandria.³³ Assuming little population increase, landscapes covered with the ruins of ancient towns were to be found all over our Crescent. Thus nineteenth-century^{xxi} scholars are still able to paint a cogent picture of the disposition of houses and farms in the hinterland of, for example, Cherrhell,³⁴ unoccupied until the French invasion, and to suggest invasions as a reason for abandonment along the littoral of Tunisia.^{xxii} El-Bekri in the 11th century described a town near Bône, now disappeared, the monuments looking as if the builders had just left.^{xxiii} If the case of Rafid on the Golan, a late Roman and Byzantine village, they last left in 1973.³⁵

The common re-use of column shafts for funerary use our Crescent may have come in part from the Eastern liking for colonnades, surely much easier to knock down than integrated structures. Those that survive are in depopulated areas, such as Jerash, where Seetzen, in 1810, counted two hundred columns still supporting their entablature.^{xxiv} In Egypt in the same period, whole cities were still to be found, also boasting colonnades, and early churches with their re-used columns intact or nearly so, as at Hermopolis Magna.^{xxv}

Change over Time

Ancient towns, unless completely abandoned (as many were) changed over time, and this generally involved re-using antiquities. Thus Buckingham in 1825 describes the richness of reworked monuments at Bosra.^{xxvi} At Capernaum, the huts had antiquities for the walls, and reeds for the roof;^{xxvii} Algerian towns could sport a wood-and-stone mix,^{xxviii} and Radet found much the same glorious muddle in Phrygia.^{xxix} Seetzen, in 1810, was the first Westerner to describe the important city of Abila, in the Decapolis;^{xxx} not far away, Irby described Gadara in 1823.^{xxxi} The club-sandwich aspect, with small villages sitting on top of metres of detritus and the ancient city at the bottom, prompted Jowett to some apposite biblical quotations.^{xxxii} And if cities were built on good arable land, their remains would be removed plough-deep, and anything lower left alone, as at Carteia,^{xxxiii} where antiquities were scattered in farmhouse walls,^{xxxiv} including a large house.^{xxxv} Landslides had the same effect, preserving lower layers from robbers who found all they wanted nearer to

³⁰ Grossmann 1999, for Abu Mina as a late example of antique town planning, including a colonnaded street.

³¹ Westphalen 2006, 186–9 for the transformation of colonnaded streets.

³² Hamarneh 2003, 226–9 for Syria: prosperity of such villages in the 8thC, and 229–30 continuing in the Umayyad period.

³³ Tkaczow 1993, on Alexandria: In the centre of the city, cf. her Cats 66 (Debris of columns and capitals), 67 (Foundations and colonnade) and 68 (Ruins and colonnade) – all now disappeared.

³⁴ Leveau 1984, 399–417 La campagne autour de Caesarea: les habitats antiques. 402 for table of villae.

³⁵ Urman 2006, for a village abandoned following the 1973 war.

the surface, as at Nysa.³⁶ But sometimes nature helped preserve ruin-fields, as with the marshy conditions which developed at Miletus,^{xxxvi} making the use of her ancient harbour (and hence extraction of antiquities) impracticable, and where water dispositions have been closely studied.³⁷

The Hunt for Iron and Lead

Luckily, such wilful destruction shocked some travellers, which is why we learn about it. For the hunt for useful metals – to be obtained from walls, column-joints, railing and plaques – was frequent. Lead, valuable for building work,^{xxxvii} especially for fortresses,^{xxxviii} and surely a marker of high quality,^{xxxix} was essential for high-quality roofing, and for securely joining column drums, as at Kufa:^{xl} monoliths, of course, needed lead only for securing base and capital to the shaft. Fountains and aqueducts were destroyed for their lead in the Crimea, for example at Kaffa,^{xli} where the water conduits were destroyed as well.^{xlii} One factor contributing to the demise of ancient water systems was of course the removal of lead piping: was this ever used as water-piping elsewhere? And were terracotta pipes re-used anywhere? In other words, is there a hierarchy of stripping and re-use?

At Baalbek the locals – “sent by Providence to chastise the pride and vices of civilized man”^{xliii} – also destroyed to find metal, which was always in short supply. But, much worse, even trying to tidy up from such scavenging endangered already tottering monuments and destroyed evidence, because at Baalbek in the 1880s payment for the work of cleaning up the site was made by handing over the cleared materials themselves.^{xliv} On the Acropolis at Athens, reliefs were chipped by the soldiers, in search for lead presumably to be used

³⁶ Kadioglu 2006, 161 for Nysa: c.90% of ground storey architectural elements survive, so obviously buried. Survivals fewer as we ascend to the 2nd and 3rd storeys, where only fragmentary column shafts survive, including one SF523 which is complete, but in 4 pieces – presumably left behind when robbing out as of no value. Similarly, only two composite capitals survive from 2nd storey and, from 3rd storey, no column shafts but eight capitals, 4 of which are 40–55cm high – too heavy to be moved, or just no use for anything? 315–329: 12 statues of the 1st and 2nd storeys survive, including several heads.

³⁷ Tuttahs 2007, for Miletus' water: fig 206 for diagram of highlights 300 BC to 600 AD. Some seem to be still going after 500, but the Justinian wall erected 538 seems likely to have stopped everything thereafter – or at least, author has the Nymphaeum Aqueduct, the Faustina Baths etc. as dotted lines. Ibid., 363–442 for Miletus and water from Byzantines to Ottomans.

for bullets.^{xlv} Again, if De Breuvery is correct, some locals could not identify granite columns as stone (this is different from the usual confusion between marble and granite),^{xlvi} took them for bronze, and tried to melt them down.^{xlvii} Always in demand, cadastral markers were being filched in Egypt in 1908 for their metal^{xlviii} – just as temple walls were being mined for their metal a century earlier^{xlix} and probably long before that.

So disheartened did one traveller become at all the destruction he witnessed that he asked his friend to forgive his not recording monuments that would likely disappear tomorrow: “C’est surtout avant que les monumens ne tombent, qu’on doit noter avec un soin religieux leur forme, leur architecture, leur physionomie de marbre ou de pierre. Si je rencontrais dans le désert quelque temple inconnu, qui dût croûler le lendemain sous le marteau de l’homme, de me pardonner vous de ne point en décrire les colonnes, le portique, le fronton, les frises, les piédestaux?”^l Iron and lead were of course very useful, engendering toponyms,^{li} and we find mediaeval fortresses being listed as secure from invasion precisely because their building blocks are thus clamped together.^{lii} For good reason, “the columns” was a common toponym in later centuries, as in Morocco,^{liii} at Bassae,^{liv} in Arcadia,^{lv} and in Libya^{lvi} – just as was Viransehir – “old ruins” – in Turkey.^{lvii} At least one quarry was similarly signalled in a post-antique toponym,^{lviii} and a theatre.^{lix}

For other metals such as bronze, we need archaeologists to uncover the evidence – as at Ptolemais, where the smelting was done on the spot.³⁸ Evidence shows that this also happened in Roman villas, either when they were being dismantled, or at some later time.

Far from the Madding Crowd

Uninhabited and Semi-intact – Until the 19th Century?

If decline was probably the fate of many urban centres,³⁹ when did actual destruction occur? Statues, of which the Roman Near East had an enormous population,⁴⁰ were sometimes treated in a cavalier fashion, as for example in Rome.⁴¹ But the idea of Christians destroying pagan sculpture is generally wrong, because such illustrious work could for some scholars

³⁸ Kraeling 1962, 265–6, 271–2.

³⁹ Kardulias 2005, for Isthmia, 107–124 “External correlations: Isthmia and the Aegean region” – i.e. the fate of urban culture elsewhere in the region.

⁴⁰ Eliav 2008, for sculpture in the Roman Near East, with a monumental bibliography, 679–750.

⁴¹ Coates-Stephens 2007, for the destruction and display of statues in Rome.

represent their heritage⁴² – although this of course simply a transposed modern concept. In many cases such destruction was noted only in newsworthy sites, such as those biblical ones sought by our travellers Bible in hand, or classical ones described in the ancient authors. Most of our travellers' accounts are from the 19th century, and it seems likely that the pace of destruction and re-use picked up in the course of that century.

Elsewhere, cities distant from large and growing modern towns, such as Messene,^{lx} or Jerash,⁴³ survived as extensive fields of ruins. Messene was vanishing by 1840, when Fiedler noted that only small columns remained.^{lxi} Others were seen as certain to out-last the insubstantial Moslem houses they contained, as at Teboursuk.^{lxii} Carter thought much the same of the poor Christian remains at Cartama, after the antiquities had been carted off to Madrid,^{lxiii} just as later they were collected in Malagà.^{lxiv} A certain amount of material went into new fortresses, as we shall see, but military re-use could not exhaust the extensive supply of remains at large sites – although it probably did at small places such as Sétif,^{lxv} which apparently had few Roman antiquities (as opposed to the Byzantine fort) still visible in the 1830s.^{lxvi} So completely uninhabited ancient cities such as Jerash, still important in late antiquity,⁴⁴ retained many of their monuments into the 19th century,^{lxvii} including a theatre the vomitoria of which were inhabited in the 1830s.^{lxviii} Bustron writes in the later 15th century of large quantities of statues to be seen at Curion on Cyprus;^{lxix} and El Djem, in Tunisia, suitably inland, had plenty of antique statues to admire in 1738, as well as her amphitheatre. This, both in the 7th century and more recently, was in use as a fortress,^{lxx} but then partly dismantled (later to the great benefit of local builders)^{lxxi} to prevent unruly subjects taking it over.^{lxxii} But statues and antiquities were still there in the 1840s.^{lxxiii} De la Porte in 1765 reports colonnades and three temples as well, and plenty of antiquities at the nearby port of Medez.^{lxxiv}

Turkey

At Antioch in 1541, Chesneau reported that the walls were the only antiquities worth viewing.^{lxxv} This is probably because antiquities had been carried off starting with the Persians,^{lxxvi} and then by the Moslems^{lxxvii} – compare Masudi's earlier account^{lxxviii} – but also because of various dev-

⁴² Hannestad 1999, 173: the upper classes especially "a relaxed attitude to the pagan past. Apparently, many were proud of their cultural heritage" – witness the works of art they commissioned.

⁴³ Walmsley 2002, with 143–5 on the Islamic Governor's Palace at Jerash.

⁴⁴ Brenk 2009.

astating earthquakes, which caused some depopulation.⁴⁵ Restoration was never enough in the face of such natural forces.⁴⁶ When a 13th-century Coptic priest describes a magnificent church there, we should perhaps not trust his use of tenses.^{lxxix} Hence in the 1830s, Michaud and Poujoulat saw not only a tower with antiquities built in, but also a tall and imposing colonnade, some thirty feet high, in perfect condition which, as they remark, they had not seen noticed by previous travellers.^{lxxx} Both have now gone, and one wonders whether Le Camus at the end of the century was imagining things when he sought to see a great colonnade in remains still being uncovered and then mis-used.^{lxxxi} Demolition was still in progress at Antioch in the 1880s,^{lxxxii} so today's aspect of this once-prestigious city is very different from that a century previously.

Palestine

Palestine was heavily settled, and once rich in monuments,⁴⁷ with apparently no decline in late antiquity.⁴⁸ At Jaffa, Clermont-Ganneau was assured that the fine rusticated blocks had been brought thither from Acre and Caesarea^{lxxxiii} – for Jaffa in the 17th century was merely ruins covered in brushwood,^{lxxxiv} while Acre retained useful ruins into the 19th century.^{lxxxv} At Samaria/Sebaste the colonnades which so impressed Fiacchi,^{lxxxvi} and which were still to be seen in 1860,^{lxxxvii} and measured by Cuinet at over 1.7km,^{lxxxviii} largely survive, but the other antiquities described by D'Estournel in 1844 have gone,^{lxxxix} including the antiquities in a mosque,^{xc} and many of the pagan reliefs Guérin saw in the church walls in 1875.^{xci} Rey in 1883 charted the disappearance over the previous century of a splendid central-plan church there,^{xcii} and it is left to

⁴⁵ Guidoboni 1989, cat 173, anno 528 at Antioch: an earthquake knocked down the buildings rebuilt after the quake of 526, and the population went elsewhere. Same earthquake at Laodicea di Siria: the same quake destroyed half the city, including the synagogue, but the churches stood firm (!). Anno 588 also Antioch: quake destroyed churches, public baths.

⁴⁶ Todt 2004, on Antioch: from the Byzantine reconquest in 969, there was a systematic reconstruction of her walls, churches and monasteries.

⁴⁷ Kuhnén 1990, 1–20 for overview of excavation in Palestine. 300–353 for late antiquity.

⁴⁸ Bar 2004, 1: “Based on recent archaeological surveys [see his fig. 1] and excavations,” argues that the area underwent “indirect Romanization. The local inhabitants took advantage of the environmental circumstances . . . to dedicate their time to nurturing their culture, settlements, and economic situation.” 5 as indicator of wealth cites “grandiose burial complexes” and “expensive marble sarcophagi imported from overseas.” 7 development of cash crops – vide wine and olive processing plants.

archaeology to record its erstwhile splendours.⁴⁹ But Michaud and Poujalat might have been a little blinkered, since Veryard reports only “heaps of ruins” in 1701.^{xciii} Demolition continued at sites near the growing town of Haifa, such as Tell es Semak^{xciv} and Dor.^{xcv} At sites such as Caesarea,^{xcvi} however, apparently just about abandoned by the 1730s,^{xcvii} the antiquities seemed inexhaustible, as Scholz assures us in 1822,^{xcviii} and monks were still robbing them twelve years later^{xcix} – although the great marble vase in the mosque had long since disappeared.^c Von Loeher expresses similar wonderment on Cyprus.^{ci} Elsewhere, in the Hauran in Syria, still-standing Roman dwellings were to be described, together with their later transmogrifications;^{cii} many were still in use in the 19th century,^{ciii} sometimes by nomads, as indeed they are today. But but while some settlements such as Bosra retain their monuments others, such as Ezra, now show less than they did two centuries ago.^{civ}

North Africa

Recycling was also the rule in North Africa, where antique columns from a Moslem palace eventually found their way to Barcelona.^{cv} Perhaps some antiquities were brought from inland, as Rae assumes for Sfax;^{cvi} and, of course, all the marble on Cyprus was at some stage imported by sea.^{cvii} Conversely, towns inland and distant from ports were likely to survive with large quantities of their ruins intact, as at Barcah in Tripolitania,^{cviii} or the ruins della Cella also saw in Tripolitania at Kasar-Aduchni.^{cix} We gain information not only from later travellers and then archaeologists, but also from mediaeval geographers.⁵⁰ In spite of excavation and help from the Italian military,⁵¹ fewer survive today, for Della Cella saw more⁵² than remain to us.⁵³ Travellers such as Lyall, in 1825, realised that some ancient cities could, indeed, only be studied through the members re-used in nearby modern towns,^{cx} or by modern towns built on top of old ones, such as Oea/Tripoli,^{cx} Mérida,^{cxii} or Itálica.^{cxiii} This is but a reflection of cities such as ancient Hierapolis in Phrygia, where Byzantine houses are

⁴⁹ Kuhnén 1990, 178–184 for Samaria/Sebaste, including the great Temple of Augustus and Rome. 195–7 for the theatre at Samaria/Sebaste.

⁵⁰ Ghazi-Ben Maïssa 2002, 2219–2263: Les cités antiques [of Tingitana] d’après les textes arabes du Moyen Age” – and quotes from the the geographers site by site. Abulfeda (written 1316–1321) 1840 I, for Reinaud’s survey of previous Arab geographers, XXXVIII–CLXXIII.

⁵¹ Munzi 2001, for Italian Tripolitania, 30–34: L’archeologia dopo la conquista: rinvenimenti archeologici e operazioni militari.

⁵² Ghisleri 1928, 108–121 for Della Cella’s travels in Libya.

⁵³ Eichler 1999, 806–814 for Tripolitania.

built on top of earlier ones, and with some of their materials.⁵⁴ Presumably the villages on Carthage, prosperous when El-Bekri visited, were also constructed from antiquities.^{cxiv} This is probably because a healthy export trade in ancient building materials continued into the 19th century, with them fetching a high price on, for example, Scios,^{cxv} where antiquities were apparently frequently used to beautify houses.^{cxvi} Again, some settlements in Tunisia had been stripped down to their lower walls.^{cxvii}

Prominent Sites – Exiguous Remains

Gaza^{cxviii}

One such example of the comprehensive disappearance of antiquities is Gaza itself. It was prominent because of the Bible and not least because of the actions against pagan monuments there,⁵⁵ which were already being plundered for palace building materials by 1615.^{cxix} The town probably retained large quantities of impressive remains in the Middle Ages, with churches rich in re-used blocks and further beautified by the Crusaders^{cxx} and, later, a palace.^{xxxi} Its marble was admired by Jouvin in 1676.^{xxxii} Some elements remain.⁵⁶ These materials were surely gathered from the antiquities-rich landscape encountered on the approaches to the town,^{xxxiii} and the site of the ancient city,^{xxxiv} which might have supplied the Grand Mosque with its marble mumber.^{xxxv} In the early 17th century Sandys noted the widespread re-use of antiquities throughout the town, and some arched ruins outside it.^{xxxvi} A later traveller found one house with five superimposed Corinthian capitals supporting the roof.^{xxxvii}

By the early 19th century, however, fewer antiquities remained, columns apparently having been abstracted for building purposes.^{xxxviii} Some evidently went into at least one local mosque, apparently outside the town boundaries,^{xxxix} and a new mosque had to be constructed of fragments found by the sea.^{xxxx} By the 1850s, "Indeed, all vestiges of the ancient walls and ancient strength of Gaza have disappeared; and nothing remains to mark its former extent, except the

⁵⁴ Zaccaria Ruggiu 2007, figs 39–43.

⁵⁵ Sivan 2008, 328–347 "Gaza: a mediterranean emporium" – including the destruction of pagan statues and the burning of the Marneion, which was thought by some to be too beautiful to survive: cf. Caseau 2001, 97 on the Marneion, and on Christian realisation of temples' beauty as a motive for destruction.

⁵⁶ Pringle 1993, Cat 93 Gaza S. Porphyrius: 2 antique column sets in nave.

bounds of the hill itself on which it stood.”^{cxxxix} This is desolation by comparison with what Arvieux saw in the 17th century,^{cxxxii} and whom Ritter quotes in 1866 as writing of antiquities long disappeared.^{cxxxiii} Nevertheless, the site was still important enough to receive attention at the end of the 19th century.^{cxxxiv} While ancient heads could be found as doorstops,^{cxxxv} what columns were left were stumps, used as thresholds to ordinary houses,^{cxxxvi} perhaps also at Constantine^{cxxxvii} – although enough tell-tale signs of Gaza’s vanished splendor were left to impress Guérin in 1869.^{cxxxviii} But in 1844, D’Estournel remarked on the large quantities of architectural members in house walls – were they perhaps deliberately displayed?^{cxxxix} At Baalbek, the splendour announced itself well before arrival, Lamartine commenting on how they roared in over strewn antiquities.^{cxli}

Olympia, Sparta and Delphi

Just as Gaza was well-known and visited partly because it features in the Bible, and for its (perhaps dubious) connections with Saint Helena,^{cxli} other sites were sought by travellers because of their prominence in the life and architecture of Antiquity. One such was Olympia – but by the early 19th century it had disappeared under alluvium: visitors knew from the ancient authors what should be there – but they just couldn’t see it.^{cxlii} They saw less than was once there because the locals had been using it as a quarry, and carting blocks away^{cxliii} – as were French soldiers, with wagons, by 1830.^{cxliv}

The same happened at Sparta in the 1820s, both Leake^{cxlv} and Gell^{cxlvi} noticing the dismantling as it happened, and enumerating those remains removed to later monuments^{cxlvii} – although Scrofani did not see a single standing column in 1801.^{cxlviii} Much material, of course, had already gone into Byzantine buildings on the site, as Buchon recognised.^{cxlix} Indeed, Fourmont, supposedly the author of an arrogant testimonial to the destruction he wrought,^{cl} claimed in 1730 that he had pulled over 250 “marbles” from the ruins of Sparta, and would have finished his work there in another two or three weeks.^{cli} The honour of the French nation was, he suggested, at stake – and others were also active in taking antiquities:^{clii} this is a theme to which we shall return. Buchon believes he exaggerates, but is happy to call him a vandal.^{cliii} Like Alexandria Troas,^{cliv} Delphi was in almost the same category, with nothing but heaps of confusion.^{clv} A church was built from the ruins,^{clvi} shacks covering the theatre inscriptions,^{clvii} and even the largest monuments being scarcely visible^{clviii} – although marble was being stripped out and carted down to the local port by 1820.^{clix} The great temple, not housing a church, had been

gradually abandoned (and not fired by the Christians).⁵⁷ Hence the site was bound to disappoint travellers equipped with Pausanias,^{clx} which could easily mislead them,⁵⁸ even if they went armed with numismatic comparanda.^{clxi} But there a village had been established over the site, and ancient artefacts were everywhere visible.^{clxii}

Athens

Equally disastrous for antiquities was a growing and modernising population, after a period of poverty, when people had been content with make-do huts. Thus the rebirth of Athens in the 19th century was hard on her ancient monuments, several of which disappeared with urban expansion, as had others in earlier centuries for the building of churches.^{clxiii} Of the majority of re-used antique buildings, of course, we know nothing or little, since the later structure was built directly over the earlier foundations. And the Abbé Fortis, visiting Salona in 1774 and viewing its miserable remnants, cites a 16th-century source to demonstrate that everything had gone in the previous two centuries.^{clxiv}

In other words, up to the mid-19th century (with almost no inhabitants in the early 18th century)^{clxv} huts and fields occupied the sites of some of the monuments of Athens,^{clxvi} and the mainly stone houses were built with antiquities.^{clxvii} The traveller walked upon statue-fragments in the streets, and viewed them in house walls^{clxviii} – and also the vandalistic destruction by the locals as late as the 1850s.^{clxix} Tavernier in the 1630s mentions the Parthenon's marble tiles,^{clxx} and Babin in 1672 the marble wall-veneers of its mosque,^{clxxi} all of which must have contributed to the detritus after Morosini's shells – the impact of which stood out against the darkened columns of the Parthenon.^{clxxii} Not too far from the sea, one assumes that much of the marble veneer in Athens went long before Pouqueville observed its absence in 1826,^{clxxiii} although some of the solid building blocks from the stadium disappeared only in the earlier 19th century.^{clxxiv} And we can only guess at the extent of the structures Martoni saw at the end of the 14th century.^{clxxv} The "slothful and avaricious soldiers" on

⁵⁷ Déroche 2005, for Delphi: gradual abandonment, after a rebuilding somewhere between 200/400.

⁵⁸ Frey 2008, on the influence of Leake's account, when set beside that of Pausanias, which author suggests limited further exploration by those who treated his account uncritically.

the Acropolis certainly did not help the ambience^{clxxvi} – although being a military installation until the Bavarians threw out the Turks in 1835 no doubt helped its survival. We are well-informed on Elgin's actions;⁵⁹ and already in 1820 Turner was regretting that Elgin had not carried off more, to save the antiquities from destruction^{clxxvii} – not to mention from the French, who were already eyeing antiquities there in the 1780s.^{clxxviii} But Elgin collected plenty – and not just from the Acropolis,^{clxxix} for he got permission to extract antiquities from Christian buildings, and sent his agents out to scour the peasants' houses for finds.^{clxxx} And indeed, there is plenty of evidence of destruction around the Acropolis at Athens only a few years before Elgin wiped the eye of the continentals,^{clxxxi} rescuing these "works in danger" for the "British nation."^{clxxxii} For antique blocks were apparently being broken up daily.^{clxxxiii}

And to find a Frenchman in 1844 stating that Elgin was right to remove his Marbles before everything was degraded,^{clxxxiv} an opinion with which, naturally, at least some of the British agreed,^{clxxxv} is to measure the further decline in under half a century. By this time, indeed, even the official guards on the site – after probably supplementing their income in the 1810s by selling antiquities^{clxxxvi} – had by the 1850s built their shelter from them.^{clxxxvii} This – the 1840s – was precisely the period when the Greeks were asking for the marbles to be returned.^{clxxxviii} Nevertheless, antiquities could still be picked off the slopes of the Acropolis in the 1880s.^{clxxxix} But Elgin was still, of course, calumniated by the French,^{exc} and sometimes still described as a robber by the British.^{exc i}

Indeed, questions were raised about just where the modern city of Athens was built – namely right over what might well have been more important ruins,^{exc ii} and which regulations presumably did little to protect.^{exc iii} The rot had started in the 18th century, when antiquities had been blown up to construct mosques and, especially, defensive walls against the Russians.^{exc iv} Not that foreign speculators were needed for building modern Athens: an American tourist in 1839 laid the new city out in his mind's eye, and bought profitable plots there.^{exc v} In fact, as if it were Chicago, modern Athens was laid out grid-wise right over the ancient ruins. Thereby was destroyed much evidence, such as the varieties that Chandler had written about in 1775,^{exc vi} denying archaeology the chance to investigate what was up to the 1830s just about a virgin site.^{exc vii} De Vere, in 1850, notes just how much is found as new houses are built there.^{exc viii} This was in spite

⁵⁹ Williams 2002, *passim*, for documents.

of the first act concerning archaeology, passed by the Greek Government in 1834.⁶⁰ So it was digging foundations for new houses that provided the “archaeology,” by uncovering ancient porticoes and the like, recorded by archaeologists.^{ccix} It may also be argued that modern building fashions (which re-used antiquities in their façades) protected Athens’ antiquities, just as lack of technical expertise ensured that most of her quarries were left alone.^{cc}

Morocco

Although we can never achieve a definitive answer as to why certain erst-while-Roman countries today lack a sufficiency of ruins, Leo Africanus’ editor attributes the dearth in Morocco to avid treasure-hunting.^{cci} This is surely correct for the littoral, but elsewhere in the region impressive tomb monuments survived whole – except for the regulation hole cut into the tomb-chamber to look for treasure,^{ccii} which clearly suggests robbers uninterested in old stones. One might assume that authors such as El-Bekri report finds so avidly^{cciii} to raise the profile of their work. But treasure-hunting was very popular and, in Egypt, also targeted some clearly Roman remains.^{cciv} However, much had disappeared into structures in towns such as Salé (Chala).^{ccv} Here the adjacent old town was already uninhabited in the 12th century,^{ccvi} indeed in ruins by the 10th century^{ccvii} – ruins which furnished its later buildings including houses^{ccviii} and perhaps tombs,^{ccix} as well as Meknès/Mequinez itself.^{ccx} It supposedly had its marble columns taken to Spain in the 15th century,^{ccxi} perhaps from a famous mosque there;^{ccxii} and was certainly a relic of the past by the 19th century^{ccxiii} – after the famous Sally Pirates had been eradicated. Elsewhere, this might have been what destroyed some mosaic pavements, if Roman ruins were associated with finding coins.^{ccxiv} “Finding treasure” might also be a cover-up for ill-gotten gains, as was perhaps the case in 14th-century Ceuta^{ccxv} – while Mac Carthy maintains in the early 19th century that burying one’s valuables was a centuries-old North-African custom.^{ccxvi}

⁶⁰ Bastéa 2000, 101: “The care and preservation of the antiquities was a major concern of the Greek politicians, intellectuals and administrators” – yet in the section 127–131, “The Greeks and the antiquities,” cf. 128: “both private individuals and the press often placed priority on present well-being.”

Egypt

We could of course extend the question to other civilisations, and attribute the dearth of unplundered tombs in Egypt to the mediaeval centuries, when diggers persistently looked for treasure, clearly knew a lot about what would be found in Pharaonic tombs, and wrote down accounts. These transgressed into the marvellous – a staple of European Renaissance travel literature as well⁶¹ – only by the richness of what they found.^{ccxvii} But in inhabited towns, such as Cairo, expensive materials such as marble could sometimes be so scarce that even rulers had to resort to recycled pieces,⁶² this sometimes construed as in some way symbolic,⁶³ although Ousterhout begs to differ for the Ottomans.⁶⁴ In humbler centres, recycling was the norm.⁶⁵ Perhaps, indeed, recycling is universal – compare England after the dissolution of the monasteries.⁶⁶ This topic will continue to be addressed throughout this book, because it is such an important theme in the destruction of antiquities, access to them on the part of scholars, or their pricing for sale.

⁶¹ Waiblinger 2007.

⁶² Hanna 1984, 32–4, on the collection of marble for building: “the fact that a Sultan like Barquq had to use marble sparsely in his buildings or that Sultan al-Guri had to buy re-used marble indicates that imports were already limited at that time.”

⁶³ Hurwit 2004, 70 sees the building of the unfinished drums into a north wall as “looming testimony to Persian sacrilege, an eternal lament.” 73: older Parthenon blocks recycled in new temple, and suggests 73–74 this re-use “had a symbolic value as well” – from which he goes on to suggest the new building as a monument to Marathon, “as its predecessor was (and as later orators actually said it was) and to all those victories won over the Persians in the meantime.” Yet he then goes on to admit that “The recycled nature of so much of the Parthenon’s marble would not have been obvious to most Periclean-period visitors even if they were aware of the history of the material: a column-drum looks like a column-drum.”

⁶⁴ Ousterhout 1995, 55 disagrees that Ottoman re-use of Byzantine material should be interpreted symbolically. 60: “Byzantine elements were appropriated in the new architecture precisely because the Byzantines were an integral part of the emerging Ottoman state.”

⁶⁵ Such as Amorium: cf. Ivison 2007, 40–48: “The urban fabric in the Dark Ages: repairs, recycling and adaptation.”

⁶⁶ Howard 2007, 26: re-cycling building materials was a familiar exercise in early Tudor England and in this sense the destruction of the monasteries simply formed part of a much wider interchange and re-use... In many cases, individual features of monastic buildings such as windows and complete free-standing gatehouses were transported elsewhere, rarely it seems because they were believed of symbolic value but because their building material or their sound construction made them still practicable;” 29–35 for the adaptations made to monastic buildings in towns; and 44–5 for the destruction caused during the Civil Wars, when “England was once again dotted with new ruins, some of which were never repaired.”

Alexandria: The second most famous of all antique cities in the East was Alexandria – a city of culture, religion and trade, with ties to the rest of the Mediterranean from Antiquity onwards, and with perhaps a variable population but few gaps in trading. It had been a city of famous temples, including the Serapeum,⁶⁷ and then of large churches, of which Ludolph of Suchem describes a conspicuously rich example.^{ccxviii} Excavations at Alexandria⁶⁸ have uncovered fragments of mosaic, including suave opus sectile, some fragments of marble columns and capitals, but nothing intact – an index of how thoroughly it has been plundered.⁶⁹ (The same applies to Alexandria Troas,⁷⁰ where rich fragments survive – and treasure perhaps remains to be unearthed.)⁷¹ Al-Maqrizi saw a more marble-rich city in the 15th century, as had Ibn Haukal 500 years previously;^{ccxix} and is clear that many of the marbles were imported from abroad – but also that Alexander used existing ruins in his constructions.^{ccxx} He describes the splendour of other cities in Egypt, from their grid-plans to their monuments.^{ccxxi} Egypt was still importing marble in the 18th century.^{ccxxii}

For the Moslems, observation of the ruin of so many great and grand cities from earlier centuries no doubt impressed upon them the difficulties of city and monument construction. This is well seen in Mas'udi's account of Alexander the Great's arrival at the site of what was to be Alexandria, where he already found marble columns and a tall column with an inscription in strange characters – presumably one of the obelisks. This recounted the difficulties encountered by Cheddad – the builder of the city of Irem (on the site of Damascus), itself rich in columns – when he wished to build here.^{ccxxiii} These were monuments “which kings of long ago, when they had subdued foreign nations in war or were proud of the prosperous condition of their realms, hewed out of the veins of the mountains.”^{ccxxiv}

⁶⁷ Hahn 2008: under Theodosius, perhaps in 391, but very little information survives about its destruction.

⁶⁸ Rodziewicz 1984, *passim*.

⁶⁹ Tkaczow 1993, on Alexandria: 181ff for a catalogue of surviving objects marked on the archaeological map, including 207–229, 275–284 and 293–306 for architectural elements classified by period, including columns and capitals, some of them in re-use.

⁷⁰ Bossmann 2008B, on Alexandria Troas: hall excavated 2003–2004. Plates 26–30 (incl. 28–29 in colour) showing the richness of the remaining opus sectile fragments plus wall veneer sheets. But if so few are left, what were the abstracted ones used for?

⁷¹ Bossmann 2008A, Coloured marbles there in great variety. Good tables and maps. Author catalogues finds from Africano to Verde antico – but only fragments survive – cf. plates 21–23. Yet in spite of all the digging over the centuries, two hoards were found here in 2000: cf. *ibid.*, 93–107 & pl. 26–35.

The city was prosperous when El-Edrisi saw it,^{ccxxv} and its structures still sported a host of columns, if we are to believe Al-Andalusi, writing in 1162.⁷² At this period, the city was commercially prosperous.⁷³ Ibn Battuta seems to have witnessed the dismantling of part of the Pharos,^{ccxxvi} though whether for harbour works, town building or export of the blocks cannot be said. So much material was to be found in the harbours, for whatever reasons, that in the 1580s material was being removed “daily” for export to Constantinople.^{ccxxvii} The city had mediaeval walls, still standing in 1818 in parts to forty feet,^{ccxxviii} though with some sections by then in heaps,^{ccxxix} and built from earlier antiquities,^{ccxxx} well described by Dolomieu in 1798–1799.^{ccxxxi} Some of these were possibly taken from Memphis^{ccxxxii} long before the foundation of Cairo. The walls were still nearly complete in the late 18th century,^{ccxxxiii} and in fact refurbished after the French left.^{ccxxxiv} So rich was the city that Al-Maqrizi attributes yet more spectacular columns to it than it ever possessed.^{ccxxxv}

However, presumably because Cairo as well as foreign ships sapped its structures, and trade moved elsewhere, Alexandria was already a sad sight in the 1600s,^{ccxxxvi} its ruination being due to the avarice of the Arabs, one suggests,^{ccxxxvii} but also to new building in the early 18th century.^{ccxxxviii} Certainly, there was little within the walls except ruins in 1786,^{ccxxxix} and tombs outside them,^{ccxl} and an even sadder sight in 1839: “ces tristes ruines de la plus belle ville de l’Orient,”^{ccxli} or “the sepulchre of a ruined city,” as Stephens called it in 1839.^{ccxlii} Nevertheless, in the 1840s yet more ruins in the city were being excavated for building materials, and splendid marbles retrieved.^{ccxliii} In terms of preservation, she was very much the poor sister of Cairo by the 1870s.^{ccxliv} Sometimes the obvious antiquities led travellers to mis-date them, as when Chesneau almost concedes that the walls of Alexandria could well have been built by Alexander the Great.^{ccxlv} Certainly, Arvieux found the city gates magnificent,^{ccxli} and a little later Wansleben mentions the rich use of columns.^{ccxlvi}

Only God, it seems, did not need columns to support His work.^{ccxlviii} But at Alexandria, Abd Al-Latif believed buildings were dismantled so that their columns could be placed in the harbour as breakwaters or to hole enemy warships,^{ccxlix} a device also used in mediaeval Thessaloniki – a city which had many more antiquities visible in 1801 than it does today,^{cc} including sarcophagi^{cccli} – and where Galt in 1812 saw antique heads decorating part of the walls.^{ccclii}

⁷² Yerasimos 1990, 102 genies built a palace for Solomon at Alexandria, relates Abu Hamid al-Andalusi, writing in 1162: the columns, about 300 in number, are red, with a mirror polish, and each 30 coudées high [13.5m], with in the middle a column 100 coudées high [45m]. The genies had covered this audience chamber with a single block of green stone, but threw it down on the banks of the Nile when they heard of Solomon's death.

⁷³ Udovitch 2002 for Alexandria's resuscitation in the 11thC, by the middle of which the hub of N African trade shifts from Tunisia to Egypt and Syria: 103–4: “Many ships and merchants from the Italian trading towns such as Pisa, Genoa and Venice made their way directly to Alexandria, bypassing the ports of Tunisia and Sicily and thus relegating them to a still respectable, but decidedly secondary status in Mediterranean commerce.”

Cairo: By the 18th century, as already noted, little coherent was left to be seen at Alexandria, although plenty of splendid antiquities were built into houses and sheds. As Bucke elegantly puts it, “Modern Cairo rose upon the ruins of Alexandria, and has been enriched with its spoils; since thither have been conveyed, at various times, no fewer than forty thousand columns of granite, porphyry, and marble; erected in the private dwellings and modules. Its decay doubtless was gradual, but fifteen centuries, during which it has declined, have evinced its ancient opulence by the slowness of its fall.”^{ccliii} Alexandria’s misfortune was not to have been chosen as an Islamic capital, an honour ceded to the new city of Cairo, glowing described by Ibn Khaldun.^{ccliv} This new foundation, helped probably by a few antiquities in the older and adjacent Fustat,⁷⁴ was to feed its own luxury building industry with marble from the Hellenistic foundation conveniently at the mouth of the Nile, and also to garner ancient Egyptian antiquities in her buildings.^{cclv} Memphis also provided materials: Abd Al-Latif, visiting Memphis in the 12th/13th century, saw the antiquities being dismantled for rebuilding into the structures of Cairo, and bemoaned the stupidity of those who broke the blocks for the lead fixings they contained.^{cclvi} Jomard suggested so little remained of that city because the limestone blocks had been burned to supply Cairo with lime.^{cclvii}

Constantinople

The most famous city in our Crescent was Constantinople, well fixed in the popular imagination,⁷⁵ rich in antiquities,⁷⁶ and a Roman town built in part from dismantled buildings. But it was increasingly underpopulated from late antiquity,⁷⁷ and it shrank before the Conquest.⁷⁸ Clavijo in the early 15th century refers to fruit gardens and cornfields within the walls^{cclviii} – as does Abulfeda a century earlier.⁷⁹ Such unoccupied spaces are echoed by planting within deserted Roman cities in Algeria, such as Zana.^{cclix} Haghia Sophia had been well-publicised by the Silentiary,⁸⁰ and

⁷⁴ Reitemeyer 1903, for mediaeval descriptions of 165–186 Fustat; 185–238 Cairo. Garçin 1982, for urban history and housing in mediaeval Cairo and Fustat.

⁷⁵ Cortés Arrese 2008, 81–131: Testimonios de la antigua Constantinopla.

⁷⁶ Bauer 1996, 310–316 for antiquities in Rome and Constantinople.

⁷⁷ Bauer 1996, 143–268 for late antique Constantinople.

⁷⁸ Magdalino 1996, for Constantinople: 17–50 La survie de la Mégalopolis paléochrétienne. 55–60 La reprise démographique, to 400,000 by time of the Crusades.

⁷⁹ Abulfeda (written 1316–1321) 1840 II, 315 Constantinople Dans l’intérieur de la ville sont des champs ensemencés, des jardins et beaucoup de maisons en ruines.

⁸⁰ Fobelli 2005, 15–31 for the Silentiary: L’ekphrasis e il tempio.

the traditional sources of its materials were well known,^{cclx} although the verde antico shafts were probably quarried for that church. Arabs had visited the City long before 1453, and reported its wonders,⁸¹ including its marble-built churches.^{cclxi}

Then, after the Conquest, the City once more expanded with the construction of prestigious mosques and other religious institutions, their riches recognised by some travellers as taken from older monuments,^{cclxii} and some perhaps pointed out to tourists as coming from the Byzantine City itself.^{cclxiii} Their Ottoman builders, interested in accounts (largely mythical) of the history of the city,⁸² gathered the materials for their own constructions from far afield, but also from close to the City. Revetment, just like that of Haghia Irene could have disappeared centuries ago,^{cclxiv} presumably as the Ottomans were building their great mosques, and this is also why the area around Constantinople is so bereft of antiquities – and indeed the city itself.^{cclxv} Of course, it is known that it was once rich in antiquities,^{cclxvi} and equally obvious where they went.^{cclxvii} Porter spells out the reasons in 1835,^{cclxviii} and Leake came on similar work of destruction on the road to Dhimri.^{cclxix} But a devastated landscape was not the whole story. Excavation was often necessary, otherwise, travellers got quite the wrong idea about what the sites might still possess, such as one who thought that Pergamon retained nothing.^{cclxx}

One tell-tale sign is that matching veneer^{cclxxi} was stripped from inside so many churches, such as the Pantocrator^{cclxxii} – and equally from the exterior, leaving only bricks.^{cclxxiii} Thus Maurand (one of a host of French visitors)⁸³ in 1544 can describe parts of the Hippodrome he actually saw but which have long since disappeared: “Autour de cet Hippodrome sont des colonnes de marbre de 18 palmes de hauteur, d’ordre composite; sur les chapiteaux, il y a tout autour les architraves, chose très belle; et sur les corniches, il chante tant d’oiseaux, nommés ibis, que cela me parut chose étonnante.”^{cclxxiv} Some of them^{cclxxv} no doubt went into adjacent palaces.^{cclxxvi} An anonymous 15th century description confirms the grandeur of this colonnade,^{cclxxvii} and Clavijo (travelling 1403–6) suggests they were still used for seating for viewing tournaments.^{cclxxiii}

⁸¹ Berger 2002.

⁸² Yerasimos 1990, 5–48 for the Anonymous Ottoman *Histoire de Constantinople depuis le Commencement jusqu’à la Fin*, of 1491.

⁸³ Tinguely 2000, 97–107 for French travellers in Constantinople.

*Nineteenth-Century Egypt Dismantles Antiquities**Industrialisation*

Population growth in the 19th century usually entailed some level of transport infrastructure (roads, railways), but also industry, for which substantial buildings were often required, as the pattern of work moved (as it had done in Britain) from individual houses into communal factories. All such digging-into-the-earth spelled disaster for antiquities. The ancient monuments, if conveniently located, were therefore dismantled to build the first large-scale monuments except for palaces and mosques to be seen in our Crescent, and of course in the name of modernity. This was the same watchword that would spur on the railways, without necessarily any thought of the implications for antiquities,⁸⁴ and do likewise in the building of “modern” towns and villages, as on Crete.⁸⁵ Ancient mounds contained potassium nitrate (saltpetre), and this was valuable, because an essential ingredient in the production of gunpowder.^{cclxxxix} Ancient mounds also contained antiquities, and their destruction in Egypt was, by the 20th century, on a near-industrial scale, helped by railways to distribute the valuable material as fuel or fertiliser.^{cclxxx} And if stone inscriptions could be re-used and hence survive, papyri were often burned,^{cclxxxi} or indeed went for fertiliser.

The easiest country in which to observe such destruction is Egypt, not necessarily because she received more tourists than Syria/Palestine or Turkey, but because the Nile provided essentially one main route in and out – so we find different travellers down the years commenting on the same locations. Buildings were already being dismantled in large numbers in 18th-century Egypt,^{cclxxxii} but the pace picked up in the following century. So it was that Alexandria goes faster than ever,^{cclxxxiii} that Ashmounein was part-dismantled to build a saltpetre factory,^{cclxxxiv} and that D’Estournel remarked in 1844 that the Gods Isis and Osiris had been replaced by the God Calico.^{cclxxxv} St John in 1834 at Assouan saw a small chapel disappear before his eyes,^{cclxxxvi} and provides a list of antiquities re-used for industrial buildings.^{cclxxxvii} And factories were still being built

⁸⁴ Celik 1986, 99–103 for the railway in Istanbul, but nothing on the destruction of antiquities.

⁸⁵ Herzfeld 1991, on Rethemnos, Crete, 34: “Where the national Archaeological service has waged a principled battle against the heedless pursuit of comfortable modernity and the consequent degradation of the architectural heritage.”

from antiquities in Egypt in the 1850s,^{cclxxxviii} and near Izmir^{cclxxxix} and in Palestine^{ccxc} nearly half a century later, in areas where ancient monuments had been prominent two centuries previously. (Indeed, Flinders Petrie gives a list of mis-uses in 1918.^{ccxci}) By the 1840s a church at Esne had already been dismantled to refurbish the quays.^{ccxcii} And so quickly were the monuments disappearing, that they could go between the act of booking a tour to see them, and arriving on the spot, as d'Estournel recounts for the early 1840s.^{ccxciii} At Antinoe/Antinopolis, impressive in 1790,^{ccxciv} and which Fuller described as near-intact in 1830,^{ccxcv} Wilkinson records a similar disappearing act between a visit in 1822 and one in 1843,^{ccxcvi} and at Ashmounein between the same dates^{ccxcvii} – although the Turks were already abstracting material there a century earlier.^{ccxcviii}

Alexandria and Continuing Thirst for Her Antiquities

The explosive growth in Alexandria's population during the 19th century obliterated most of what antiquities remained.^{ccxcix} Her origin was of course in the foundation by Alexander himself – a mythical figure not only in Islam, credited with building solidly, and indeed with posting on her walls an inscription telling of Alexandria's eventual ruin, and everything the city should expect until the end of the world.^{ccc} Frequently described by mediaeval geographers,⁸⁶ the end of its ancient world came in the 19th century, when by 1834 the ruins were being scoured not for precious marbles, but for simple building-blocks for new housing.^{ccci} St. John, in the same year, gives details of how everything – columns, walls, etc. – were thereby destroyed.^{cccii} Some of the work was for town improvement, and these “extensive improvements” were still in train in 1843. Yet this happened without any hope of proper investigation were interesting antiquities to be brought to light,^{ccciii} such as palace remains.^{ccciv} By then many of the granite shafts around its port, which Lechevalier saw in 1791,^{cccv} had probably disappeared. So complete has been the clearout of antiquities from the city that a modern map-making archaeologist has even questioned whether the glowing ancient accounts of the marbled glories of the city were fact – or hyperbole.⁸⁷

⁸⁶ Reitemeyer 1903, 158–161 for mediaeval descriptions of Alexandria.

⁸⁷ Tkaczow 1993, on Alexandria: Of the glories hymned by ancient authors, 11 “despairingly little of this magnificent vision of the ancient city has come down to us in the archaeological record... The almost total lack of archaeological evidence of the great buildings of ancient Alexandria raised doubts as to the accuracy of ancient descriptions.” Kom el Dikka preserved only because Napoleon put a fort on top, whereas everything else fell

So what happened to all the antiquities in the walls of Alexandria? This is a good question. Part of the answer might be that the sea air had so damaged the majority of antiquities therein^{cccvi} that the remains were considered unsaveable when the walls were pulled down in the course of the later 19th century.

Such extensive re-use in Alexandria caught the eye of most Europeans, and did not meet with their approval. Irwin in 1780 did not like seeing antiquities supporting cowsheds – and he then pokes fun at the incorrect (because re-used) architectural elements displayed in the foreign factories.^{cccvii} Similar architecture, of course, also ornamented the establishments of the locals at Alexandria, not just those of the foreigners.^{cccviii} In Asia Minor, Chandler notes such re-use without adverse comment, taking it – quite correctly – as natural.^{cccix} Alexandria was, indeed, a ruin-field with salt-damaged remains, and scattered tombs and lime-kilns,^{cccix} and one from which significant antiquities had disappeared since 1700.^{cccxi} Dolomieu does not mind such eating-away at Alexandria, operating as it does only on antiquities already mutilated for re-building purposes.^{cccxi} Apart from the mosques, and miscellaneous digging for house-building,^{cccxi} in the 19th century only the Old Customs House re-used materials with anything like splendour,^{cccxiv} although the early 19th-century granary could still find 128 column-shafts to swallow up.^{cccxi} So confusing were the ruins, that even Norden was led astray in his musings on the source of her marbles and granites.^{cccxi} Le Père in 1826 thought they came from further up the Nile,^{cccxi} but he worked out the late date of her walls by comparison with what he saw in Cairo.^{cccxi} If much of ancient Alexandria went to service the buildings of Cairo, much more went between the Napoleonic invasion and the mid-19th century, when Saint-Hilaire notes that the city would already have been unrecognisable to any of the French scholars in Napoleon's train.^{cccxi} This might have been in part the new attention the British paid to the city, as well as to increasing trade.

Cairo in the 19th Century

The occupation of Cairo when the French invaded Egypt was also deadly for her monuments,⁸⁸ as it had been for Alexandria. Al-Ghabarti has left a long list of their wilful destruction and demolitions in Cairo, some of it certainly treasure-hunting, some for the construction of a ring of forts

before Mohammed Ali's plans for the development of a modern city. Is it not more likely that most of the city had been stripped long before modernisation, to feed materials to Cairo and to places across the sea?

⁸⁸ Scharabi 1989, 24–32 on the French invasion and its consequences, with citations from al-Ghabarti.

around the city^{cccxx} – as well as leaving antiquities for the British to abstract when the French abandoned the city, as Clarke describes in 1817.^{cccxxi} But nearly a half-century later, cupolas and minarets are still going: “On ne restaure pas; on rase,” writes Rhone in 1882^{cccxxii} in a city led astray by Parisian airs and land speculation, and to the sound of hammers in every street.^{cccxxiii} Even those quarters where Paris fashions held little sway were in bad condition.^{cccxxiv} However, apparently some of the great marble-rich houses were already dilapidated and half-stripped by the end of the 17th century.^{cccxxv}

A moderate 19th-century view looked with disappointment on the Egyptian desire to be both modern and European, the one entailing the other – but unfortunately at the expense of the old monuments of Cairo, for the monuments of which horror stories abound from the 1870s,^{cccxxvi} even as the Augustan city-of-brick-then-marble analogy is applied to the Khedive.^{cccxxvii} Readers will decide for themselves how close are such actions to those of Viollet-le-Duc. As Rhone observes in 1882, Cairo was trying to ape Paris, and forgetting her own monuments.^{cccxxviii} And modernization both improved communications, and brought them more easily from home: from 1855, travellers could use the railway to get from Alexandria to Cairo.^{cccxxix}

Location Dictates Survival or Destruction

Sites somewhat off the beaten track preserved their antique monuments, even when recycled into Byzantine and Islamic ones, as at Nicaea^{cccxxx} – just too far away to be conveniently plundered for Bursa. And amongst many others, Palmyra is perhaps the best example – separated from the rest of the world, in a dry and preservative climate, with nobody wanting to rob her stones, and the local Bedouin perfectly happy with their tents.^{cccxxxi} Until, that is, the tourists got there in numbers, and the local sculpture began to melt away.^{cccxxxii} Stanhope’s doctor makes an explicit comparison between this site, and those by the side of the sea.^{cccxxxiii} Tourism would create havoc with ancient sites – but not as much as local building activities, as the following sections demonstrate.

New Towns near Ancient Ones

Some later structures established in or very near Roman towns were for this very reason rich in re-used material, because whenever the ground was dug to make foundations, stones could well be found, and had in any

case to be cleared from the building site. Naturally, the locals also knew where to dig in order to find useful blocks.

Aydin/Tralles is one such example.^{cccxxxiv} On the *Citadel at Aleppo*, reliefs from an early temple survive because Islamic housing (abstracting only some building blocks) was built on top of it.⁸⁹ The column-shafts in its glacis might have come from the ancient city nearby.^{cccxxxv} *Kairouan* is also rich in re-used antiquities;⁹⁰ and these were to be found not just in its Great Mosque (including both the outside and inside of its minaret),^{cccxxxvi} but in the palazzi of the administrators,^{cccxxxvii} and even in the ordinary houses of the town.^{cccxxxviii} *Mahdiyya*,⁹¹ on the coast, might also have boasted antiquities before its destruction,^{cccxxxix} and Islamic monuments there incorporated antiquities.^{cccxl} These were probably collected locally,⁹² for it had been a port long before the Mahdi got there⁹³ and still contains antiquities in its installations.⁹⁴ In the mid-19th century, one of its suburbs was built on extensive antique ruins, thereby causing further destruction.^{cccxli} So although the Great Mosque in *Kairouan* no doubt got the best antique specimens, it appears that there were plenty for re-use even for humble purposes. Given the location, it seems likely that at least some of the material was local,^{cccxlii} and that nearby Sabra⁹⁵ supplied quantities of stone and marble,^{cccxliii} some of it perhaps from churches,⁹⁶ and perhaps including the Latin inscription re-used in the mihrab.⁹⁷ In the 1850s Tissot, inspecting the looting trenches at Sabra, was convinced the *Kairouan* material came from here.^{cccxliv} And as *Algiers* grew, we may suspect it fed on the ancient ruins of nearby Tamadfous/Matifou, where plenty of ruins were to be seen in the 12th century.^{cccxlv} Baraudon, who describes in the 1890s antiquities in houses in Algiers,^{cccxlvi} suggests it was that nearby settlement which supplied the larger town.^{cccxlvii}

⁸⁹ Gonnella 2005: cf. figs 86, 87. Byzantine columns seen in early 20thC photo of the Mamluk Throne Room of palace before it was rebuilt (figs 72, 73). Figs 63 and 64 for before-and-after shots of the entrance to the Ayubbid Palace. Gonnella 2007, fig 82 for Byzantine inscription re-used in the masonry of the entrance complex. 99–100 for decorative reliefs and sculptures dating from 2nd Millennium BC, from a temple, and still on-site.

⁹⁰ Idris 1962, 411–425 for Kairouan.

⁹¹ Idris 1962, 449–451 for Mahdiyya.

⁹² Bloom 2007, 23–32 for the construction of Mahdiyya, and some possible stylistic connections with nearby antiquities.

⁹³ Mahfoudh 2008, 243–9 for the port of Mahdiyya; pottery finds Punic and Roman indicate a port here a long time before the foundation of Islamic Mahdiyya

⁹⁴ Slim et al. 2004, 150–1 for the port of Mahdiyya, with re-used blocks and column shafts visible under water.

⁹⁵ Idris 1962, 425–427 Sabra-al-Mansuriyya.

⁹⁶ Mahfoudh 2008, 152 for the “Bloody Columns”: al-Bakri says they came from a church in the Suq al-Darb, while Maliki says they came from the inside of a small fort called Qamuniya.

⁹⁷ Mahfoudh 2003, 133–170 for Kairouan, including fig 33 for panel with Latin inscription re-used reversed in the mihrab. 66–73 for al-Mansuriyya / Sabra.

Greece and the Islands

The majority of monuments here are to be found close to the shore, and therefore easier to abstract by sea than monuments in the interior of – for example – Algeria or Syria. This explains why the mainland and, especially, the islands, are so low in surviving antiquities – when we know from ancient authors that they were once so rich.

Parecchia on Paros is an example of an ancient town near a later monument, for the famous fortress was formed of dismantled temples and other structures,^{ccclxviii} with most of its walls in marble. And since marble was the common building-stone of the island (rather like Thasos), marble antiquities were built into the houses^{ccclxix} as well as into the harbour jetty^{cccl} (as they were at Santorini).^{cccli} A large church, what is more, was also constructed from antique marble blocks.^{ccclii} On the same island, De Riedesel describes in detail what he saw in one church with fine marbles, and statues and reliefs in the village.^{cccliii} *Parecchia* survives today, but other similarly-constructed fortresses have been largely dismantled, although some survive. This is the case at *Patras*,^{cccliv} a military installation until 1973, with some built-in antiquities,^{ccclv} including architraves,^{ccclvi} and some lying around the interior, all certainly to the detriment of the ancient remains.^{ccclvii} Yet other remains were to be found down by the seashore.^{ccclviii} Indeed, *Patras* was rich in antiquities in the middle of the 19th century, as Curtius records.^{ccclix} Of course, monuments could also disappear just because they were “saved” – as with the temple at *Cartama*, the remains of which were carted off to Madrid,^{ccclx} or some of those on *Melos*, carried back to Paris.^{ccclxi}

Although we cannot tell the dates when most materials were abstracted, sufficient eye-witness accounts by shocked Europeans survive to identify a few. Thus at *Nicopolis/Actium*, where the mediaeval fortress was composed of re-used blocks,^{ccclxii} Pouqueville in 1826 tells of seeing blocks from the stadium taken away before his eyes, and excavations made for a canal.^{ccclxiii} Four years previously, Turner had seen workmen dismantling the adjacent Temple of Apollo for blocks with which to build Ali Pasha's new palace at Prevesa.^{ccclxiv} The gate and courtyard of this were built with antiquities,^{ccclxv} just like the fortress^{ccclxvi} – which meant that little marble remained on site.^{ccclxvii} Ancient Argos suffered for the same purpose and for the same ruler.^{ccclxviii}

Algeria

Ancient settlements in North Africa had to be protected in Byzantine times. Many were reworked into small fortresses under Solomon, and more were probably converted during and following the Arab invasions, although little evidence survives from the earlier centuries after the conquest. The

latest period at which Roman towns were newly occupied was in Algeria following the French invasion and conquest of 1830, when the French probably did to the antiquities much the same as Solomon and his like had done in the Byzantine period – re-used and rebuilt them, as with church architecture at Theveste.^{ccclxix} In Algeria, ancient cities resounded to the masons' hammers,^{ccclxx} and many cubic metres of Roman towns were dismantled to form fortresses so that the French might survive. For in view of the immediacy of their needs, there was no possibility of quarrying fresh stone.^{ccclxxi} Some Frenchmen regretted Solomon's re-use of materials,^{ccclxxii} perhaps not realising that their compatriots had done likewise. For the time being, the French were strengthening defensive positions, and not, until the 1850s, planning civilian towns. Their conduct was already much better than the Russian track-record in the Crimea.^{ccclxxiii} Nevertheless, there are plentiful and well-documented examples of the devastation exacted first by the French army and then by settlers, which will be dealt with in detail in the relevant chapter.

At *Guelma*, although the late-antique walls and towers survived into the mid-19th century,^{ccclxxiv} changes were afoot: as Poujoulat writes, the site was soon considerably altered,^{ccclxxv} with a large number of constructions, their blocks plundered from the ruins.^{ccclxxvi} All that was left were walls, presumably concrete core, which were unusable^{ccclxxvii} – a Roman city of perhaps 40,000 inhabitants, much reduced by circumstances.^{ccclxxviii} So much reworking meant that the *Guelma* the French had occupied in 1835 was a modern town within a generation,^{ccclxxix} and just about unrecognisable by the end of the century.^{ccclxxx} This process will be dealt with at length in a separate chapter, but suffice it here to notice an account of the defensive fortifications at *Guelma*, where the troops had to manhandle large blocks in order to build securely.^{ccclxxxi} Some authors, perhaps recognising just how much the French occupation had changed the ancient landscape, were correspondingly defensive antiquities-wise about the benefits the French had conferred on them.^{ccclxxxii} Equally, *Constantine* had plentiful ruins before the French arrived,^{ccclxxxiii} including a decorated bridge,^{ccclxxxiv} other impressive buildings, and a theatre.^{ccclxxxv} Where the French did not establish forts, such as at *Taasa* in Morocco, the late antique circuits of walls remained nearly intact.^{ccclxxxvi} Where they did, as at *Sétif*, they knew exactly what they were demolishing.^{ccclxxxvii}

As well as being dependent on population, destruction also depends on specific location, as well as on the local geography. So in comparison to parts of Turkey, in some areas of North Africa, where the sedentary

population was low, Byzantine fortresses remained largely intact, especially in Tunisia, although several in Algeria were re-converted after the French invasion of 1830ff. Such fortresses were nearly always built of re-used antiquities, and they were obviously great consumers of lime, as Cagnat remarks of *Tebessa*^{ccclxxxviii} – so the French destroyed more antiquities to make the lime.

In other areas of North Africa, even proximity to the sea-shore did not spell destruction until population growth during the later 19th century. If being near a thriving town spelled danger for nearby ruins, then some sites, such as *Cyrene*, were troubled by no more than nomads in tents,^{ccclxxxix} leaving plenty to dig in the later 19th century.^{cccxc} *Tripoli*, sometimes prosperous and sometimes not, retained little more than a triumphal arch, its antiquities no doubt built into later structures like those at *Benghazi*,^{cccxi} where Russell describes the convenient breaking-up of local antiquities into modern houses.^{cccxcii} The reason such coastal sites were largely left alone is the problem of secure anchorages, which will be dealt with below.

Sites near Main Roads or Rivers

If coastal sites with convenient harbours suffered from robbing, then, being on a main road to a populous coast or inland valley was also a recipe for the methodical destruction of whole towns. At *Ptolemais*, in Libya, this was done using the City Bath as a collection point.⁹⁸ At *Mut*, in southern Turkey, the classical city layout was still visible in the early 19th century, but has now almost totally vanished,^{cccxciii} thanks to its main-road location – although verde antico shafts survive in the portico of its Lala Pasha Mosque.⁹⁹ And *Nicomedia*, its castle built from antiquities,^{cccxciv} was still disappearing fast in the mid-19th century.^{cccxcv} Here, in the 1830s, Porter watched the dismantling in action,^{cccxcvi} and noted that only a few scattered pieces remained.^{cccxcvii} 150 years earlier Grelot had found plenty of inscriptions there.^{cccxcviii} But much had long since gone, many antiquities

⁹⁸ Kraeling 1962, 160–75 for the City Bath of Ptolemais in the Byzantine period. 160: “It belongs essentially to the Byzantine period, but its importance for this period ruled out systematic enquiry beneath its floor levels to ascertain what might have stood on the site in Roman times.” 163 basketfuls of marble chips found within, so “it is clear that the area where they were found served also as a place of transit for sculpture brought in from outside ... subsequently verified by evidence of lime burning in Rooms 7 and 14.”

⁹⁹ Lazzarini 2007, 226 fig. 21.

being seen in its fortress in the 1550s.^{cccxcix} At a similar date, De Busbecq reported little there worthy of note.^{cd}

Nor was Egypt exempt, and well before the decided rape of her monuments in the second half of the 19th century, antiquities were disappearing from riverside sites such as *Antaeopolis*,^{cdi} where little more than a granite block (reputed to cure barrenness) remained by 1827.^{cdii} The changing course of the river destroyed many more, as well as ordinary houses.^{cdiii}

Near-complete Destruction: The Crimea

Heading up the Bosphorus to the Black Sea, Spencer in 1839 is expansive on the erstwhile glories of the Cimmerian Bosphorus, and on its surviving remains.^{cdiv} But get further north, to the Crimea, and he found that whole swathes of classical cities, some with standing ruins as recently as 1795. This area was conquered by the Turks in 1457, and by Russia in 1783. We know little about what antiquities Constantinople took from here, but travellers from the late 18th century report just how much had been destroyed by the Russians. This was perhaps part of their political policies,^{cdv} so that mosques as well as churches were attacked in Kaffa/Theodosia,^{cdvi} and fountains as well. The cleanout included recent marble tombs, presumably made from antiquities^{cdvii} – and what Pallas had seen in 1793–4 at Soldaya had gone fifty years later.^{cdviii} This was conspicuously the case on the Black Sea coast, where Amasera was still recognisably antique in 1800.^{cdix} Clarke in 1816 recounts what happened to the city of Chersonesus when the Russians got there: “When they settled in the country, the remains of the city of Chersonesus were so considerable, that all its gates were standing. These they soon demolished; and, proceeding in their favourite employment of laying waste, they pulled down, broke, buried, and destroyed every monument calculated to illustrate its former history; blowing up its antient foundations; tearing open tombs; overthrowing temples; and then, after removing the masses of stone and marble, exposing them for sale by cubic measure, to serve as materials in building. If the Archipelago should ever fall under the dominion of Russia, the fine remains of Antient Greece will be destroyed; Athens will be rased, and not a stone be left to mark where the city stood.”^{cdx} A generation later, De Hell describes the results of “Muscovite vandalism”^{cdxi} – which the Emperor Alexander had tried to stop in 1818, when it was already too late.^{cdxii}

But Greece didn’t need the Russians to destroy it: war served very well, and even before the Greek War of Independence Athens had just about

been razed, as Richardson remarked glumly in 1822.^{cdxiii} Hence there is a much reduced number of ancient cities in Greece or the Balkans remaining today,¹⁰⁰ in spite of the antiquities-rich towns described in the 19th century.^{cdxiv} It should be noted here that Europeans had an emotional and intellectual attraction for Greece, not felt for anywhere else in the Mediterranean¹⁰¹ – even if the monuments sometimes seemed too small for their heroic reputation.^{cdxv}

Of course, new building could reveal antiquities as well as destroy them: at Arga in Turkey, such construction unearthed a significant Byzantine church.^{cdxvi} (To this account we might add the Russian dismantling of antiquities near Jerusalem in the 1860s.)^{cdxvii} Because of such extensive destruction, exhibitions dealing with the Black Sea settlements necessarily deal in *Kleinkunst* – the rest has gone,¹⁰² and modern authors are tight-lipped about the destruction.¹⁰³ Not of course that the Russians were the first to destroy the antiquities of the region, plenty of which went into mediaeval churches, for example at Pitzounda.^{cdxviii} The other side of the coin is the conservation of antiquities in 20th-century Greece – again as a politicisation of the past¹⁰⁴ – archaeology being a political as well as a cultural topic.¹⁰⁵

For their new settlements, such as Sebastopol, the Russians practically cleared out what they found, such as Chersonesus,^{cdxix} without necessarily making anything beautiful of the retrieved pieces,^{cdxx} except perhaps the docks admired by Démidoff.^{cdxxi} Not that these lasted beyond the Crimean War.^{cdxxii} In Kaffa, they re-used antiquities any-which-way,^{cdxxiii} so that by the end of the 18th century the town was “nothing but a melancholy assemblage of stones,”^{cdxxiv} with the water conduits destroyed and lead gone to make bullets.^{cdxxv} Clarke chronicles similar destruction in 1816,^{cdxxvi} and holds the Russians to account

¹⁰⁰ Eichler 1999, 211–299 for Mainland Greece & the Balkans, and 300–337 for the Peloponnesus.

¹⁰¹ Miliori 2009, for philhellenism and hellenism in nineteenth-century Britain. Marchand 2009 on German 19thC philhellenism. Hamilakis 2007, 57–123: “From Western to indigenous Hellenism.”

¹⁰² Oppermann 2007, 98–116 for the fate of Black Sea settlements in late antiquity – some rich grave finds, especially gold and pottery, and some stelai, but a dearth of standing buildings, especially with their cladding intact.

¹⁰³ Romančuk 2005, 7–38 *Geschichte der Untersuchung von Chersonesos* – but author starts with Russian scholars, not Russian destruction, ongoing during the decades covered, and about which he is silent.

¹⁰⁴ Damaskos & Plantzos 2008.

¹⁰⁵ Meskell 1998, *passim*.

for laying the country and its monuments to waste.^{cdxxvii} He then goes on to give a pen-portrait of their destruction of recent as well as classical monuments there.^{cdxxviii} Seymour adds the destruction of water conduits to the list.^{cdxxix}

Destruction was still continuing in the 1840s: the town declined as antiquities in the Genoese fortress were being filched^{cdxxx} or degraded,^{cdxxxi} and other remains being used to build barracks^{cdxxxii} – just as a Roman praetorium in Syria was destroyed to build Turkish barracks.^{cdxxxiii} And at Kertch, where the citadel contained several antiquities,^{cdxxxiv} the museum was destroyed,^{cdxxxv} apparently by both French and Turkish soldiers.^{cdxxxvi} Indeed, Viquesnel records that boatloads were still being abstracted from the region in the 1860s – but now they were being taken back to Russia, not re-used locally.^{cdxxxvii}

In many places in our Crescent, and not just the Crimea, travellers noted that nomads simply continued pitching their tents, letting ancient cities go to ruin.^{cdxxxviii} In the Crimea, they even pointed to more modern ones (built by the Genoese) as in fact built by their ancestors!^{cdxxxix} A fine marble-clad mosque survived into the 19th century at Crim, built by Baybars, who hailed from here, but this is an exception to a sorry tale of casual neglect and destruction.^{cdxl} Further north, so many antiquities were removed from *Chersonesus* for re-use – with one tradition dating to the 14th century^{cdxli} – that even the layout of the ancient city could not be determined,^{cdxlii} although its walls had still apparently been intact in the 16th century, perhaps the period when the marble went on its way to Constantinople, for the new building projects there.^{cdxliii} Further searches for building materials in the early 19th century practically obliterated the ancient site, as we learn from travellers in the 1830s^{cdxliv} and 1840s.^{cdxlv}

Disasters Natural and Human

Earthquakes

Much of our Crescent is susceptible to earthquakes, which could make columns chatter if not fall,^{cdxlv} and on one occasion, at Antioch, even revealed some antique bronzes, immediately interpreted as talismans.^{cdxlvii} With the continuing dilemma of abandonment or rebuilding,¹⁰⁶ architects obviously remained aware of the problem of earthquakes, if the antique shafts in the Mosque of Mehmet the Conqueror in Constantinople really were cut down to protect against instability and earthquakes,^{cdxlviii} rather than simply to fit the design of the mosque.^{cdxlix} Similarly, the Suleymaniye was

¹⁰⁶ Guidoboni & Ebel 2009, 359–366 for rebuilding and abandonments; 366–374 for their effect on construction practices.

given extremely deep foundations, presumably for the same reason,^{cdl} and its appurtenances provided with rich marble shafts,^{cdli} including porphyry shafts which much impressed De Riedesel,^{cdlii} but with decoration which Crowe found aesthetically unsatisfactory.^{cdliii}

But as maintenance decreased and neglect increased, and an arguably lower level of technical competence took hold, damage from earthquakes perhaps became more serious – and certainly more widely reported. Such damage could be convenient: at Daphne, Dodwell generously (sarcastically) praises Elgin's desire to "tell England" by sending off some marbles which an earthquake had conveniently loosened.^{cdliv}

Some earthquakes (such as that of 1157,¹⁰⁷ or of 1303 in the eastern Mediterranean) were so severe that we have several accounts detailing the damage in different centres,¹⁰⁸ and an archaeological assessment for Beirut.¹⁰⁹ A thorough account of the "12th-century seismic paroxysm" has also been written, drawing on eastern and western sources.¹¹⁰ Even the massive columns at Baalbek suffered. A large earthquake damaged the site in 1769, bringing down three large columns.^{cdlv} Then the 1759 earthquake gave the locals the opportunity further to destroy the shafts in their search for metal.^{cdlvi} The result was that in 1855 only six shafts remained standing.^{cdlvii} Most of the archaeological evidence we have is of course for the West – such as the devastating quake which apparently killed monumental building at Luni in the mid-4th century.¹¹¹

¹⁰⁷ Guidoboni & Comastri 2005, earthquakes, Cat 080 during August and September 1157, around NW Syria and Antioch, fully described in the Arabic chronicles (reproduced and translated here).

¹⁰⁸ Guidoboni & Comastri 2005, earthquakes, Cat 160 a 1303 very bad earthquake in the eastern Mediterranean. On Crete, documentation includes letter to the Doge detailing its effects: buildings ruined, no work so no state income, little commerce and external trade. Al-Maqrizi reports that at Cairo "the price of building materials rose to dizzy heights because of the demand. Anyone who saw Cairo would have thought the enemy had come that way and razed it to the ground." Includes a tabulation of this particular quake's effects by country, fortress and town. Cf also Guidoboni & Ebel 2009, 39–146 Written historical sources and their use. Excellent broad-ranging survey, including varieties of mediaeval sources.

¹⁰⁹ Marriner 2008, 5.5.2.1 for Beirut: "excavations suggest that great tracts of the city were left in ruin after the 551 AD earthquake, with patchy evidence for urban rebuilding," Hall 2004, 66–76 The physical structures of late antique Berytus, then Evidence of the earthquake narratives.

¹¹⁰ Ambraseys 2004, 734: "heavy damage to buildings was due to both poor construction and lack of repairs, while for forts and castles built on hilltops or on sloping ground, damage was chiefly due to differential settlements, overturning and incipient sliding of their foundations."

¹¹¹ Rossignani 1989. Civic life and use of buildings dies after mid-4thC, and author suggests an earthquake was responsible. Wooden houses thereafter, built over public areas.

Just what was destroyed by earthquake, and when, is not often easy to determine, or to interpret from the archaeological record¹¹² – always assuming, that is, that the diggers are alert to any signs.¹¹³ For example, it seems possible that one of the great Heliopolis obelisks (its construction no doubt part of the task Solomon gave to the Djinnns)^{cdlviii} was brought down in the earlier Middle Ages^{cdlix} – since it seems unlikely that it had been marked out for re-use, and damaged on the way down. But while accounts make clear just how much was destroyed in, for example, Greece,¹¹⁴ it is quite likely that some temples and other structures remained standing until the last few centuries. One known example is at Karni/Garni in Armenia, where a 1st-century classical temple fell to an earthquake in 1679, and was rebuilt only in the 20th century.^{cdlx}

Earthquakes destroyed buildings, and princes seeking funds to rebuild would sometimes degrade the building even further by converting its roof materials^{cdlxi} or gold and silver door revetments^{cdlxii} to generate funds for the rebuild. In some cases the beauty was covered by necessity, as in covering the marble flooring of the Great Severan Nymphaeum at Leptis Magna with hydraulic cement, presumably because an earthquake had caused leaks.¹¹⁵ Shaw was told in the mid-18th century of a tradition that it was an earthquake that had brought Cherchell low,^{cdlxiii} but in the following century the block thus liberated were enthusiastically re-used by French church-building.^{cdlxiv} Perhaps, therefore, one of the reasons the French military engineers in Algeria used ancient blocks to build their installations was to try and protect the soldiery from frequent earthquakes, as at Cherchell.^{cdlxv} Enormous quantities of antiquities were also available in other towns the French garrisoned.^{cdlxvi} In erstwhile Greek colonies on the shores of the Black Sea much the same happened,^{cdlxvii} for it was easy to find suitable blocks.

Earthquakes also destroyed some sets of ruins comprehensively, as we know that of 1738 did at Jol, or Julia Caesarea, near Mostagenem in Algeria.^{cdlxviii} An earthquake similarly encumbered the port at Cherchell with temple columns toppled from the cliff above.^{cdlxix} In the Galilee, the earthquake of 1837 seems to have brought down structures which were then plundered.^{cdlxx} At

¹¹² Rothaus 2008, deals with 53: “the difficulties of reading the archaeological record of purported earthquake-related phenomena at Kenchreai.” Strangely, the author doesn’t even reference Guidoboni.

¹¹³ Guidoboni & Ebel 2009, 419–420: “the culture of classically trained archaeologists can at times make it difficult to plan a work strategy oriented towards surveying data.” for another scientific discipline such as seismology.”

¹¹⁴ Helly 1989.

¹¹⁵ Sandoz 2006, suggests this was no longer maintained by the 5thC.

Beat Shean/Scythopolis,¹¹⁶ the earthquake of 747 destroyed a town of magnificent public buildings – including temples conceivably left unoccupied by Christians,¹¹⁷ and perhaps including the heap of ruins that Guérin saw as late as 1874.^{cdlxxi} But occupation and commerce had apparently been prospering until then,¹¹⁸ and plenty of ruins were to be admired in the early 19th century,^{cdlxxii} including an amphitheatre and church-then-mosque.^{cdlxxiii}

At Apamea, some earthquake brought down every one of the long and impressive colonnades,^{cdlxxiv} and two caused the destruction and rebuilding of the Al-Aqsa Mosque in Jerusalem,^{cdlxxv} which required a widespread sweep for more antiquities for the rebuild.^{cdlxxvi} At Tarsus, in the early 18th century, plague had cleared out the population, and earthquakes had upended many buildings.^{cdlxxvii} At Hierapolis an earthquake can even be dated by the damage it did to a dated structure;¹¹⁹ and this and other earthquakes perhaps contributed to its plundering, for only scraps of the opus sectile from the Agora walls have survived.¹²⁰ Given so many and such serious earthquakes, as Hall remarks of Beirut: “the citizens of sixth-century cities seem to have been tolerant of ruins in their midst.”¹²¹

Even in later towns, earthquakes could wreak apparently long-term havoc if the population was not available to rebuild. This happened in Rhodes Town in the early 1860, for example,^{cdlxxviii} and on Crete, perhaps thereby preserving the antiquities for a little longer.^{cdlxxix} On Rhodes, the earthquake of 1856 destroyed several buildings^{cdlxxx} – but then, there was little of interest in the town before it struck,^{cdlxxxi} although Buondelmonti had seen antiquities throughout the island,^{cdlxxxii} and Sabba da Castiglione writes to Isabella d’Este of a statue unearthed at Lindos.^{cdlxxxiii} The Cathedral of Tyre was brought down by the earthquake of 1837, leaving half the houses unoccupied.^{cdlxxxiv} It was then plundered for materials, as Wortabet reported in 1856 and Rey in 1883^{cdlxxxv} so that a diminishing amount remained later that century.^{cdlxxxvi} At Delphi, Mahaffy suggested that only through the aid of earthquakes could scholars read the inscriptions once built into the houses.^{cdlxxxvii}

¹¹⁶ Förster & Tsafirir 2002, on Beat Shean/Skythopolis: a spectacular site with lots of (limestone?) columns; and with some excellent aerial views.

¹¹⁷ Tsafirir 2003: the pronaos of the Temple at junction of Palladius and Northwestern Streets survived until earthquake of 749. 280 suggests Christians did not immediately occupied sites of temples because “conceived not only as impure, but mainly as being possessed by demons” – plates 106–109 for still substantial remains of Beat Shean (aerial views).

¹¹⁸ Khamis 2007, 439: “While certain monuments and buildings in the city centre changed their character, design and function through time, the streets with their shops alongside, remained the most dominant and unchangeable feature of the city during several centuries. The owners of the shops, and their religious and cultural background, changed during the Roman, Byzantine and Early Islamic periods, but they still used the same buildings and probably sold similar products from one period to another.”

¹¹⁹ Altunel 2000, on Hierapolis, Fig 7 for the fault-line caused by an earthquake, clearly the 1354 one, because visible here splitting the walls of the mediaeval castle.

¹²⁰ Kadioglu 2007: large variety of exotic marbles, which he illustrates and enumerates.

¹²¹ Hall 2004, 75.

Bradysism

Another factor of which we should be aware in our census of the fate of antiquities is the vulnerability of settlements by the sea not only to easy pilage, but also to movements in sea level (bradysism) – a topic of much interest to archaeologists.¹²² This could entail encroachment and destruction by the sea, which mediaeval commentators certainly knew about.^{cdlxxxviii}

While columns on high ground remained untouched,^{cdlxxxix} bradysism is what seems to have destroyed at least one ancient settlement on the coast of Santorini,^{cdxc} where antiquities were still to be had in the 1820s.^{cdxci} The same phenomenon caused a colossal statue on Crete to topple down the hill,^{cdxcii} and revealed column shafts in the sea at Tyre.^{cdxciii} On the same island, being able to get a boat up close to the ruins ensured their plundering^{cdxciv} – ruins which Galland judged well worth seeing in the 1670s.^{cdxcv} At Benghazi, the land dropped, so seaside antiquities were drowned.^{cdxcvi} At Sousse, they presumably disappeared onto marauding ships,^{cdxcvii} including perhaps the great temple outside its walls.^{cdxcviii} In Greece, near Marathonisi, Bramson in 1820 saw large quantities of antiquities lapped by the waves – indeed, found a site rich in antiquities that was in the process of being swallowed by the sea.^{cdxcix} Browne notes a vanishing mosaic at Sidon in 1799;^d and in 1837, Robinson admired mosaics by an encroaching sea at Beirut, as well a harbour mole built up from column-shafts for the same reason^{di} – but this appears not to have worked.^{dii} Caesarea was also losing its antiquities, for the same reason.^{diii} Later in the 19th century, from antiquities found in it, plus a Roman boat, scholars came to the conclusion that the Roman harbour at Charchell had also sunk,^{div} although plenty of antiquities were to be found lying around, and built into the structures of the now-French town.^{dv}

Much destruction resulted, of course, simply from the action of the waves, which Beaufort was able to gauge at Phaselis in 1818, and where very little remains today.^{dvi} Equally, the marble-rich sea walls at Constantinople^{dvii} – these were, for Belon in the 1540s, a sign of hasty building, not magnificence.^{dviii} By the 1830s they were visibly being affected by the action of the waves,^{dix} although still an interesting sight from the sea,^{dx} and full of re-used antiquities,^{dxi} many visible in early photographs.¹²³ None of the breaches, of course, had been repaired, and allowed visitors to describe the better the materials of which they were composed.^{dxii}

¹²² Slim 2004, 229–254 for changes of sea level since Antiquity, including (234–240) archaeological indications.

¹²³ Mamboury & Wiegand 1934: careful and detailed description of the Sea Walls (1–25 for the “Lower” palaces). Pl. XV 1931 show of the port entrance to the Bukoleon Palace, with antiquities built into the walls, and the wall of the railway behind; details at Pl. XVI–XIX. XX for the landing steps, with serried entablatures and column shafts; pl. XXI for plan. Some excellent pieces retrieved, including XXVII Eagle Capital found in the landing steps vaulted area.

Silting and Detritus

Towns on rivers or under the slopes of mountains were naturally sometimes subject to heavy silting, so that any ancient remains were well-covered. The detritus of centuries often added considerably to the depth at which antiquities were to be found. But the locals were well aware of such problems, and knew just how far they had to dig for stable foundations, and also for materials they could re-use for their own buildings. Twelve metres of rubbish had to be dug out in parts of Jerusalem,^{dxiii} while parts of Benghazi required only fifteen feet before finding antiquities.^{dxiv} In any event, the French extracted at least one statue from a house there in 1698.^{dxv} Beirut, whose south walls were still standing in the mid-18th century,^{dxvi} with a scatter of other antiquities nearby,^{dxvii} presented a confusing club-sandwich of antiquities in several layers, some of them very deep.^{dxviii} Olympia was less confusing, but the classical materials still lay nearly three metres deep.^{dxix} In Algeria, several sites such as Le Kef were deep under collapsed buildings, soil or sand,^{dx} and contained churches with desirable, high-quality antiquities.^{dxxi} Parts of Sardis in Turkey were deep underground,^{dxii} and hence only the more accessible antiquities got re-used.¹²⁴

At some sites, however, antiquities were to be found no more than three feet below the surface of the soil, as Hughes discovered in 1820 at a temple near Nicopolis, uncovering almost all the pedimental sculptures where they had fallen.^{dxiii} At Lambaesus in 1851, Renier found “a host of antiquities” in a little hump near the triumphal arch,^{dxiv} and the site fed Christian monuments as well.^{dxv} Fortunately for both builders and connoisseurs, rivers could shift their course and then reveal rather than hide antiquities, as happened at Daphne, near Antioch, providing two sarcophagi for the local palace.^{dxvi}

¹²⁴ Rautman 1995, 63 in the 6th century at Sardis: sections rebuilt crudely, using bits of marble for benches. of the 5 marble basins in the 5thC complex, only one remains in place – so the inhabitants evidently used the well instead: “The final use of the complex appears in its selective quarrying for building materials. Marble columns, paving slabs, and revetment evidently commanded a premium, although even terracotta tiles and mosaic tesserae were removed for other uses. The extent of despoliation seems to have been limited primarily by accessibility, with individual rooms being stripped until halted by the collapse of roof and walls. Very different circumstances account for the best preserved spaces” – i.e. they collapsed early, and were inaccessible thereafter (without digging).

War, Revolution and Invasion

To earthquakes and modernisation as instruments for shaking down monuments, which were then deserted by any nearby inhabitants, we should add piracy, which was endemic in the Mediterranean, probably from long before Caesar's day. This affected roads near to the sea, such as the Egnatia:¹²⁵ pirates and robbers infested those stretches where no central authority held sway, hence rendering it unreliable for long-distance travel.¹²⁶ Piracy was naturally especially severe on or near trade routes, and it particularly affected smaller Mediterranean islands, many of which were also rich in antiquities.^{dxxvii} Here pirates could either live, terrorise the locals, or even drive them off. The coastal rule-of-thumb comes into play here: antiquities near the sea were always vulnerable, and the danger of pirates emptied many towns and villages of inhabitants – thereby making and remaining antiquities yet easier to rob. Presumably a thorough search might find evidence of pirates peddling antiquities to Westerners.^{dxxviii}

In the highly unstable 19th century, wars and revolutions also played their part in the biography of antiquities, and digging trenches often provided an archaeological excavation *avant la lettre*, such as the discovery of more cisterns at Alexandria.^{dxxix} But the devastation and modern ruins of wars added to the adverse impact eastern settlements had on many Westerners, and the victims in such conflicts did not always meet with the sympathy one might expect, largely because local standards of neatness, cleanliness and even re-use did not match those of Westerners. This happened even when it was the Greeks, "heroic" so shortly after their wars with the Turks, who were at fault.^{dxxx} Even that jewel of classicism, Athens, its working town devastated by war although its ruins were hardly touched,^{dxxxi} was seen by jaundiced visitors such as Galt as squalid rather than glorious.^{dxxxii}

Wars could even be responsible for bringing antiquities to light (as with the American bombing of Palestrina, which neatly destroyed the mediaeval town to reveal the remains of the temple complex beneath). So it was at Delphi, where the Greek war occasioned, with its destruction

¹²⁵ Fasolo 2003, 100–102 for the Egnatia: I rifacimenti successive, including list of relevant milestones – but all in Roman period. 128–129 mediaeval use only partial, thanks to una pirateria araba along the Mediterranean coast.

¹²⁶ Oikonimedes 1997: the Via Egnatia was a military road, which during Byzantine times functioned only in parts. Infested by robbers (notes that two 8th–9thC saints avoided it). 13: "practically abandoned for centuries" and some tracks replaced it. Author suggests parts were maintained "where Byzantine authority was restored already by the 8th century."

and consequent rebuilding, the beginning of the unearthing of the classical site.^{dxixiii}

The Age of Archaeology – and Continuing Destruction

Although one might at first imagine that the dismantling of Roman towns (or later constructions on Greek sanctuaries)¹²⁷ ended during the 19th century, as notions of preservation and of the prestigious value of past architecture developed, this was not in most areas the case. Algeria has already been mentioned, perhaps as a special “wartime” case. But civilian destruction was much more extensive than that occasioned by a few fortifications. Constantinople was still plundering Nicomedia late in the century.

Volubilis

Volubilis, which might have had an unusually prosperous late-antique survival,¹²⁸ and where Christians were living into the 7th century,¹²⁹ was being dismantled probably at least as early as the 17th century for palace-building in Meknès.^{dxixxiv} This stopped when the French “resurrected” the ancient city,^{dxixxv} under Lyautey’s early 20th-century governorship. Even so, the 17th-century dismantling was mildly appropriate, since the Arabic name for the place was Ksar Faraun – Pharaoh’s Palace (or fortress) – an appellation also used for a tomb at Petra,^{dxixxvi} for a marble slab in Tunisia,^{dxixxvii} and for the triumphal arch (or remains of baths?) at Beirut admired by Nassiri-Khosrau.^{dxixxviii} Meakin writes in 1901 of Meknès/Mequinez being supplied with materials from Ksar Faraon,^{dxixxix} presumably more extensive when Stewart saw the site in 1725,^{dxli} also describing a nearby triumphal arch, then nearly intact.^{dxli} The site was still being plundered in the 1880s.^{dxlii} The marble source might be correct – but Godard in 1860 reports that some of the shafts came from Italy.^{dxliii}

Egypt

Mehmet Ali in Egypt, despite his protestations about saving the monuments of Egypt, imported blocks from the ruins of Cnidus^{dxliiv} – the new Pharaoh,

¹²⁷ Herrmann 1972, 200–207 Die Wiederentdeckung und Ausgrabung Olympias.

¹²⁸ Akerraz 1998, for Volubilis: suggests the reduced enceinte is 6th century. Small Islamic bath dates to 8thC. Suggests 304 that changes in walls etc reflect influx of different populations to Volubilis, l’une des rares villes de l’ancienne Mauretanie Tingitane qui soit restée puissante et organisée.

¹²⁹ Lenoir 2003: inscriptions dated 599–655 demonstrate Christians at Volubilis, along with buildings (but no splendid churches!) identified as Christian.

writes Ross in 1841.^{dslv} Hence his embargo on disturbing or damaging antiquities was so much hot air, French consular protests being largely ineffective, even as they hoped for better.^{dslvi} But then, some foreign consuls had contacts, usually good relations with the authorities, staff help, and even a knowledge of local languages. It was such men who were helping in the very destruction their colleagues condemned, either by financial speculation to populate the museums – “rubbish heaps” writes Finlay in 1845 – of Europe,^{dslvii} or simply by re-using antiquities in their houses.^{dslviii} Nothing had changed by 1918.^{dslxix}

Vanishing Sites

Indeed, plenty of the more out-of-the-way seem to have vanished in the course of the 19th century, because for the first time the concept of rebuilding fallen structures is introduced, taking account perhaps of the result of earthquakes. Hence we find travellers referring to re-buildable structures, as at Magnesia on the Maeander,^{dl} the walls of which had used older materials.¹³⁰ But this was usually wishful thinking because at most sites there were insufficient remains even for the Library-of-Celsus treatment. Some cities, such as Chersonesus, vanished completely, thanks to the efforts of private individuals defying the edicts of the government.^{dli}

Other cities have also vanished. Knossos, now known as a Minoan site (the courtyard of which could accommodate twenty-four coach-parties, as a guide once remarked) was once a Roman city (cf. the villa with mosaics excavated close to the Minoan Palace). But it lost all its classical identity, for some of its remains were used by the Arabs as fortifications as early as the 9th century,^{dlii} and others to build Candia,^{dliiii} including the Franciscan church there, later a mosque.^{dliiv} But the site also supplied antique statues to Venice during the 16th century.^{dlii} Perrot, in the 1860s, was quite clear that Knossos was now, so to speak, Candia.^{dliiv} Anything left was presumably – records are tight-lipped – cut down to Evans’ dubious art nouveau “palace.” The increasing pace of archaeological excavation also commodified antiquities in Europe. The statues and mosaics of Itálica, for example, went to provide houses in Seville, at the beginning of the museum age in Spain, with smart housing items¹³¹ – at least, near to their source. When, in the late 19th century, scholars were taking note of how few antiquities remained in Spain, it was too late.^{dliivii} Indeed,

¹³⁰ Foss 1975, 742: “The construction of the walls, which like those of Sardis and Pergamum are faced with marble re-used from ancient buildings, has been assigned to the age of Heraclius.”

¹³¹ Luzón Nogué 1999, 60–138 Itálica: the excavation, destruction, re-use of antiquities (especially mosaics) in Seville, visits by travellers, and efforts to protect it.

many antiquities in Spain must have disappeared during the Middle Ages – for their earlier collections of antiquities were supplied from Italy, not locally.¹³² The ancient marble for the Mezquita,¹³³ which came not just from Spain, suggests local supplies were exhausted early.

Islamic Settlements and Classical Antiquities

Moslem Interest in the Past

Some Moslem rulers – like some Christian ones¹³⁴ – were also interested in classical antiquities. Thus al-Mansur had antique inscriptions translated, and visited monuments, including Sufetula, and the amphitheatre at Sousse, admired by El-Bekri in the 11th century.^{dlviii} His son (the future caliph al-Mu'izz) caught the interest, and together they visited Carthage, and the great aqueduct from Zaghuan to Carthage.¹³⁵ As well as Greek and Roman towns, travellers also came across the remains of Islamic settlements, such as Anjar.¹³⁶ Much larger was Samarra, rich with imported materials,^{dlx} with some Constantinopolitan overtones,¹³⁷ and wonderful while it lasted.^{dlx} But it lay abandoned by the 10th century,^{dlxi} with at least one building dismantled because of the iniquity of its builder,^{dlxii} and others quickly stripped of their finery.¹³⁸ This was supposedly on an antique site, and the builder had purchased a Christian monastery here, possibly rich in reusable materials.^{dlxiii} Pietro Della Valle appears to have visited Samarra in 1616, and describes seeing there marble column, bases, capitals and stone walls.^{dlxiv} Heude saw marble and porphyry debris on

¹³² Trunk 2003, 99–148 for early Spanish collections of antiquities, sometimes eased along 141–142 by Spanish diplomats in Italy.

¹³³ Marinetto Sánchez 1996, useful introduction XIX–LIX by Antonio Fernández-Puertas, for the context of marble capitals in Islamic Spain.

¹³⁴ Lemerle 2005, 54–57 for the interest of French renaissance sovereigns in the antiquities of the kingdom.

¹³⁵ Bloom 2007, 35–40 for the reign of al-Mansur (946–53), including his building al-Mansuriyya.

¹³⁶ Blas De Roblès 2004, 165–170 for illustrations of Anjar.

¹³⁷ Ward-Perkins 2000: on the City's influence, including Samarra, 342–5.

¹³⁸ Leisten 2003, on Samarra, 35: "Marble columns and marble panels had already vanished by the time of al-Maqqadi, since he talks about them in the past tense." Ibid. 70 for the Balkuwara Mosque I: "the mosque must have been dismantled and the presumably more valuable materials such as marble or teak columns carried away before the rest of the building collapsed or was destroyed for its bricks."

the Tigris banks in 1819,^{dlxv} indicating these ancient materials had been prized and re-used by later settlers.

New Uses for Antiquities

Certainly, classical colonnades or porticoes could become rows of shops, just as temple materials would be re-used for mosques or palaces. But the functions of civic appurtenances of classical cities – theatres, agora,¹³⁹ amphitheatre, large public baths – were all neglected, even though water-supply and bathing survived on a smaller, non-public scale. And if travellers frequently examined Islamic structures for the classical antiquities they often contained (for very large sums could be spent on building work),¹⁴⁰ they could also admire Islamic achievement in architecture and the decorative arts, for example.^{dlxvi} However, they sometimes felt uneasy because Islamic cities did not contain the gardens and squares they were used to seeing in Europe^{dlxvii} (although they did promote several public building-types,¹⁴¹ including using bath-houses as an index of civilised living).¹⁴² These Western adornments were to come to 19th-century Cairo, by demolishing ruined houses,^{dlxviii} and leaving others vaguely standing,¹⁴³ as Aleppo had been “ottomanised” by imprinting a new format on the architecture of its past¹⁴⁴ – necessary, of course, because the Great Mosque, for example, built with the materials of a prestigious church, had suffered several disasters, as Kamal-ad-Din relates.^{dlxix}

In contrast, however, several ancient cities, such as Beirut or Samaria,^{dlxx} had been reduced to gardens and fruit-trees, with columns sticking up

¹³⁹ Höpfner 2003: Dura, Cyrene, Rhodes, Dion, Pergamon discussed, with houses taking over the agora areas.

¹⁴⁰ Hillenbrand 2001, 21–49 on Córdoba, with an appendix on the Great Mosque. Abd al-Rahman III supposedly (28) dedicated a third of his revenues to building projects. Korn 2004, 41–126 for Ayyubid structural types from mosques and churches to palaces and baths.

¹⁴¹ Micara 1985, deals with the mosque, the madrasa, the public bath, and the bazaar and caravanserai.

¹⁴² Thébert 2003, for North Africa: 431: On constate que tous les géographes et auteurs médiévaux qui décrivent l’Afrique du Nord considèrent que la multiplicité des bains constitue l’une des marques de l’importance d’une ville.

¹⁴³ Pauty 1932, 75–92 for a very useful table of Cairo palaces and houses classified by the Comité de Conservation des Monuments de l’Art Arabe, grouped by quartier, with dates and brief descriptions.

¹⁴⁴ Watenpaugh 2004, for Aleppo, 175–210 “The Ottomanization of the past,” including mosques, madrasas and khans. Concentrates on the “monumental corridor,” and notes 235–6 how the Ottomans took over large tracts of private land in the centre into waqf, to preserve in perpetuity the built structures.

here and there. This happened to Madinat al-Zahra, for which Bloom argues that ar-Rahman III stole materials from his rival in North Africa,¹⁴⁵ and Krüger that its stylistic sources are to be found further east.¹⁴⁶ In Andalucia, several of the palaces around Córdoba were eventually left to decay, the most sumptuous of these being Medinet Al-Zahra, supposedly built with antiquities from various countries,^{dlxxi} and which El-Edrisi describes.^{dlxxii} Perhaps it was some of these which also found their way into the fabric of the city.^{dlxxiii} What goes around comes around, and material from Córdoba and Medinat eventually found its way into buildings both Moslem and Christian.¹⁴⁷ Whether the Umayyad Mosque in Damascus originally had superimposed columns like the Mezquita is a matter for speculation.^{dlxxiv} It was probably impossible to indulge in myriad building projects (as for example Al-Nasir Muhammad in Cairo,¹⁴⁸ let alone the work put up by his emirs)^{dlxxv} without studying and re-using antiquities. But of all ancient monuments, it is catalogues of inscriptions which explain best just how and where antiquities were re-used, as can be seen – to take just one of hundreds of possible sources – in a catalogue for part of Asia Minor.¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁵ Bloom 2007, 40–41 on al-Rahman's amassing of antiquities from Carthage, and a church near Sfax: "We can hardly suppose that the Tunisian coast was the closest source for these materials or that this expropriation of materials took place with the consent of the Fatimid caliph; his Andalusian rival must have taken advantage of the disruption caused by Abu Yazid's revolt to procure the costly spolia. Al-Mansur's subsequent decision to pillage materials from pre-Islamic sites in North Africa for his own palace-city takes on new meaning in this context, for in this manner al-Mansur could be understood, like his rival, to be attempting to acquire prestige from the possession and re-use of ancient remains." 41: al-Mansuriyya covers 44 hectares as opposed to Madinat's 11, but "The palaces of Mansuriyya, like those of Madinat al-Zahra, had gardens and lavish displays of water, also provisioned by the re-use of originally Roman aqueducts. Mansuriyya, like Madinat al-Zahra, had conspicuous displays of antique materials such as the columns al-Mu'izz had brought from Sousse."

¹⁴⁶ Krüger 2007, studies Samarra, Rusafa, Khirbat al-Mafjar, etc.

¹⁴⁷ Cressier & Cantero Sosa 1995, 164ff for Moslem re-use: "Recherche d'une légitimation" and 167ff for Christian re-use, including pillage of Madinat.

¹⁴⁸ Levanoni 1995, 156–68 for Al-Nasir Muhammad's construction work, ranging from palaces in Cairo, to dams.

¹⁴⁹ Levick 1993: the vast majority of these interesting monuments, mainly stelae and a large number of these representing doors, are in re-use, as the catalogue records; but the introduction does not discuss re-use. E.g. 1–3 at Kuyacak: "House yard...in fountain five minutes W. of village...by the cemetery...well at N.E. corner of village...dug out from foundations of mosque; 20–6 Altinas and Altinas Koy: "ruins of house...wall of mosque...house wall...W. wall of mosque...outside wall of mosque...mosque yard...side of cupboard in S.E. wall of mosque...W. wall of mosque garden...in tekke, over door;" 160–168 Hisarcik: "In fountain...in house court...in mosque graveyard...in

One device in Moslem lands for ensuring the maintenance of buildings was the waqf, a continuing and strictly supervised endowment intended to ensure the integrity and survival of endowed structures such as mosques, medrese or baths. But how were repairs to be paid for? The answer affects our theme of dismantling and re-use, for there are documented instances where materials including marble were sold off to generate the needed funds,¹⁵⁰ just as was done casually by many landowners with ruins, such as those at El-Mekr, noticed by Guérin.^{dlxxvi} In Morocco, new towns were built on top of old ones, sometimes after a period of abandon.^{dlxxvii} Indeed with the (non proven) exception of Anjar, in no case do we find any Islamic enthusiasm for maintaining as a functioning classical city the ruins amongst which they sometimes built their own settlements.¹⁵¹ New metropolitan tastes, best seen in the religious monuments of Cairo and Constantinople, now eschew the display of fragmentary antiquities, preferring to recut them into new arrangements.

Thus the re-used remains of the antique past are no longer visible, being subsumed into new architectural forms, as expanding towns consume at an ever-increasing rate, and as so may travellers relate, the ancient relics lie strewn across the mediaeval landscape. Indeed, although we can chart instances of multiple re-use, we can never know how many times antiquities were recut until they might be totally unrecognisable. The same dilemma exists, of course, for metal and for glass, both of which are yet more susceptible to such treatment.

market street . . . in fountain on "cemetery road" . . . in corner of house on main street S. of mosque . . . by mosque . . . in fountain on W. edge of village."

¹⁵⁰ Hanna 1984, 19 funds for maintenance of waqf properties allowed by the courts included selloffs of "loose marble, or granite columns, dislocated pieces of marble, that were sold, even if they belonged to the mosque, with the express purpose of repairing the rest of the building with the revenues of the sale. Small pieces of marble and dislocated slabs lying in a cell of the Mosque of al-Salih Tala'i were sold in 1091/1680" for this purpose.

¹⁵¹ Milwright 2010, 24–43 for an overview of Early Islam and Late Antiquity.

- i Napier_1842_I_128-9
- ii Laborde_1809_I_351
- iii Ponz_VIII_1784_137
- iv Napier_1842_I_68
- v Ponz_XVIII_1794_132
- vi Morgado_1587_25-26
- vii Dennis_1839_I_226-227
- viii Al-Makkari_1840_I_24-25
- ix Al-Makkari_1840_I_25
- x Münzer_2009_145
- xi Roscoe_1838_90
- xii Sathas_1888_550-551
- xiii Leo_Africanus_1896_I_193
- xiv Fabri_1893_496
- xv Ceán-Bermúdez_1832_62
- xvi Hamilton_1842_I_439
- xvii Saint-Martin_1852_II_321
- xviii Arundell_1828_140-141
- xix Leake_1824_17
- xx Robinson_1856b_168-9
- xxi Cagnat_1886_II_57
- xxii Cagnat_1884_II_1
- xxiii El-Bekri_1859_137-138
- xxiv Seetzen_1810_33
- xxv L'Hôte_1830_128
- xxvi Buckingham_1825_198-199
- xxvii Bovet_1861_411-412
- xxviii Gaffarel_1883_678-9
- xxix Radet_1895_446-7
- xxx Seetzen_1810_30-1
- xxxi Irby_1823_297-8
- xxxii Jowett_1822_131-2
- xxxiii Carter_1777_I_98
- xxxiv Rochfort_Scott_1838_I_60
- xxxv Jacob_1811_213
- xxxvi Duc_de_Raguse_1837_I_190
- xxxvii 'Abd_El_Basel_1896_196
- xxxviii Moufazzal_Ibn_Abil-Fazail_1919_542
- xxxix Le_Strange_1890_175-6
- xl Ibn_Battuta_1877_II_94
- xli Anonymous_(Crimea)_1824_7
- xlii Seymour_1855_251
- xliii Frankland_1829_II_67-8
- xliv Burton_&_Drake_1882_I_96-7
- xlv Williams_2009_73
- xlvi Ibn_Battuta_1874_I_30
- xlvii De_Breuvery_1848_112-113
- xlviii Lyons_1908_219
- xlix St_John_1834_I_409
- l Michaud_&_Poujoulat_1835_VIIb_133
- li Seetzen_1859_IV_385
- lii Moufazzal_Ibn_Abil-Fazail_1919_542b
- liii El-Edrisi_1866_160
- liv Curtius_1851_I_325
- lv Gell_1823_91
- lvi El-Edrisi_1866_160b
- lvii Hamilton_1838_146
- lviii Shaw_1814_547
- lix Conder_&_Kitchener_II_1882_107
- lx Buchon_1843_449
- lxi Fiedler_1840_I_355
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CHAPTER THREE

ROADS AND PORTS

The Roman Empire encouraged international trade, and roads and ports were essential for moving goods around, as they were for military operations. But both were sophisticated engineering systems, expensive to build and to maintain. Ports silted up, “imprisoning” antiquities in the hinterland, so that even ancient ports continuing in use were severely retracted. Wheeled traffic declined, and stone-clad surfaces were unsuitable for animals’ hooves, so made roads were abandoned for tracks. In our Crescent, neither ancient roads nor ports were resurrected before the 19th century.

Roads

One of the problems observed by travellers was a tendency not to maintain such infrastructure as roads and ports. Volney, writing about port facilities at Alexandria, which remained in ruins, noted that “l’on détruit sans jamais réparer.”ⁱ And when port facilities and a navy yard were indeed built at Alexandria, it was at the expense of yet more ancient monuments,ⁱⁱ making life difficult for the early archaeologists there.¹

The Disregarded Sinews of Empire

What proportion of Roman roads survived from Antiquity and were re-used? This depended, naturally, on the population levels in the various regions. It is still perfectly possible, for example, to drive around Tunisia (just as it is in Italy) using a map only of the Roman roads. Much the same applies to Spain and Syria, although there are ancient roads in both countries which were never kept up or developed – proof positive, perhaps, of population levels lower than their ancient equivalents, and of a drop in trade. In many parts of Turkey, such as Cilicia, large parts of the ancient road system have degenerated into tracks, often still marked by sarcophagi and cemeteries, but can still easily be followed. Conceivably a census of

¹ Tkaczow 1993, on Alexandria: 15–19 for a brief history of archaeological study in the city.

new fortresses along old roads in our Crescent – similar, perhaps, to developments in the West² – could indicate which ones continued in use.

Paved roads and accompanying milestones³ were an important and usually long-lived feature of the Roman landscape, to be seen in Europe (where the majority of scholarly investigation has been focussed)⁴ as well as in our Crescent,ⁱⁱⁱ where modern scholarship has frequently studied them.⁵ They map out the extent and prosperity of the Empire, are essential for the transport of goods such as marble,^{iv} and are the pointers toward settlement and expansion, sometimes successful, sometimes not. Within cities, the Roman road structure was sometimes able to survive, so that Fabri claims he found Saint Helena's coloured marble road underneath the later accretions.^v For Maspero, they would provide a "plan of campaign" for archaeology in Tunisia.^{vi} They are the visible tentacles of power.⁶ In Italy, the convenience of the Roman road network was a two-edged sword, in modern settlement terms, since invading armies could use the same arteries – hence, in part, the mediaeval retreat from vulnerable plains to often age-old towns on defensible hillsides. And after Antiquity, in some areas, such as the Morea, it was the very lack of roads that helped the Greeks against the Turks,^{vii} and which allowed French scholars to study antiquities less damaged than elsewhere.⁷

Sometimes travellers are punctilious in noting the existence and extent of ancient roads, and these were easily visible near Palmyra.^{viii} Sometimes accompanied by guard-stations and water supplies,^{ix} their well-engineered and often extravagant construction,^x far too elaborate for later centuries to match^{xi} helped ensure their survival, and in some areas they both continued in use and were periodically upgraded. The nearer the coast, generally, the fewer the remains, as around Chérchell.⁸

² Racine 1997: Fortresses built along old Roman roads on the Bâle-Neufchâteau stretch, so still in use. 308: Les voies romaines avaient contribué à fixer les itinéraires des routes médiévales. Much the same happened along the Via Egnatia: cf. Oikonomides 1997: recovery under the Ottomans, marked by the building of new fortresses.

³ Kolb 2004, for a well-referenced overview. Heinz 2003, 107–114: Nachleben. Fasolo 2003, 109–118 Le strade nel mondo romano.

⁴ E.g. Bönner 1997, and Racine 1997.

⁵ E.g. Hellenkemper & Hild 2004, 244–282 for the road system in Lycia and Pamphylia. Moreno Gallo 2004, 189–191 La via romana como monumento (in Spain).

⁶ Mrozewicz 2004, on the important political and demonstrative role of Roman roads, as a display of power.

⁷ Grange 2000, for the Expédition de Morée, of 1829.

⁸ Leveau 1984, Caesarea de Maurétanie, 439–447 Les communications. 441: D'une manière générale, les routes ont laissé peu de traces. Le terrain n'y prédisposait pas.

Road Survival & Maintenance

Roads had been built in part as military arteries for supplies and troops,^{xii} and in part for commerce and industry. So in those areas where the military had no need for heavy supplies, or where commerce was local and industry non-existent, the roads simply survived unused – the more so if they led to towns and into regions which were no longer densely inhabited by sedentary populations. In Spain, they certainly aided the Moslem conquest.⁹ But unfortunately, even where there were ancient roads, survival often did not include maintenance: hence many once-viable roads broke up into tracts that were simply not navigable, so that they were not viable over their whole length, as happened with the Egnatia.¹⁰ In many cases, however, such roads continued to be marked by their milestones and characteristic large blocks, in some cases each block large enough to make one wagon-load,^{xiii} although numbers surviving have decreased over the past centuries.^{xiv} Thus it required the rose-tinted spectacles of a Boissière to see what could be done to resurrect the remaining skeleton in North Africa,^{xv} for which there survived plenty of evidence.¹¹ Not only lack of maintenance, but also abstracting stone from roads for building materials, helped deterioration.^{xvi}

Unsurprisingly, the survival of these heroic engineering feats did not mean that they were universally appreciated, for the displacement of numbers of the large blocks of which they were constructed made them difficult to navigate.^{xvii} Clarke, in Greece, explained that filching blocks could lead to the abandonment of the whole route.^{xviii} In Palestine, Conder explained that the locals did not use the Roman roads^{xix} – nor, apparently, did the inhabitants re-use the temples in late antiquity.¹²

Indeed, even Europeans found Roman roads fatiguing, and tended to walk or ride alongside them, rather than actually on the ancient

⁹ Melchor Gil 1995, 39–41 for mediaeval sources on the use of roads in Spain, plus contemporary confirmation that the Via Augusta was being maintained in the 10th century. Tarik's invasion certainly used the ancient roads. 41–43 for later sources.

¹⁰ Oikonimedes 1997, for the Via Egnatia: by the 12th century, well-maintained Eastern part, and parallel but policed tracks in the western part; further W a part-decline by 13th century.

¹¹ Forstner 1979, 22–32 for Roman roads in the central Maghreb. Then 299–311 list, with maps, the Roman roads known in the itineraries, those of which no trace survives, etc. 312 Alles in allem scheint uns der Nachweis erbracht, dass das islamische Routennetz des Zentralen Maghreb bis auf wenige Ausnahmen auf das römische zurückgeht.

¹² Bar 2008, for the survival of pagan ritual sites, surveys centres such as Caesarea Maritima, Scythopolis, Caesarea Philippi and Mamre, as well as rural areas.

road-metal.^{xx} In Algeria, the locals didn't help the state of the roads by abstracting blocks with which to build their houses;^{xxi} and in 1839 the French were employing 300 workmen a day to improve them.^{xxii} As one exasperated traveller wrote of Morocco in 1794, "The Moors have no idea of making high roads, or repairing those which have been formed by the ancient possessors of the country, or perhaps by the mere resort of passengers, but are content to leave them in the same state in which they found them. Indeed, they are even incapable of comprehending the simple fact that by improving the roads travelling would become more expeditious, and less expensive."^{xxiii} This state of affairs appertained from the Middle Ages where, in the eastern Maghreb, large vehicular transport was apparently less and less used, giving way to animal transport including camels. In 7thC and 8thC the population continued to use old Roman roads, but also to develop a new network.¹³

Recognising Roman Roads

Of special interest and use in our Crescent were the *Tabula Peutingeriana*, a map of the Roman road network revised perhaps in the 5th century, giving towns and distances, and first published in full in 1598; and also the *Antonine Table*, although in parts confusing,^{xxiv} still being invoked at the beginning of the 20th century.^{xxv} It speaks volumes, of course, that Western knowledge of road networks was perforce based on ancient sources alone – but would perhaps not have appeared strange to travellers who thought it normal to use the ancient authors as guide books to the landscapes they visited. And travelling from Jerusalem to Jericho, De Saulcy's meticulous accounts surely have much to do with the close attention he paid to Roman roads.^{xxvi} In Tunisia, Tissot delighted not only in discovering important inscriptions (this in the 1850s), but also came across a Roman road found in neither of the ancient tables.^{xxvii} Following Roman roads was therefore an excellent way of discovering antiquities, as Laborde found in Estremadura,^{xxviii} Fellows in Lydia,^{xxix} and Dussaud in the Hauran, where he found an Islamic fort built on top of a Roman one, guarding the still-used Roman road.^{xxx}

¹³ Dahmani 1986. Forstner 1979, 123–298 for description of Islamic roads in the central Maghreb (catalogues 102 of them).

On the ground, Roman roads were generally easy to recognise, because so many had lasted so well, and were prominent even when badly maintained and breaking up. They were sometimes adorned with monuments, inscriptions, and even sculpture.^{xxx} Travellers were helped by milestones, of which many survived, often in place,^{xxxii} and sometimes doubled-up.^{xxxiii} The less inhabited the region, the more survived, as in the region of the “Dead Cities,” to the west of Aleppo,^{xxxiv} or to the east of the Dead Sea.^{xxxv} Not infrequently, such roads were flanked by monuments^{xxxvi} and, like toponyms,¹⁴ were also markers for the existence of marble artefacts,^{xxxvii} just as Naous, in the Lebanon, signalled a Greek temple.^{xxxviii} In some areas, such as the Bekaa, travellers were puzzled because they could find no Roman roads^{xxxix} – had these been simply obliterated by later tracks? This might well have happened in Syria, where Macarius (travelling in the 17th century) refers to a Roman road being “discovered” and then “opened.”^{xl}

Rebuilding Roads

Travellers also observed that the only solid roads were Roman ones;^{xli} and some of the disinclination on the part of the locals to use the Roman roads was put down to their desire to travel in single file, to take short cuts, and to deviate to find water for their animals.^{xlii} Perhaps horse-shoes were the problem: Massy in Asia Minor speculated that unshod hooves would have coped better.^{xliii} As a result of this situation, in some areas of Algeria, for example around Constantine, it was possible to see at least three roads – the old Roman one, the French one, and the Arab path.^{xliv} Muddy tracks are also preferred to the stone blocks of the Roman road near Alexandretta.^{xlv} Around Carthage, only ruins flanked the Roman roads, while travellers had to take alternately muddy or dusty gullies.^{xlvi} Building new roads to help open up North Africa still entailed re-using antique blocks in 1890, as Perrot recognised.^{xlvii} In Illyria, Arthur Evans was told antique marble columns went into building new roads,^{xlviii} and the same happened in Syria in the 1860s.^{xlix}

Maps, Roads and Railways

The absence of viable roads had a serious consequence for travellers and archaeologists, in that they therefore had no reliable way of measuring distances. No roads meant distances covered on horse- or camel-back had

¹⁴ Gendron 2006, for toponyms for French roads, names referring to ruins, quarries, columns, cemeteries, chemins ferrées (for maintained Roman road?), milestones, boundary markers, sarcophagi, emperors and gods.

to be given by time, as RR. PP. Jaussen & Savignac, investigating the “desert châteaux” in 1922, do meticulously, and to the minute, recording every interesting feature they pass. It was eventually railway surveyors who produced the best maps – but the railways which could also destroy antiquities unearthed while track-laying. This happened in 19th-century Tunis,¹ when antiquities discovered were generally broken up,^{li} and also in 20th century Athens, when the detritus formed an exhibition.¹⁵ Leake suspected that Roman bridges in Laconia were being destroyed for the same reason.^{lii} One irony was that sometimes road-building – which theoretically made viewing antiquities easier, did the exact opposite: Rott reports this happening at Tyana in 1908, when magnificent columns went to make hard-core.^{liii} Indeed, the choice of a railway terminus could spell prosperity or decline for adjacent towns and villages, as for whatever antiquities they once contained.^{liv} Is this perhaps what happened to the Roman fort near Alexandria?^{lv}

Milestones

A particularly useful part of inscription-collecting was formed by milestones, for not only were there (by definition) plenty of them, but many were still in place, such as near Sidon,^{lvi} with emperors named, thereby offering some kind of dating for adjacent settlements; near Ankara,^{lvii} or in Africa Proconsularis.¹⁶ In Syria, where the road system had aided the invasion and conquest^{lviii} (as it probably did in Spain),¹⁷ milestones (and on roads still in use) allowed easy identification of road-dates and their extent.^{lix} De Saulcy, for example, can still decipher a milestone first copied and published 250 years previously.^{lx} Hogarth explains how he became adept in dealing with them by teaching the peasants how to help.^{lxi} Unfortunately, as with other types of antiquities, the destruction of milestones continues to this day.¹⁸ It seems likely, indeed, that in regions like Andalucía their number has decreased even since the late 18th century.^{lxii}

¹⁵ Parlama 2001, 15: Excavating for the railway “makes an invaluable contribution to our knowledge of the constant growth of Athens” – written without irony!

¹⁶ Salama 1987, for milestones in Africa Proconsularis. 236–238: for the years 253/284, 50 survive, 33.5% of the total of 149; for 284/305, 99 survive, 66.5% of the total of 149.

¹⁷ Sillières 1990, suggests 602 Moslem infantry used the old roads for the 711 invasion.

¹⁸ Piccirillo 1996, 285: Un’amara sorpresa ha riportato all’attenzione la strada percorsa dai pellegrini per raggiungere da Gerusalemme il santuario di Mosè sul Monte Nebo in Arabia. Nella primavera del 1996, i cercatori di tesori sempre più attivi nella regione, non contenti di aver rotto e frantumato i miliari del VI Miglio della strada che in epoca romana univa Livias/er-Rameh nella valle del Giordano a Esbus/Hesban sull’altopiano

Milestones were frequently re-used, not least because they were available, visible, and plentiful – hence the scarcity of survivals in countries such as Spain.¹⁹ We find them used in fireplaces,^{lxiii} as house-posts in Paphlagonia,^{lxiv} and as cemetery markers at Cocossus.^{lxv} Indeed, Conder & Kitchener would have us believe that the nine-mile marker from Caesarea was marked by nine columns.^{lxvi} Boundary markers are, perhaps, a transmogrified form of milestone (when they are not simply temple elements re-used as field boundaries),^{lxvii} and Al-Tabari tells of how the King of Persia had his territory marked with a large column which took six months to fashion, making an ally swear never to cross that point.^{lxviii} The over-smart ally had the column taken down – and, so he never would forswear his oath – had 50 elephants (controlled by 300 men) drag it in front of him as he invaded.^{lxix}

The French in Algeria

The French were familiar with Roman roads and their construction, because both French and Italians had conducted excavations on stretches of such roads in France and Italy in the 18th century to try and learn how they were made, so that they could perhaps build likewise. In fact, they decided, Roman techniques were too costly in labour to be employed for anything more than the repair of existing roads in France. In Algeria, it was a different matter.

In Algeria, Roman roads abounded, frequently in good or repairable condition. The French badly needed such roads, just like the Romans, for moving their troops, baggage and especially artillery. The local inhabitants used only horses, and generally kept to tracks, so weather and earthquakes were the only reason why the Roman roads should degrade. Any earlier intelligence was useful, and it is characteristic of the veritable vacuum of modern maps of the area that it was again the *Tabula Peutingeriana* that came to their aid; so that they were using some sources perhaps 1500 years old in origin. This can be exemplified in Pellissier's *Mémoire sur la Géographie ancienne de l'Algérie*,^{lxx} where he bemoaned the lack of modern maps of Algeria. Remarking on the great number of ruins on the road from

transgiordanico, hanno fatto letteralmente sparire i miliari del V Miglio già in parte manomessi precedentemente.

¹⁹ Sillières 1990, 41 Hübner for the roads chapter of the CIL II noted 68 milestones – but he only saw 14, the rest being sightings by 16th–19thC antiquarians and travellers. 43 for his modern listing, which adds 42 to the old one – but 10 of these have already disappeared. Very few of the Roman roads have left much trace on the ground. Cf. 599–610 *Les voies romaines après Rome*. Roads progressively abandoned, and a new layout establishes itself. Visigoths tried to stem deterioration, towns being all still Roman ones.

Constantine to Sétif, he noted that first making a large-scale map, “un simple rapprochement entre cette carte et la table de Peutinger suffira pour leur donner, avec exactitude, les noms qui leur conviennent.” Here there seems to be a trusting willingness to have the Tabula annotate the modern map, and not vice versa, which we might surely have expected, given the superiority of 19th-century mapmaking over the schematic Michelin-guide-like approach of the Tabula Peutingeriana. In such good repair were some Roman roads that distances could be measured in Roman miles, on the maps produced by the Service Topographique of the Army. At Oran in 1837, for example, Capitaine d’Etat Major de Martimprey provides a map of the Province, marking ancient cities and roads, and using this measure, with scales in kilometres and leagues alongside it.^{lxxi} Roman milestones survived in large quantities to confirm such scales.

There is plentiful evidence in Algeria that the French army, pursuing the conquest, were helped by knowledge of the Roman road network.^{lxxii} For them the problem was particularly acute, since the dearth of usable roads meant that access to some important settlements was only by sea^{lxxiii} – hence the pressure for the army from the 1830s to develop useable itineraries,^{lxxiv} in which they could be helped by the well-trodden routes of earlier travellers.²⁰ The French did indeed refurbish Roman roads here – their first requirement being to use them to transport their artillery. If these were too narrow, gunpowder came to their aid.^{lxxv} In the mid-19th century Ibrahim Pasha refurbished a Roman road in Lebanon for the same purpose.^{lxxvi}

The crucial questions the French had to ask about Roman roads in Algeria were twofold, namely, Could such roads be repaired, and at what cost? and Would they take artillery? The answer to the first question was almost invariably affirmative: repairing Roman roads was cheaper than building new ones. Indeed, the French recognition of the “travaux gigantesques” frequently needed to build roads helps further to explain their interest in the Roman achievement.^{lxxvii} Thus in 1832, Lieut-General Pelet already knew that the Roman road between the bay of Stora (the port) and Constantine (a little over 50 miles) could be repaired.^{lxxviii} This was later confirmed, when General Berthézune remarked in a letter of 8 November 1839 that the trip between Stora and Constantine took 4 days, but that “le

²⁰ Yerasimos 1991, 23–92 for itineraries to Ottoman Empire from Europe and points east, route by route, all referenced from the travellers’ accounts.

chemin est assez bon et paraît permettre d'y mener de l'artillerie"^{lxxix} – thanks to the Roman road, as Captain Niel remarks.^{lxxx}

The answer to the second question, however, depended on the route followed. Whilst Roman roads were splendid on the flat, and able to take the pounding that guns and limbers inflicted, they frequently marched in a straight line over the hills, often involving gradients too steep for artillery and their horses to manage. So for most areas of a very hilly country (and, to make things more difficult, generally corrugated East to West), new, linking stretches of road needed to be constructed – another trigger for the dismantling of any conveniently sited Roman remains, no matter how spectacular. The French possessed one advantage the Romans lacked – namely gunpowder. This meant that they could build near-level roads where the Romans simply had to go over or go round, as Marshall Vallée reports to the Minister of War on 26 Oct 1838, concerning the road from Constantine to Stora.^{lxxxi}

Ports

Harbours Natural and Artificial

If roads and milestones led the way to cities and settled countryside, then waterways and irrigation afforded sustainable life. Although natural harbours do exist, port and quay facilities were often necessary for commerce and pilgrimage, and hence their survival or degradation is a barometer for the prosperity or decline of international travel and commerce – just like monumental building.²¹ Hence ports are crucially important in the story of the mediaeval landscape, but unfortunately often render little information, so frequently were they at the sharp end of sieges, battles and invasions. As for rivers, although quays and even the channels themselves were to be found by those who looked in the landscape for them, the most prominent signs were the remains of farms and fields in the hinterland of ancient ports which, when visited, lacked sufficient water to sustain settlement. This, for example, was one of the factors which encouraged the French to believe that they could pacify and colonise Tunisia just as the Romans had done – sliding over the awkward fact of just how long the task

²¹ Kulikowski 2004, 288, of Spain: "near total absence of monumental building in the manner of earlier centuries... we lose the yardsticks by which we have traditionally measured economic and social prosperity."

had taken them, and just how tenuous and insecure some of the results had been. Ancient remains were the tell-tale sign of prosperity in lands now little cultivated, and the deeds of the Romans were the clincher,^{lxxxii} as were the surviving remains of their sea-trading network.²²

This is where the rule-of-thumb about antiquities near the sea disappearing fast comes with a condition – because this could only happen where ships could dock or anchor. Whole stretches of coast, for example of Syria, lack natural harbours. Thus sighting antiquities from the sea can remain the only easy option: Scrofani, for example, on board ship around the coast of Greece, spots many antiquities on land, with the ancient authors to hand.^{lxxxiii} On Patmos, materials still on the quay might have come from the ancient acropolis^{lxxxiv} and, at Kenchreai, the lighthouse was built with antiquities.^{lxxxv} Greek islands tended to be shorn of antiquities for this very reason,^{lxxxvi} as already explained. But the rule of thumb could sometimes work in reverse, as when the port of Tigani, on Samos, was built with antiquities, presumably brought in by sea.^{lxxxvii} One could also tie up a ship, as at the Five Stones in Constantinople – Besiktas – according to one account, named after the five columns where Barbarossa moored his ships. Columns in other seaside locations, such as Acteboli in Thrace, could be the only remains of once-thriving ancient cities.^{lxxxviii}

Caesarea

The ancient response to the lack of natural harbours was to build artificial ones, the most marble-rich being the Bukoleon at Constantinople.^{lxxxix} Athlit was another part-artificial harbour,^{xc} where in 1875 Guérin apparently saw some shafts awaiting export.^{xc i} Some of these might have been fished out of the old harbour, since columns in sea-water apparently did not degrade, whereas those exposed to sea-air did.^{xc ii} At Atlit/Château Pélerin, Brocchi describes much more in 1842 than survives today,²³ and wonders whether the antiquities came from some nearby ancient site.^{xc iii} Van de Velde, a decade later, still saw some gigantic shafts there.^{xc iv}

But the greatest antique example was Caesarea. This was once the capital of Palestine, and rich in monuments,²⁴ the marble all imported, as everywhere else in Palestine,²⁵ and its fortress built in part with fine antiquities.^{xc v}

²² Lehmann-Hartleben 1923, 240–287 for A–Z catalogue of harbours and their monumental remains. 161–217 for harbours of the Roman Empire.

²³ Blas De Roblès 2004, 185–190 for illustrations of Tripoli and Mont Pélerin.

²⁴ Sivan 2008, 302–317 “The capital: Caesarea on the sea” – including the Christianisation of the Temple of Rome & Augustus.

²⁵ Petersen 2001, 31–33 for building materials, including imported marble, in Palestine.

Already a village by the 13th century,^{xcvi} its Cathedral was either never finished or stripped of its veneer.²⁶ In 1822, plentiful columns remained by the sea,^{xcvii} and its two-hundred-foot jetty of columns was still there in 1882.^{xcviii} Porphyry and marble fragments were scattered across the site.^{xcix} And in spite of its continuing use as a quarry,^c in 1854 many of its old buildings were nevertheless adjudged by Laorty-Hadji to be still intact.^{ci} However, the archaeologists found only fragments of a once-rich collection of sculpture²⁷ and, indeed, architecture.²⁸ In 1832, Caesarea was completely deserted,^{cii} and only a miserable village in the 1880s^{ciii} and later.^{civ} This was perhaps in part because the port had been deliberately filled in during the Middle Ages to ward off hostile vessels.²⁹

Tyre & Beirut

Down the coast was Tyre,^{cv} unremarkable if visited quickly, and so riddled with robber-trenches^{cv} that one visitor found little to see there.^{cvii} Materials had already been abstracted thither to Venice in 1258,^{cviii} and supposedly somewhat earlier also to Genoa from Constantinople^{cix} and Jerusalem.^{cx} For Affagart, travelling in 1533–4, the great piazza shafts in Venice had come from Constantinople.^{cx} Or according to Ludolph of Suchem, from Athens^{cxii} – the example perhaps prompting Lucca to get in on the marbling act.^{cxiii} In the 1670s, ships had to beach here, for there was by then no working harbour.^{cxiv} In the 1790s, Mariti remarked on the large number of shafts,^{cxv} and De Bertou numbers them in the hundreds, although encrusted with barnacles.^{cxvi}

The city was in decline in the 19th century,^{cxvii} its antiquities neglected.^{cxviii} Robinson suggests in the 1830s that shafts had been sunk in the harbour to deter large ships from docking there,^{cxix} maintaining that Fakr-ed-Din had sunk block-ships loaded with shafts at Sidon for the same reason,^{cxx} as Jouvin's 1676 comment confirms.^{cxxi} De Bertou, however, in 1843, suggested the columns were part of original porticoed structures.^{cxxii} Yet Michon in the 1850s (who failed to chip souvenirs from them, so hard was the stone!) was suggesting that their removal to Europe would be profitable^{cxxiii} – although clearly the harbour was out of use.^{cxxiv} Van de Velde, in the same decade, advocated digging here to uncover more supplies of exotic stone.^{cxxv} The columns were

²⁶ Pringle 1993, Cat 68 Caesarea Cathedral: re-used column bases and presumably originally columns as well. E end of Phase C had peg-holes for veneer, perhaps never finished.

²⁷ Gersht 2008, site revealing the largest number of sculptures in Roman Palestine, but 537: it is impossible to reconstruct any of the decorative displays, because generally only fragments have been found.

²⁸ Fischer 2008, 483–493 for an overview of marble in Roman Palestine.

²⁹ Raban 1996, 664–666: The Aftermath and Later Maritime Facilities. Suggests “allegedly deliberate fill is to be attributed to the Arab conquerors of Caesarea in 640 CE, who would fill in Byzantine harbours in order to prevent potential seaborne invasions of Christian fleets.” No archaeological evidence yet for an Islamic harbor, but there are Crusader constructions.

still blocking the port in 1891,^{cxxvi} while others had already been used as paving.^{cxxvii}

Conder thought the great granite columns amongst them, at least one of which was double,^{cxxviii} and of course connected quite wrongly with Sampson,^{cxxix} must have been imported by the Phoenicians.^{xxx} He also writes that the Crusaders used shafts of similar great dimensions in the fortress walls and in the harbour.^{xxxi} Durbin comments on the scene of desolation all around,^{xxxii} including the antiquities which had toppled into the sea,^{xxxiii} Gasparin at the site itself,^{xxxiv} and Marcellus on the general scene, including aqueducts.^{xxxv} By the mid-19th century, little of Tyre remained, its antiquities carried off for building works elsewhere,^{xxxvi} including mosque-building,^{xxxvii} except for the shafts in the sea, part-ruined by the water^{xxxviii} – although tourists were being offered shafts in the 1850s.^{xxxix} Brocchi in 1842 describes the use there of columns as tie-bars,^{cxl} and in 1860, Olin still counted some 200 columns scattered over the site of the town,^{cxli} and he is not including those set into the harbour walls, which he describes separately, and at length.^{cxlii} At least one, at twenty-four feet, seems to have been too massive to move easily,^{cxliii} and was among those noticed by Guérin in 1880^{cxliv} – although he underlined just how much had gone from the sea wall since his first visit thirty years earlier.^{cxlv}

The port at Beirut seems to have been thought dangerous,^{cxlvi} and to have had a decline over time, which has been studied archaeologically.³⁰ the harbour was choked by sand as early as 1701^{cxlvii} and continual robbing destroyed the quays,³¹ so that disembarking meant being carried ashore piggyback by sailors.^{cxlviii} Harbour works, liberally reinforced by column-shafts,^{cxlix} were in plain view there in the 1820s,^{cli} and even recognised as mediaeval by some,^{cli} with plentiful house-remains and mosaics in view even though some were swallowed by the sea.^{clii} Such remains were still impressive in 1915,^{cliii} although underwater archaeology took some early steps here, and also along the North African coast.³²

Other Harbours in Decline

Other important harbours declined or disappeared during late antiquity or the Middle Ages, such as Leptis Magna, choked by sand,³³ and which the elaborate

³⁰ Marriner 2008, 5.5.2 for Beirut: "The transition from fine-grained to coarser-grained sedimentation is a classic stratigraphic feature of ancient harbours. It is usually linked to a partial/total abandonment of the basin and/or the economic and political decline of a site."

³¹ Poidebard 1939, 30–31 for Tyre: the cut blocks of the harbour quays and installations have been robbed out to ground level for building in Beirut, Acre and Jaffa.

³² Viret 2004, on Poidebard's exploration of the harbour at Tyr, Sidon, Carthage and Mahdiya. And cf. Bauzou 2004. Blas De Roblès 2004, 23–39 for illustrations of Tyre, and 73–97 for Beirut.

³³ Bartoccini 1958, for plentiful illustrations showing the huge amounts of debris and sand needed to be cleared to get down to the Roman port.

design of the harbour was perhaps partly intended to counteract. Sidon,^{cliv} as already mentioned, was perhaps deliberately destroyed by sinking column-shafts in it,^{clv} and where large ships had to anchor well offshore.^{clvi} Durazzo^{clvii} also declined, and other erstwhile ports were still to be seen as heaps of ruins.^{clviii} Pococke in the 1730s could no longer securely identify the harbour at Ephesus.^{clix} After Antiquity, in Syria such harbours were used partly for pilgrims, occasionally for trade, but also for war (as during the Crusades), which often necessitated their ancient structures suffering to provide the materials to make them secure, including a fortress.³⁴ For reasons unknown, Benghazi was also privileged as a port, although heavily silted by the 19th century,^{clx} leaving the ruins of Cyrene almost intact.^{clxi} Rescue digs at Benghazi have not recovered much evidence of re-use.³⁵ The site was still largely untouched in the mid-19th century: some of it was under crops, some parts covered by blocks too heavy to lift – so Vattier de Bourville restricted himself to collecting statue fragments.^{clxii} Della Cella makes a similar comment near Cyrene, about 500m above the Mediterranean.^{clxiii}

Antiquities in and around Ports

Building materials such as brick probably arrived in North Africa as ballast.³⁶ But in the other direction, and later, it is also likely that antiquities were occasionally employed to ballast the visiting ships, whether just for stability, as apparently from a cemetery at Sousse,³⁷ or for onward sale.^{clxiv} Thus the Genoese imported materials from Italy to the coasts of the Black Sea.^{clxv} Chandler saw this happen at Iasus in 1775, when the ballast blocks were presumably sold on.^{clxvi} At Constantinople, blocks of marble

³⁴ Butcher 2003, 180–189 for Mediterranean trade, transport, caravans and the circulation of commodities.

³⁵ Lloyd 2006, for Benghazi: vii although the President of the Dept of Antiquities at Tripoli notes that “We are confident that the excavation has exposed a site of importance for the people of Libya who now have tangible evidence of the continuous occupation of the historic site at Benghazi,” this volume shows no interest at all in post antique-occupation of this cemetery site; although cf. 176–83 for some noting of re-used elements in the construction of the church. 12: but it was a rescue dig, and “a compromise had to be reached between the demands of scientific excavation and the urgent need to retrieve as much information as possible from the 10 hectare site before it disappeared completely.”

³⁶ Dodge 1992, Leptiminus (Latma): 159 “Fired brick is not a building material indigenous to North Africa... the diversity of the fabrics and fragmentary nature of the bricks found in the field survey suggest that bricks may have come to Leptiminus as part of ballast cargoes.”

³⁷ Schoeller 2004, II 289–90 in 11th-century Sousse a Moslem cemetery “the workmen destroyed the Moslem burial sites and supported the ships with them,” interpreted as using tombstones for ballast for an invasion fleet directed at Sicily.

were used to stabilise small boats.^{clxvii} At Gythium, in the Peloponnesus, extracting ruins from the water and nearby was apparently a nice sideline for local officials in the 1850s.^{clxviii} On Paros, on the other hand, Bartholdy was told in 1807 that this did not happen for fear of the Turks taxing marble ballast as cargo; but Bartholdy thought instead that lack of enterprise was the reason.^{clxix} In any case, there were shafts near the water's edge, thought to be there because ships could not get them on board.^{clxx} At Bône, did antiquities survive because of the inadequacy of the still-recognisable Roman port?^{clxxi}

Elsewhere, blocked ports had a knock-on effect on prosperity. The shifting of the administration from Sabratha³⁸ to Oea surely also helped preserve her antiquities,^{clxxii} since the port was useless by the 14th century,^{clxxiii} and remained so.^{clxxiv} Applying this rule to Carthage, this might be why the ancient city lost so many of her antiquities, but also why her harbour installations were still visible in the 1860s.^{clxxv} Again, it could be that Ascalon (which may have supplied materials for the beautification of Hebron^{clxxvi} in the twelfth^{clxxvii} and then in the 14th century)^{clxxviii} retained her detritus of column shafts and other antiquities well into the 19th century. For the harbour facilities essential for carrying them off were no longer available,^{clxxix} in spite of the fact that earthquakes had toppled buildings, leaving plentiful column shafts there for the taking.^{clxxx}

Ports, like roads, way-stations, villas and fortresses, could also be markers to the alert traveller that a certain area, now declined, had once been prosperous. Such markers were all over North Africa, for example at ancient Utica,^{clxxxi} spoliated by the locals,^{clxxxii} but they also occurred on the notoriously unfriendly coast of Syria. Here Allen, in the 1850s, proposed to refurbish the inner harbour of Seleucia in Pieria for precisely these reasons, and to encourage the growth of trade;^{clxxxiii} Ali Pasha, Governor of Aleppo, had already planned to do likewise in the 1830s.^{clxxxiv} Of course, as cities declined, so did their ports, as Fabri reports of Paphos^{clxxxv} – and we might surmise that Paphos retains some of her monuments precisely because her port was only used in extremis. And Della Cella, visiting the Cyrenaica in 1817, noted the sparse but useful antique ports, and suggested the area as ripe for European colonisation,^{clxxxvi} once again backing up his convictions by observations of traces of ancient prosperity.^{clxxxvii}

³⁸ Blas de Roblès 2005, 44–72 for Sabratha.

Alexandria was also sometimes seen as a difficult harbour,^{clxxxviii} possibly in part because of the sloppy habit of dumping ballast overboard and therefore gradually silting up the two ports. In addition, not only did bradysism affect the ancient port facilities, but this misled some travellers into mis-identifying the remains of the Pharos,^{clxxxix} and others to trace some of the palaces in the sea.^{cxc} Indeed, confusingly the sea seems to have sunk there in the 17th–18th century.^{cxc} At Alexandria, column-shafts helped build a tall bridge,^{cxcii} which Dolomieu believes is Turkish.^{cxciii} But plenty remained,^{cxciv} perhaps because the harbour became hazardous.

Near Tunis, digging a new port uncovered Christian antiquities,^{cxcv} so much had the sea-level changed. Again, changing patterns of trade and transport, after mediaeval prosperity,³⁹ turned Alexandria into a commercial backwater,^{cxcvi} in spite of the serried column accretions of both the harbours which made up the port,^{cxcvii} while her antique splendour remained visible under the water.^{cxcviii} Similarly at Tarsus,^{cxcix} and at Carthage, parts of the city were to be seen under the water,^{cc} as they were on the Atlantic coast of Morocco,^{cci} or on the coast of the Black Sea.^{ccii} And were sculptures in the harbour at Sousse⁴⁰ just “drowned,” or mishaps during loading for export? Certainly, there were plenty of villas just outside the walls, as Pellissier discovered in the 1840s.^{cciii} On Cyprus, on the other hand, the sea seems to have dropped, as reported at Cerines^{cciv} and at Aptera.^{ccv} At Byblos,⁴¹ a great trading centre (its tremendous castle survives)^{ccvi} was reduced by the 19th century to the haunt of a few fishermen,^{ccvii} because the harbour of this famous city, once a centre of stone-working,^{ccviii} was choked with ruins.^{ccix} Its Crusader fort was still garrisoned in the 1870s^{ccx} – but it now seemed a dwarf inhabiting the skeleton of a giant.^{ccxi} At Eleusis, antiquities probably survive in reasonable abundance because its port was not navigable.^{ccxii}

It might well be, then, that ports with good harbours lost their antiquities for this very reason, just as non-harbour sites retained them for the converse one. Hence, perhaps, the dearth of antiquities at Bône,⁴² or the near-complete disappearance of the great temple at Cyzicus,^{ccxiii} and even of the small temple at Andraki.^{ccxiv} Alexandria Troas is a good example,⁴³ and antiquities were seen gathered there by the sea as early as the 1540s.^{ccxv} Indeed, some Turks apparently believed by the mid-19th century that all marbles and porphyries in re-use came from there, as the Duc de Raguse^{ccxvi} and Broughton^{ccxvii} relate. Ludolph of Suchem believed much earlier that they went to Venice.^{ccxviii}

³⁹ Rösch 1999.

⁴⁰ Chaisemartin 1987, for materials found by dragging the harbour between 1898 and 1908: Cat 6 Mercury; Cat 20 Nereid torso; Cat 29 head of Sabina, dragages du port 1908; Cat 60 statuette with a cupid; Cat 61 fragmentary statuette of a horseman; Cats 66, 67, 68 fragmentary reliefs.

⁴¹ Blas De Roblès 2004, 107–119 for illustrations of Byblos.

⁴² Dahmani 1992 for the port in the Middle Ages.

⁴³ Feuser 2009, 29–34 for travellers' accounts.

Antalya, in the fierce Gulf of Antalya/Satalia, retains a Roman triumphal arch and the remains of a church/mosque, but everything else has gone,^{ccxxix} although much larger sections of her antiquities-rich walls survived into the later 19th century.^{ccxx} At Delos in later centuries⁴⁴ (and although docking must have been easy in antiquity), it was now difficult to land,^{ccxxi} and this perhaps helps account for the quantity of survivals, as well as for the building of a fort against Mount Kynthos.^{ccxxii} Much had already gone: *Sic Transit Gloria Mundi*, remarks Ross.^{ccxxiii}

Sidon and Acre

Sidon and Acre provide a good example of the theme, since their last great bout of destruction was not even that occasioned by under Napoleon, in 1799,^{ccxxiv} itself to the detriment of any surviving monumental remains.^{ccxxv} These had been splendid at the end of the 17th century,^{ccxxvi} but antiquities were disappearing fast by the end of the 18th century^{ccxxvii} and later.^{ccxxviii} However, Acre was too good to abandon, and Djezzar Pasha refurbished it, naturally using antiquities.^{ccxxix} His bath drew high praise from Hester Stanhope,^{ccxxx} and his mosque was even repaired after the 1840 bombardment by the Royal Navy.^{ccxxxi}

Acre pre-18th century would have been a very interesting place to study for the purposes of this book. This, as already noted, was where Muqaddasi, writing in 985, relates that his grandfather laid down classical columns as a kind of construction raft.^{ccxxxii} Ludolph of Suchem in the 14th century paints a picture of a splendid and ornate city.^{ccxxxiii} When Jouvin saw it in 1676, it appears that the harbour basin had been deliberately filled with antiquities^{ccxxxiv} – a naval equivalent of tank-traps, perhaps, and it had little depth of water even in the late 19th century.^{ccxxxv} But this was a key port for military purposes, so siege projectiles littered the ground in Arvieux' day;^{ccxxxvi} and he attests the use of classical blocks in the buildings of the Knights.^{ccxxxvii} However, its profusion of column-shafts^{ccxxxviii} probably suffered when its fortress got part-dismantled for building materials under Jezzar Pasha, who ruled Acre and the Galilee 1775–1804. A khan was constructed with classical elements, perhaps via a church;^{ccxxxix} and then well-nigh-obliterated by Napoleon, although plenty of Moslem buildings incorporating re-used materials remain throughout the town.⁴⁵ On top of (and with?) the ancient materials laid down by the Moslems, the Knights built their fortress, of which we know little, because this in its turn vanished in the 18th century.^{ccxl}

Repairing Ancient Ports

Harbours, like the rest of the landscape, were subject to natural disasters. At Cherchell, where Ibn Haukal reports that the port was still going when

⁴⁴ Duchêne 2001, 13–29 *L'inventaire des voyageurs*; then 31–43 for digs 1877ff.

⁴⁵ Petersen 2001, 69–91 for Moslem buildings in Acre, including 73–76 for Mosque of Jazzar Pasha, built 1781–2.

he visited,^{ccxli} in 1738 Shaw was told by the locals that an earthquake sank the port, as it were^{ccxlii} – so that by 1819, only small vessels could enter it.^{ccxliii} In one case, it was the river which changed its course, leaving the port and a heap of columns (ready for loading?) sanded up. Enterprisingly, a Turkish merchant dug out twenty shafts – but the authorities believed he had also found treasure.^{ccxliv} At Miletus the river also changed course, and ruined the ancient harbour.⁴⁶ In parallel fashion, antique column-shafts could be put to use in strengthening fortifications and harbour installations threatened by the pounding of the sea; and such were visible at Kyrenia, although many of the antiquities were plundered for more rebuilding use.^{ccxlv}

At Beirut, where Marcellus admired ancient porticoes,^{ccxlv} horizontal column-shafts were re-used to anchor the masonry (and a common defence against earthquakes and sapping)^{ccxlvii} – *en boutisse*, as the technique is called. They were noticed all along the sinking coast,^{ccxlviii} as they were in the port towers at Lattakia,^{ccxlix} and some other installations apparently demolished by the British here and along the coast,^{cc} not to mention in the Sea Walls at Constantinople.⁴⁷ Muqaddasi, as already noted, says it was his grandfather who invented the technique,^{cc} and it is just possible that his grandfather adapted a Roman device,⁴⁸ for it does not appear to be a Western mediaeval invention.⁴⁹ The Crusaders, however, apparently used it at Caesarea.^{cc} Something similar might have happened nearby at Jebilee, where Maundrell in 1697 observed many shafts, some of them perhaps from the *scenae frons* of the theatre he also describes.^{cc} And at Ascalon, Baybars is reputed to have filled in the harbour, in order the better to control other access points, and direct trade.^{cc} Richardson in

⁴⁶ Tuttahs 2007, Figs 433a–b for Miletus: for Piri Re'is' portolan before 1521, showing the mouth of the Maeander. Fig 459 for the coastine in the Middle Ages, and 460–2 for graffiti of sailing ships in the Delphinion Baths. 420–424 and figs 450–455 for antique column shafts used to help build a dam. 411–413 for the Delphinion Bath, which might be 15thC, but does not use the Roman aqueducts for supply – see fig 438.

⁴⁷ Mamboury & Wiegand 1934, pl. XII for shafts *en boutisse* in the Sea Walls at Constantinople. Asutay-Effenberger 2007, 182–203 and pl.184–211 for a catalogue of surviving antiquities in Land and Sea Walls.

⁴⁸ Bartoccini 1958, 120 for a diagram showing wall-building for storehouses at the port of Leptis Magna, with stone blocks at the front, but backing of concrete slurry strengthened with transverse and parallel logs: can we assume that this is where the Arabs got the idea of through-columns?

⁴⁹ Voisin 2004, 324–5 for colonnes *en boutisse*, and their development from structural to decorative: author lists Korykos, Byblos, Ayas, Bosra, Tripoli, Nakoura; and 318 Hormis le royaume de Jérusalem, la présence des croisés en Orient est difficile à percevoir si l'on tente d'analyser leur impact sur le territoire. Author calls those at Bosra *trompe l'oeil*.

1822 detected the remains of a small harbour,^{cclv} and its stripped ruins were still extensive in 1880.^{cclvi}

A variation on this adjacent-antiquities theme is that antiquities could be used to build port quays, as happened to the theatre at Telmessus.^{cclvii} The same raft-of-columns construction technique appears to have been used at Tripoli, although part of the installations had disappeared beneath the waves by the 1730s.^{cclviii} They were reported in 1820 as forming part of the port towers,^{cclix} although by 1837, some of these might have been falling down.^{cclx} But plenty of column fragments were still to be seen under the waves,^{cclxi} and Guérin was amazed by how many column-shafts he saw there in 1880.^{cclxii} Most of these structures were built by the Crusaders, perhaps in rather a hurry.^{cclxiii} They were also to be seen at Lattakia^{cclxiv} (its facilities were praised by Yakut),^{cclxv} at Athlit,^{cclxvi} where much of the church disappeared during the 19th century,^{cclxvii} and for port towers at Algiers.^{cclxviii} What is more, the French experienced difficulties with subsidence of the port facilities at Algiers, and in the 1840s tipped large quantities of marble blocks (from nearby Tamadfous, perhaps)^{cclxix} into the harbour to try and mitigate the problem.^{cclxx} At Jaffa, once the locus for signal imports of marble,^{cclxxi} port installations seem to have fallen into the harbour, making it very difficult for shipping.^{cclxxii} The place was practically a desert at the end of the 17th century,^{cclxxiii} but the port was refurbished in the later 19th century, again with antiquities.^{cclxxiv}

In North Africa, later centuries were forced to build yet more makeshift quays, not least because whole sections of the coast seem to have dropped, as at Apollonia,^{cclxxv} where much marble was visible in 1817,^{cclxxvi} although antiquities were being swallowed by the sea at least by the 1840s. Alexandria,^{cclxxvii} and shores close to that city,^{cclxxiii} as well as Ptolemais,^{cclxxix} all suffered similar negative bradysism. In the case of Ptolemais, this helped preserve not only her walls^{cclxxx} but also many of her antiquities in place.^{cclxxxi} The same seems to have happened along the Tunisian coast.⁵⁰ With ancient facilities no longer available, a frequent response was to use now-redundant antique columns from the town behind the erstwhile harbour, as at Beirut.^{cclxxxii} Here substantial ruins were still to be seen at the end of the 17th century,^{cclxxxiii} but little remained except a few pieces of pavement and column stumps by the mid-19th century,^{cclxxxiv} although the awkward port facilities were still supported on antique column-shafts.^{cclxxxv} Recent work in the city has comprehensively destroyed the archaeological record.⁵¹

⁵⁰ Slim et al. 2004, 229–254 for Tunisia: Les transformations de l'environnement physique littoral depuis l'antiquité, including archaeological markers (234–40) and sea-level variations (240–44 – the level generally rose).

⁵¹ Naccache 1998, 140: “the massive destruction of Beirut’s archaeological site is an objective fact.”

Roads, Railways, Ports, Trade and Tourism

The mirror image to the survival of Roman roads into the 19th century is the construction of new ones as countries in our Crescent sought better communications. This was often for trade and industry and, sometimes, as in Algeria, to exploit marble quarries.^{cclxxxvi} As with railways, such construction needed enormous quantities of hardcore, and while driving the roads certainly uncovered antiquities, their building frequently consumed them again, or any convenient ruins in the vicinity. As we have seen, some ancient ports, such as Alexandria, and the waters around Carthage/Tunis, survived from Antiquity. But did others spring up in the 19th century to cater for advances in trade and tourism? Could it be demonstrated that more monuments survive where there are no port facilities? The Basilica of Aphota at Pigadia, on Karpathos, for example, retains several column suites, plus transenna slabs 2.32m wide – yet it is only 30m from the sea.⁵²

Much more work is needed to disentangle how and why some ancient sites survived while others did not – but it is a fair bet that a major factor is the presence or absence of new roads and ports during the 19th century. Such communications and modern types of settlement are symbiotic, and their conjunction can be deadly for the survival of marble and limestone blocks, not least because both roads and ports assure the functioning and expansion of towns, and can now foster and expedite the movement of antique materials where previously they were marooned in a road-free environment, unable to be moved far without great effort, and certainly not exported by sea.

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|------------------------------------|---|--------------------------------------|
| i Volney_1792_I_5 | xli Boissier_1899_111–112 | xxiii Lemprière_1794_73–4 |
| ii Robinson_1856_I_15 | xlii Procopius_Buildings_1940_IV_viii_5–9 | xxiv Sterrett_1888_262 |
| iii Carron_1859_180 | xiv Piccirillo_1996_285 | xxv Méhier_de_Mathuisieulx_1904_11ff |
| iv Graham_1902_228 | xv Boissier_1878_135–6 | xxvi De_Saulcy_1853_II_134 |
| v Fabri_1896_79–80 | xvi Rolleston_1856_82 | xxvii Tissot_1885_XXVII |
| vi Maspero_1883_46 | xvii Tristram_1873_124 | xxviii Laborde_1809_I_369b |
| vii Tennent_1826_I_43 | xviii Clarke_VII_1818_118 | xxix Fellows_1839_22 |
| viii De_Saulcy_1853_passim | xix PEF_1873_140–1 | xxx Dussaud_1903_36–7 |
| ix Peters_1893_7–8 | xx De_Saulcy_1853_I_37 | xxxi Ainsworth_1839_233–4 |
| x Procopius_Wars_1914ff_V_xiv_7–11 | xxi Poiret_1789_160 | |
| xi 18th_century_France | xxii Saint-Arnaud_1855_I_201 | |

⁵² Hetherington 2001, 136–137 & fig 7: “one of the least desired and least exploited of among the inhabited islands of the Eastern Aegean.”

- xxxii Sterrett_1888_254
 xxxiii Péchot_1914_I_263-4
 xxxiv Porter_1855_87
 xxxv Tristram_1873_131
 xxxvi De_Pardieu_1851_319-20
 xxxvii Berbrugger_1857_199
 xxxviii Robinson_1838_77
 xxxix Blondel_1840_130-1
 xl Macarius_1836_I_4
 xli Poiret_1789_128
 xlii Rozet_&_Carette_1850_153
 xliii Massy_1905_301
 xliv Carette_1844_120
 xlv Allard_1864_140
 xlvi Perry_1869_519
 xlvii Perrot_1890_8
 xlviii Evans_1883_78b
 xlix Beke_1862_78
 l Tissot_1881_1b
 li Walker_1897_8
 lii Leake_1846_115-116
 liii Rott_1908_100
 liv Ramsay_1897_I_2_366-7
 lv Neroutsos-Bey_1888_2
 lvi Poujoulat_1861_256
 lvii Saint-Martin_1852_II_229
 lviii Caetani_1912_III_176-220
 lix Dussaud_1903_73-75
 lx De_Saulcy_1853_I_35
 lxi Hogarth_1910_16-17
 lxii Ponz_VIII_1784_12
 lxiii Ramsay_1897_120
 lxiv Marek_2003_fig_74
 lxv Sterrett_1888_24off
 lxvi Conder_&_Kitchener_II_1882_9
 lxvii Lamartine_1848_I_192-3
 lxviii Al_Tabari_1869_II_137
 lix Al_Tabari_1869_II_138
 lxx SHD\$13_MR1314
 lxxi SHD\$14_MR881
 lxxii Poujoulat_1847_I_237
 lxxiii Armand-Pignel_1836_145
 lxxiv Bory-de-Saint-Vincent_1839_49
 lxxv SHD\$9_Génie_GR1H58
 lxxvi Laorty-Hadji_1854_40
 lxxvii SHD\$10_MR882_2
 lxxviii SHD\$11_Papiers_Pelet
 lxxix ibid.
 lxxx SHD\$12_H227
 lxxxi SHD\$15_Génie_1H58
 lxxxii Poiret_1789_xvi
 lxxxiii Scrofani_1801_II_158-9
 lxxxiv Guérin_1856_13
 lxxxv Le_Camus_1889_I_504
 lxxxvi Marindin_1914_214-15
 lxxxvii Guérin_1856_205
 lxxxviii Hommaire_de_Hell_1854_I_151-152
 lxxxix Millingen_1899_269
 xc PEF_1873_108
 xci Guérin_1875_II_290
 xcii Dolomieu_1922_69
 xciii Brocchi_1842_III_47-8b
 xciv Van_de_Velde_1854_I_314
 xcvi Pococke_1811_451
 xcvi Le_Strange_1890_474
 xcvi Scholz_1822_61
 xcvi Conder_&_Kitchener_II_1882_28
 xcix Lamartine_1848_I_353-354
 c Clarke_1814_II_1_394
 ci Laorty-Hadji_1854_274
 cii Lamartine_1848_I_236
 ciii Le_Camus_1889_I_165
 civ Cuinet_1896_I_109-110
 cv De_Bertou_1843_21-35
 cvi Brocchi_1842_III_67
 cvii Princesse_de_Belgiojoso_1858_180
 cviii Mas_Latrie_1861_I_375
 cix Serra_1835_II_128
 cx Röhricht_1898_22-3
 cxi Affagart_1902_15-16
 cxii Ludolph_of_Suchem_1851_23
 cxiii Baldelli_Boni_1827_I_462-3
 cxiv Deschamps_1678_233
 cxv Mariti_1791_II_195
 cxvi De_Bertou_1843_12b
 cxvii Robinson_1856a_II_465
 cxviii Harvey_1861_172
 cxix Robinson_1838_288
 cxx Robinson_1838_302-303
 cxxi Jouvin_1676_152
 cxxii De_Bertou_1843_12
 cxxiii Michon_1853_I_211
 cxxiv Schikler_1863_138
 cxxv Van_de_Velde_1854_I_195
 cxxvi Charmes_1891_49
 cxxvii Van_de_Velde_1854_I_194
 cxxviii De_la_Roque_1723_I_18
 cxxix Mocquet_1696_318-319
 cxxx PEF_1881_183
 cxxxi Conder_1885_92-93
 cxxxii Durbin_1845_II_46-7b
 cxxxiii Durbin_1845_II_44-5
 cxxxiv Gasparin_1866_III_287
 cxxxv Vicomte_de_Marcellus_1839_I_401-2
 cxxxvi Wortabet_1856_I_17
 cxxxvii Wilde_1840_II_138
 cxxxviii Wolcott_Redding_1873_135
 cxxxix Bovet_1861_440-441
 cxl Brocchi_1842_III_66-7b
 cxli Olin_1860_II_446-7
 cxlii Olin_1860_II_444-5
 cxliii Dorr_1856_285-6
 cxliv Guérin_1880_II_191
 cxlv Guérin_1880_II_183-184
 cxlvi Tobler_1874_266
 cxlvii Veryard_1701_323
 cxlviii Blondel_1840_7
 cxlix Bold_1828_337
 cli Brocchi_1842_III_66-7
 cli Robinson_1856_II_464-5
 clii Wilde_1840_II_148
 cliii Fleming_1915_1301
 cliiv Arvieux_1735_I_296

- clv Frankland_1829_II_139
 clvi Stochove_1643_349
 clvii Choisy_1876_11
 clviii Richer_1824_362-3
 clix Pococke_1811_658-659
 clx Hamilton_1856_3
 clxi Della_Cella_1840_332-3
 clxii Vattier_de_Bourville_1850_581
 clxiii Della_Cella_1840_195
 clxiv Le_Bruyn_1725_I_57
 clxv Clarke_1816_II_88
 clxvi Chandler_1817_I_210-211
 clxvii Eton_1801_215
 clxviii Wyse_1858_I_43-4
 clxix Bartholdy_1807_II_105-6
 clxx Sutherland_1790_150
 clxxi Temple_1835_I_65
 clxxii Méhier_de_Mathuisieux_1904_4ff
 clxxiii Méhier_de_Mathuisieux_1904_7
 clxxiv Méhier_de_Mathuisieux_1904_8
 clxxv Perry_1869_439
 clxxvi Al-Maqrizi_1840_I_2_1840_239-252
 clxxvii Moudjir-ed-Dyn_1876_16
 clxxviii Al-Maqrizi_1840_I_2_1840_246-248
 clxxix D'Estournel_1844_II_173
 clxxx Jolliffe_1820_218-19
 clxxxi Perry_1869_444-5
 clxxxii Pückler_Muskau_1839_II_108-9
 clxxxiii Allen_1855_II_224-31
 clxxxiv Chesney_1838_230
 clxxxv Cobham_1908_45
 clxxxvi Della_Cella_1840_172
 clxxxvii Della_Cella_1840_57
 clxxxviii Tobler_&Kohler_1879_231
 clxxxix Bucke_1840_I_31
 cxc Scholz_1822_37b
 cxci Paton_1870_I_101
 cxcii Le_Mascrier_1735_133
 cxciii Dolomieu_1922_7-8
 cxciv Stephens_1839_6
 cxcv Pagni_1829_15
 cxcvi Lithgow_1906_285-6
 cxcvii Le_Père_1826_402
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 ccxxii Ross_1843_143-4
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 cxlix Vicomte_de_Basterot_1869_53
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 celii Al-Maqrizi_1840_I_2_1840_7
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 celv Richardson_1822_II_203
 celvi Thomson_1880_I_176
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CHAPTER FOUR

FOUNTAINS, WATERWAYS AND IRRIGATION

The control and channeling of waterworks and irrigation are among the most important of all the elements of Roman living. Earthquakes could be particularly devastating to extravagant aqueducts, which fed monumental fountains and baths in towns, and only their constant maintenance could ensure sustainable agriculture in hitherto barren regions, or prevent the formation of malarial swamps. No monumental fountains were rebuilt in later centuries, at least partly because they were in the wrong place; and only sections of ancient aqueducts were put back into use.

Water, Fertility and Ruins

Water is necessary for life, irrigation for agriculture, lifted by wheels where feasible,¹ or conveyed along aqueducts feeding fountains.² It is certain that many water-systems in our Crescent long predate the Romans – and likely that the Moslems simply refurbished many of them, as in Syria.³ Even though mediaeval geographers were generally well aware of the state of ancient settlements (as at Hippo),⁴ they nevertheless observed with dismay how the “conjunction of the planets” had caused fertility in some locations, but ruins and destructions elsewhere.¹ Similarly, the majority of travellers were not alert to the tell-tale signs of waterways and irrigation until the 19th century⁵ – unless, that is, they were punctilious in their descriptions, like Seetzen.ⁱⁱ Occasionally, though, there were identifiable

¹ De Miranda 2007, 37–77 for the formation and evolution of water wheels in Syria, including Roman examples; and references in 8thC and 9thC to water-wheels at Alexandria; 84–5: they existed at Hama by the 8thC as well.

² Hodge 1992, 346ff for facts and figures on water supply.

³ Calvet 1992, for dams in Syria: some of these may be considerably older than the Romans. The Moslems may perhaps have studied Les barrages des forts de la Strata Diocletiana (93–105) – so could this have inspired them to the great garden for Qasr al-Heir al-Gharbi (87–92)?

⁴ Dahmani 2005.

⁵ Morizot 1999: the Romans got further south than the Atlas archéologique de l'Algérie covers: Despois in 1957 had stated no signs of Roman presence in Djebel Amour – but satellite images and aerial photographs find sites, including camps and irrigated fields.

remains of a monumental fountain or nymphaeum or bath, as at Daphne, outside Antioch,ⁱⁱⁱ or on the way to Mistrā.^{iv} But if these were decorated, then their beauties had often been abstracted, and they were left stripped to bare walls, as happened at Zaghoulane.^v Exceptional travellers did indeed notice the tell-tale signs that some barren landscapes of their day had once been prosperous – for example, Yanoski & David in the hills near Caesarea,^{vi} the aqueducts of which were replaced by cisterns in late antiquity.⁶ On the other side of the balance sheet, however, Pococke came upon workmen dismantling water channels near Alexandria.^{vii}

One element which sometimes helped travellers identify water sources and fountains was the Bible, in which for obvious reasons water often figures.^{viii} (In Palestine, some of the water systems dated back to biblical times.)⁷ Hot springs could also be a give-away for Roman occupation: in the mountains near Bône the Moslems used hot-water springs which, as Poirer remarks, must have been used by the Romans because there is a villa nearby.^{ix} But few early travellers, perhaps because they hailed from well- or too-well-watered regions, were interested in existing agriculture and how it sustained the population. If they looked beyond sites and monuments, most of them had little reason to view the landscape historically, as it were. This was decidedly not the case in the 19th and early 20th centuries, when colonisation and settlement were on the agenda, together with agricultural needs enhanced to feed large standing armies with local produce – so we should expect the French army to be alert for telltale signs of Roman water cultivation.^x As an area for colonisation, the fertility of the soil in North Africa was frequently contrasted with the lack of resourcefulness of the locals, as Della Cella noted in 1817.^{xi} Paradoxically, of course, while cultivation usually spelled death to the survival of antiquities, it was only cultivation that could bring coins and medals to light, as Waddington explained in 1853.^{xii}

In the age of satellite imagery, however, we know that the Romans got further south in Algeria than the 19th century believed – as can be seen from traces of their fields and irrigation systems – but few of our travellers ventured that far. Later travellers noted how regions now sterile had once been fertile, both in North Africa and on the coast of Syria,^{xiii} sometimes marked by baths,⁸ but also how marble and fountains were standard issue

⁶ Porath 2002, 127: most houses had wells; city evacuated after the Conquest, following decline after the Persian invasion of 614–628.

⁷ Dierx & Garbrecht 2001, 222–239 for water supply in historical times.

⁸ Thébert 2003, for North Africa: 125–286 for catalogue of baths in North Africa.

for the contemporary Islamic khan,^{xiv} and perhaps for rulers in the Kingdom of Granada.^{xv}

Especially in lands with defective road systems, waterways were used for the extension of commerce. Fountains, at the end of the supply chain, were often seen as the very index of prosperity,⁹ even if in later centuries they were sometimes on a smaller scale.¹⁰ In Roman times, where the “front end” was often stylish architecture,¹¹ water was a resource carefully controlled by law and political power,¹² two elements which were often consistently lacking from mediaeval overlays of ancient landscapes.

Decorative fountains are not necessary for sustaining life, any more than are baths. But both, sometimes expressed and displayed with splendid architecture (sometimes more utilitarian – but in great number),¹³ are *de rigueur* for the extravagant consumption of water that is the duty and pleasure of any self-respecting and prosperous Roman city, even if quite humble.¹⁴ Reliable water supply was, as indicated, a requirement for life,¹⁵ and the survival of water distribution can be used to date the survival of settlements, as at Gortyna.¹⁶ Or, in cities such as Aleppo, survival is demonstrated by the refurbishment of ancient aqueducts, albeit with imported expertise¹⁷ – although this did not extend to the many disused irrigation canals Perrier saw in the area.^{xvi} Not that available water necessarily induced town development: in the Hauran, Roman roads with water

⁹ Ladstätter & Pülz 2007, 400–401 for Ephesus: number of fountains increased in the Byzantine period, “to demonstrate that the city’s prosperity and indulgence in luxury had returned.” 402: bath buildings still working, and Christianity did not put a stop to the custom.

¹⁰ Dörl-Klingenschmid 2001, 66–71 for Miniaturisierung und Kolossalität.

¹¹ Letzner 1989, 5–23 surveys coins, reliefs, mosaics and painting as sources, then then 24–61 for literary sources (including inscriptions) for *nymphaea*; then 62–98 for other fountain types, 99–116 for the *Septizodia*, then 117–266 for typologies, 249–250 for marble cladding, 250–4 for mosaic, 254–7 painting, 257–8 for stucco.

¹² Bianco 2007, 110–144 *Aspetti giuridici dell’amministrazione delle acque*; and 145–220 *Strategie di controllo idrico e potere politico*.

¹³ Hodge 1992, 305: Pompeii had c.50 public fountains, just about one every 100m. 48–66 for wells and cisterns.

¹⁴ Nünnerich-Asmus 1993, 362–363 & pl. 147 for Braga, the *Fonte del Idolo*, 1stC, with reliefs cut into the rock; now well below street level.

¹⁵ Tanriöver 2006, estimates number of ancient cities in the region as 120, and lists 65 in the survey.

¹⁶ Giorgi 2007, for Gortyna, where the water system is almost completely preserved. Fig. 9 for a plan of the fountain network in the 7thC, suggesting which parts were inhabited.

¹⁷ Herzfeld 1955, 224–227 for the restoration of Roman aqueducts at Aleppo, straight to the Halawiyya, once the cathedral, with three Moslem restorations, one of which required workmen to be brought from Damascus (evidently for their knowledge of hydraulics?).

supply did not seem to attract many large developments.^{xvii} In Greece, imperial-period fountains did not last either, with only one out of a surveyed 46 still going in the Middle Ages.¹⁸

Survival and Refurbishment of Water Systems

If re-use is an important element in building new structures, so too is the repair and re-use of antique water systems, many of these well-marked by architectural fountains and nymphaea.¹⁹ This was frequently possible because only in the 19th century did population levels outside established towns begin to get anywhere near their Roman levels.

In other words, there was a lot of antique engineering plant that could be employed – with the added bonus that the ancient engineers had done so much tedious surveying and earth-moving work already. Hence the intention to rebuild the aqueduct at Tarragona.^{xviii} Conversely, ignoring ancient systems and importing “modern” ones can sometimes be catastrophic, as around Fez. Here at least one system of unknown date was functioning in the 11th century,^{xix} but modern “improvements” introduced from abroad destroyed systems which had worked for centuries.²⁰

Particularly observant travellers noticed the remains of quays, and determined them to be Roman, not modern, as Poirer did at Hippo in 1789.^{xx} Scott in 1842, on the road to Fez, saw the remains of mills, and a nearby fortress, put two and two together, and stated these to be for supplying the Roman army.^{xxi} Even ordinary Roman ruins were seen as markers for a once-fertile landscape, as at Kasserine.^{xxii} In North Africa, indeed, the remains of aqueducts and canals were everywhere to be seen, and prompted arguments for revival and colonisation.^{xxiii} Where such spots

¹⁸ Agusta-Boularot 2001: with a table of 46 fountains, charting how fed, and how long in service. Surviving into the late Empire are cats 7 & 8 Athens; 9 Corinth. Lists only one (42 at Ialysos on Rhodes) as still going in the Middle Ages – and this with an excavated gallery bringing the water from a spring.

¹⁹ Letzner 1989, 267–515 for his catalogue of 458 fountains and nymphaea, but although these include N African entries, and all have punctilious bibliographies, they are necessarily short, and author is not interested in their afterlife.

²⁰ El Faiz 2002: city founded in 1071; author castigates the terrible state of the archives, the introduction of foreign and unsympathetic urban styles, which he calls une multitude d'horreurs architecturales; the architectural heritage est menacé par deux fléaux: la speculation et la pauvreté. The second half of the book, 111–186 is entitled La Civilisation de l'Eau Confrontée à la Politique des Barrages – on the mistakes being made, changing age-old water systems; or, as the jacket has it, toute une civilisation de l'eau se trouve menacé par la greffe irréflectie des modèles de la Californie et de la Provence.

are indicated as places of relaxation, as by Thévenot on Chios in 1656, we may perhaps assume the water was still flowing.^{xxiv}

Plenty of original water-structures part-survive even today.²¹ Near Baalbek, although Mocquet reports on broken pipes,^{xxv} Burckhardt discovered an aqueduct, still working,^{xxvi} as did Laborde at Seville,^{xxvii} and at least one on Roman foundations had been refurbished there in the Middle Ages²² – Münzer confirming the flow in the late 15th century.^{xxviii} Bussière came across a possible antique setup still working on Mytilene.^{xxix} In the Galilee, a Roman construction was now driving some mills.^{xxx} In Jerusalem, not only was part of the Haram marbled, with a marble fountain-basin, but an aqueduct was constructed as well, in 1327–8.^{xxxi} At Constantine in the early 1830s, a main aqueduct was not working, but apparently repairable.^{xxxii} At Acre, two aqueducts were made (or repaired?) and then abandoned.^{xxxiii} In some areas, streams apparently only needed digging out, to water once more the extensive signs of ancient occupation.^{xxxiv} And in 1801 Lemprière finds a working aqueduct near Salé that the locals say was built by the Moors, but which he recognises as Roman.^{xxxv} Indeed, re-use of water installations was popular, if not necessarily to hold water. At some period Ayasuluk's aqueduct was built or refurbished – employing antiquities including pedestals.^{xxxvi} In the ruins of Utica, the cisterns were used as byres,^{xxxvii} while in Judaea, at Khirbet Oumm el-Lakis, the ancient grain silos (still in use in 1869) might have prompted the locals to dig up the site for building materials.^{xxxviii} This might also have been the case with the “desert chateaux.”^{xxxix}

Ruins = Water

Ancient ruins tended to mean a supply of water nearby.^{xl} In some areas, however, such as around Algiers, it was the vandalism of the French soldiery which destroyed not only country villas, but also water conduits.^{xli} By contrast, the real Vandals were reportedly great lovers of baths,^{xlii} hence perhaps some North African survivals.²³ To get things back to the salubrity which the French believed epitomised Roman Algeria, medical investigation was necessary,^{xliii} perhaps to be helped by the still-surviving remains of elegant Roman bathing establishments^{xliv} – or

²¹ Özis 2006.

²² Valor Piechotta 2008, 195–198 for the aqueduct at Seville begun 1171, apparently on Roman work already there.

²³ Thébert 2003, for North Africa: 11–41 *Thermes et histoire*, incl. conquest and acculturation. *Ibid.*, 405–433 *Thermes et histoire urbaine*. Pentz 2002, 93–97 water technology in Africa *Proconsularis*.

by building their own fountains out of antiquities.²⁴ In some places, such as Philippeville, the roads were good but water was non-existent, because the ancient cisterns could not be used.^{xlv} Eventually, indeed, partly through the initiative of Stéphane Gsell,^{xlvi} the French did reconnect and re-use various elements of the antique water supply systems in North Africa,²⁵ just as the Arabs had done long before further east,²⁶ sometimes discovering Roman ruins next to the springs.^{xlvii} Elsewhere, bath structures were abandoned to neglect, as on Cyprus.^{xlviii}

Even for survival, aqueducts (usually simple channels or conduits) were needed: some were still in use in mediaeval Rome,²⁷ where there were, after all, a great number of them. There is some documentation on survival and revival of water systems in the West,²⁸ and some on the installation of new – not revived ancient – baths in the later Middle Ages.²⁹ But it is not often known how many kept going, and for what length of time, in our Crescent, where some water systems probably antedate the Romans,³⁰ but very few postdate them.³¹ However, there are indications of survival at Gadara³² (and its building materials have been analysed).³³ But much work still remains to be done on the subject,³⁴ especially on the relationship between Islamic and earlier mechanisms.³⁵ Ibn Jubair's 1184 description of Damascus suggests at least one working aqueduct,^{xlix} as

²⁴ Pflaum 2003, 781: Cuicul pierre employée comme linteau dans une fontaine construite par les soldats français en 1843, actuellement en deux morceaux.

²⁵ Casagrande 2008, for a very well illustrated survey. In his catalogue, includes the criteria *Cronologia* / *Riutilizzo* / *Restauri*. Many of the reutilised sections are during the French occupation, but some are still in use today.

²⁶ Meynersen 2004, for the re-use of a Roman tower at Gadara, including illustrations – arch monument destroyed in earthquake of 363. Water setup apparently in use between 4thC and mid-13thC.

²⁷ Dodge 2000, 193–5 for evidence that some supplies were still going in the early 7th century, and 8thC, and “property documents from as late as the 11th century mention functioning aqueducts both inside and outside the city.”

²⁸ Magnusson 2001, 1–28 for chapter on Survival and Revival – but all examples are Western.

²⁹ Feniello 2007 – but this was a new bath, not a refurbished ancient one.

³⁰ Grewe 1998, 33–40 for *Die Qanate des alten Orients. Vorläufer und Vorbilder des Tunnelbaus*.

³¹ Dörfl-Klingenschmid 2001 on fancy fountains in Asia Minor: 62–4 *Ausblick in der Spätantike*, with examples from Ephesus and Side – and plenty of splendid fountains, many resembling *frontes scenae*.

³² Kerner 2004: at least one tunnel still going in 6th century. Hoffmann 2002, 112–123 for the Roman monuments, and 123–4 for Christian Gadara.

³³ Hoffmann 199 for Gadara, including its building materials.

³⁴ Seigne 2004 – still a lot to be studied here, cisterns, dykes, etc.

³⁵ Sezgin 2003, V, 16–29 for Islamic water-pumping machines.

does Nassiri-Khosrau's comment on Tyre.¹ Surveys, such as one for Spain, conclude that survival of public baths was patchy,³⁶ even if a few were built from new in the Middle Ages.³⁷ One scholar considers that hydraulics in Andalucía are a Moslem import, which the Christians simply took over – but he refuses to enter into speculation about the possible Roman origins of such systems.³⁸ Another scholar hypothesises that water-lifting wheels are classical survivals in the mediaeval Western Mediterranean, with other technologies exported from the Arabs into North Africa.³⁹ For the Maghreb, where the water supply *semble constituer une préoccupation quasi-constante des gouverneurs de la Tunisie médiévale*, only four commemorative inscriptions have survived, none referring to any Roman antecedents.⁴⁰ The vagueness and disagreement shows just how tricky are many judgments concerning water systems – although of course the culture of water had wide ramifications in Islamic Spain, in both the use of marble⁴¹ and in ideology.⁴² Cities and smaller settlements in the East, perhaps aware of the prestigious installations at cities such as Pergamon,⁴³ remained fond of fountains (was this tradition, or re-invention?), and decorated them accordingly, often with re-used marble, as at Gallipoli^{li} and nearby villages.^{lii} Thus fountains reworked in late antiquity can be an index of continuing or revived prosperity.

Roman Water Supplies in Algeria

It is conceivable that the very existence of Roman water supplies in Algeria came as something of a surprise, in view of a Capt. of Génie's *Rapport sur l'utilité des sondes dites anglaises*, for the digging of wells and cisterns, though written in 1830 before they knew much of the country.^{liii} Nevertheless, prudence is all; and in 1837 Lieut-Col Guillemain writing on the Expédition de Constantine to the Minister of War, complained of the

³⁶ Kulikowski 2006, for Spain: large public baths still going through the 4thC in many cities, but had already disappeared elsewhere.

³⁷ Kek 1996, 320–323 for some mediaeval aqueducts.

³⁸ Bazzana 2003; and see 148.

³⁹ Wilson 2003.

⁴⁰ Aoudi-Adouni 2009, 235.

⁴¹ Anderson 2007, 72 for “the display and visual celebration of water in Córdoba residences.” Illustrates marble fragments recovered from Huerta de Valladres (2) and el-Rummaniya (5), plus two basins from the latter (7, 8).

⁴² Rosser-Owen 2007, for figured marble basins around Córdoba (97) as “the vehicles to project their “public image” as fulfilling the virtues of the ideal ruler.”

⁴³ Garbrecht 1987, for a survey, including Pergamon.

impossibility of carrying enough ammunition or provisions, and of the need for fortified provision dumps on the road from Bône to Constantine. He emphasized the need to re-use the Roman cisterns at Guelma were that town to be useful to them.^{liv} Even with better roads and resupply by ship from France, water had to be found locally, and Roman cisterns remained a staple feature of French reconnaissances in Algeria and, later, in Tunisia.^{lv} For example, a reconnaissance in Tunisia in 1881 noted a Roman city 16km from El Djem with two cisterns;^{lvi} a series of itineraries from Sousse punctiliously note all antique cisterns en route;^{lvii} and reconnaissances between Tunis and Zaghouan (this latter the site of still-working Roman fountains) lists cisterns still in use, some lined with “de beaux blocs rectangulaires...belles pierres de taille,” the largest some 48 feet in length.^{lviii}

In Algeria, the French were particularly alert to Roman hydraulic systems when they invaded the country because they could not have survived without them. And conceivably, such systems were in exceptionally good condition there: already in 1653, for example, Arvieux notes how easily the aqueducts at Bougie could be refurbished.^{lix} Blanchet in 1895, with insufficient funds to dig for inscriptions, studied hydraulic and agricultural remains instead, obviously knowing how interested the Minister back in Paris would be in such schemes.^{lx} In several instances in Algeria, for example around Algiers itself, water supply was assured by reviving some of the ancient Roman and more recent Turkish conduits and storage facilities.^{lxi} At Mascara, circa 1850, the old Turkish dam was restored, using ancient stone blocks.^{lxii} And over time, it seems clear that the modern engineers were shadowing what the Romans did, and then destroying some of it for modern use.^{lxiii}

Such reliance upon Roman water supplies was far from new: further up the coast, the cisterns of Carthage were of inestimable help to the Emperor Charles V, camped before the walls of Tunis; and some of these were also still in use in the later 19th century.^{lxiv} Storage for dry goods was also in short supply, as an all-Algeria survey revealed in 1847. Grain storage facilities were everywhere deficient. Ancient silos were commonly used and, at Milianah, even an old Mosque. At Sétif, a document notes the three Roman towers of the enceinte converted into silos, where “jusqu’à présent conservé en parfait état le blé qu’on y a renfermé.”^{lxv}

The knowledge and interest in the Roman past on the part of the French officers in Algeria was therefore only in part academic (and a spin-off from their classical education). As a result, some reports to higher authority

are bifocal, dealing with water and cisterns – but Roman remains as well, including inscriptions.^{lxvi} Again, we may imagine that enlisted men soon learned not only what benefits the Romans had brought to the Algerian landscape, but exactly how to exploit them, for example by brushing up old Roman fortifications to protect them against the locals.^{lxvii} Officers did likewise, and employed ancient cisterns and water supplies for the benefit of their troops.^{lxviii} For the same reason, an interest in Roman roads comes to the fore during the same period, just as Roman hydraulics influence later dispositions.⁴⁴ Food was obviously needed for survival, and water was vital to produce food and to provide for daily needs.

Of course, the locals knew all about the ancient aqueducts and cisterns long before the French arrived. Thus Shaw, in 1743, at Arzew, ancient Arsenaria, reports that inhabitants take water from wells, a little salty, because below sea level; but that they have a tradition that their ancestors had better water, pointing to the arches of what they thought was an aqueduct. Shaw says not, because there was no channel and no more arches leading back to the only possible rivers. Indeed, his observation is supported by the fact that the ancient locals had compensated by building cisterns, used today only as dwellings. He found a lot of columns and other antiquities at the site, including a magnificent Corinthian capital which “sert de piédestal à l’enclume du Maréchal du village; et dans la maison du Kaide ou Gouverneur, je découvris par hasard, à travers le trou d’un méchant tapis de pied, un Pavé à la Mosaique qui est d’une grande beauté.”^{lxix}

Tunisia was as dry as Algeria, but the French likewise recognised her agricultural potential if cisterns and aqueducts were refurbished,^{lxx} and enumerated her thermal springs and their Roman origins.^{lxxi} At Uthina, in Tunisia, interconnecting ancient systems made excellent stabling for the animals,^{lxxii} and space for an ammunition dump much later.⁴⁵ Not necessarily still connected to their well, wellheads were also prized, and Leake describes one he saw at Corinth, which had already been in a Turkish garden, and was subsequently sold to the Earl of Guildford.^{lxxiii}

⁴⁴ Bianco 2007, 221–36 *Persistenza, coincidenza, riemergenze di tematiche* – brief overview of post-Roman approaches.

⁴⁵ Ben Hassen 1998 for Outhina, 31: use of the substructures of the Great Baths as a munitions dump in WWII.

Aqueducts

We should think of aqueducts as long, often high-above-ground and often arcaded structures (to get the necessary fall), and distinguish them from the much more numerous and important underground conduits. They are a symbol of luxury, and of enormous expenditure, not of necessity.⁴⁶ Even today they are recognisable and traceable for long stretches in various parts of our Crescent,⁴⁷ though it seems they may have followed urban expansion, and been locally not centrally devised.⁴⁸ Arcaded above-ground aqueducts were one of the more spectacular markers of erstwhile Roman occupation, the one near Carthage dubbed a Wonder of the World by El Abdery in the 7th century,^{lxxiv} though dry and being undermined by scavengers when El-Edrisi saw it.^{lxxv} Mérida (some buildings of which had running water during the Islamic period)⁴⁹ equalled it,^{lxxvi} but presumably the low occupation levels meant it was little scavenged. On Naxos, Thévenot was informed, Bacchus had built an aqueduct – but died before he could complete it.^{lxxvii} Presumably its elements were re-used, as they were for a mosque at Megara.^{lxxviii} El-Bekri saw aqueducts at Tlemcen in the 11th century, but they were no longer working.^{lxxix}

Demise and Destruction of Aqueducts

For large structures surviving above ground, such as aqueducts, destruction was easy and constant.⁵⁰ Generally built out of eminently reusable materials,⁵¹ the longer the aqueducts, the greater their susceptibility to earthquake damage; again, channels in towns might be no longer reachable after an earthquake.

⁴⁶ Shaw 1991: urban life came first, and then aqueducts, which (66) “mainly served luxury consumption of water in prestige projects such as massively ornate water displays or nymphaea, public baths, fountains” – and some exclusive private houses. So most water supplied to towns in wells and cisterns.

⁴⁷ Chouchane & Texier 2004: well over 3km of aqueducts leading into the city, several of them spanning valleys – i.e. impossible for travellers to miss what was going on here, and easy for them to trace even the fallen pillars, and with water-channels and even some storage tanks intact.

⁴⁸ Shaw 1995, 63–91, “The noblest monuments and the smallest things: wells, walls and aqueducts in the making of Roman Africa.”

⁴⁹ Abulfeda (written 1316–1321) 1840 II, 248 in Mérida relaying Ibn-Sayd, où les édifices, dans l'intérieur desquels coule l'eau, et qui font l'admiration des hommes les plus habiles de nos jours.

⁵⁰ Kek 1996, 317–20 Römische Aquädukte als Steinbrüche des Mittelalters.

⁵¹ Kek 1996, 58–124 for materials and building techniques, although the majority of his examples are Western.

At Ecija (where columns and statues were still to be found in the 1780s)^{lxxx} Abder-Rahman himself had completed an aqueduct,^{lxxxi} and the sources have him using lead pipes during a drought-relief scheme at Córdoba,^{lxxxii} surely imitating Roman remains he found there – remains such as those re-used in the mosque's extravagant minaret.^{lxxxiii} The Ecija scheme perhaps refurbished part of the Roman setup, just as columns from the ancient city might have later been used to ornament the main square.^{lxxxiv} Seville also boasted a marble-rich minaret,^{lxxxv} perhaps imitated from that of Córdoba, but little is known of her water-supply in Islamic days.

At other sites, such as Ilion, there was simply “a gradual demise for the aqueduct from neglect.”⁵² At Nicopolis, supposedly the source of the antiquities at Arta,^{lxxxvi} and where Scrofani walked on myriad ruins in 1801,^{lxxxvii} the landscape quickly changed. For in 1815, Holland observed there marble channeling from aqueducts being taken up for use in Ali Pasha's seraglio at Prevesa, and it is tempting to speculate that the modern use for such materials would indeed have been similar – namely for fountains and baths.^{lxxxviii} But if Ali Pasha was wedded to personal luxury, he was also miserly: at Prevesa, arguably, antiquities were re-used for splendid but insubstantial fortifications because the Pasha was too mean to invest in newly quarried stone.^{lxxxix} At Nicosia, the ancient aqueducts remained broken and the water bad until an energetic governor came along.^{xc} At Azzeffoum in Algeria, a local legend related that the aqueduct had simply not been completed!⁵³ At Hierapolis in Syria at least one aqueduct was built 491/502, some channels continued to be maintained, and one is still in use today.⁵⁴ At Sidon, Cuinet writes of water supply to the town in 1896 through an ancient aqueduct, though he does not say whether it had been refurbished.^{xci}

Of course, broken aqueducts could be identified by all, as a cause of disease. Their prominence occasioned one of Ibn Khaldun's obiter dicta about the strength and frailty of dynasties,^{xcii} and their dilapidation while water continued flowing could lead to swamps and health problems.^{xciii} But repairing aqueducts, as well as building them, was a highly-skilled business,⁵⁵ which is perhaps why so many remained as ruins.

Hence because extensive engineering work was required to repair them (although this occasionally happened as we have seen), they continue to litter the antique landscape when distant from towns and villages – but to disappear when nearer to habitation. After all, unless with a concrete rubble core, they represent the largest stocks of squared building-stones to be found above-ground. And by definition, they were often handy for the towns they once served, and which were still occupied. Hence, the finest tended to disappear,

⁵² Aylward 2006, 113.

⁵³ Laporte 2009. Here the Baths were associated with the Seven Sleepers, and known c.1860 as the Palais du roi Decius – i.e. Trajan Decius, persecutor of the Seven Sleepers.

⁵⁴ Vivancos 2006, mentions by various travellers at 249–50.

⁵⁵ Shaw 1991, 69–71 for the high expertise needed, and examples of projects which came to grief.

as for example the splendid arches Arundell admired at Psidian Antioch in 1834.^{xciv} Beulé, for example, gives a description of how an aqueduct feeding Tunis was dismantled.^{xcv} This is surely the same one we are assured by El Abdery was working in the 7th century, but which the local ruler was unable to repair when necessary.^{xcvi} Had it collapsed as the result of an earthquake?

Ibn Khaldun writes of the pleasure-garden of Abu-Fehr which, in the 1250s, tapped the old aqueduct from Zaghuan for its water-supply.^{xcvii} Mohammed Pasha in the 17th century also repaired “un ancien aqueduc” at Tunis, but was subsequently destroyed part of it.^{xcviii} In the 1820s the Dutch military engineer Humbert got permission to excavate at Carthage by doing work on the harbour of La Goulette for the Bey.⁵⁶ At Gadara, water conduits were repaired after earthquake, and one bath was still going into the 7th century.⁵⁷ The evidence perhaps survives because of the site’s low population levels: Seetzen found people living in the tombs, and many of the ancient buildings were rubble.^{xcix}

Cisterns and Hydraulic Systems

In lands where rainfall was spasmodic and uncertain, Roman cisterns were seen as certain evidence that the countryside had once been prosperous,^c and some of these, with attendant water-source, were too big to be missed,^{ci} and are still there to be measured.⁵⁸ They were at the serious end of the water-supply chain, whereas decorative fountains were at the frivolous end. Quantitatively, there were surely many more cisterns than such fountains. A few, however, could be grand: some in Constantinople were akin to palaces, just as even late fountains there were decorated like palaces.^{cii} And indeed, at Alexandria Troas, Niebuhr believed the reservoirs he found were the remains of lost palaces.^{ciii} In some areas, they were re-used (not just in Constantinople,⁵⁹ or Alexandria), and waterworks as elaborate as those of Antiquity built from scratch, as with the arrangements for water storage for the Great Mosque in Morocco.^{civ} There were surely more of

⁵⁶ Halbertsma 2003, 79ff.

⁵⁷ Al-Daire 2004, for water management in Gadara: not only reservoirs, but large Byzantine bath (albeit reduced from its earlier size, built in 4th, 5th, or early 6thC) functioning to the end of the Umayyad period. The earliest aqueducts were in use until at least the middle of the 5thC. A bath 5km north, at Hammat Gader, was rebuilt after the earthquake of 363, and dated by inscriptions to Eudocia (421–460), Anastasius I (491–518) and the Umayyad Caliph Mu’awiyah (661–680).

⁵⁸ Shaw 1995, 63ff: some cisterns very big, e.g. 81: at Rougga (Roman Bararus) SE of El-Jem, the central cistern stored 35–45,000,000 litres.

⁵⁹ Crow 2007, for Constantinople: innovation in the construction of built terraces (253–261), and the Theodosian Walls (262–268); water supply (268–279) – suggests over 500km of water piping, nearly the same as that of Rome.

these in North Africa than have yet been recognised.⁶⁰ At Amman, Moslem works in the Citadel might have been designed following Roman ones in the valley.⁶¹ Fountains likewise survived but sometimes, as at Siloé, in a degraded state.^{cv}

Some wells and cisterns probably continued in use from antiquity without a break. At El Melek Lindsay discovered well-heads and troughs (still in use) he believed to be Roman.^{cvi} Ancient basins at Drame (NE Greece) were still being fed in 1712.^{cvi} In Judaea, Guérin noted a large quantity of wells sporting ancient remains, especially column-shafts, and Conder & Kitchenner counted thirty-seven at Ascalon alone.^{cvi} There were so many, in fact, that we might presume that life went on in such locations precisely because ancient well-heads (and perhaps the water supplies leading to them) had been established in Antiquity, and either kept going or been at some time refurbished. Whether the ancient remains Guérin reported had anything to do with any original antique setup is impossible to determine. He describes wells at Hatta,^{cix} at Tell es-Safieh where the columns have obviously been imported,^{cx} and at Hamaneh at Nesleh, where the same probably occurred.^{cx} But when not maintained, even a naumachia in use as a cistern, at the colony of Phanagoria on the Black Sea, fell into disuse, and its marbles were probably re-used with other adjacent antiquities in the construction of a fortress.^{cxii}

Little wonder, therefore, that in some parts of our Crescent some cisterns survive which are almost certainly refurbished ancient ones, as at Kefr el Kuk in Palestine;^{cxiii} or that some ancient cisterns and fountains continued to be maintained, as at Sousse^{cxiv} or Ramala^{cxv} or Stora.^{cxvi} And that cisterns (just like wells) were perhaps markers of antiquities to be found nearby.^{cxvii} They also made cosy houses, as at Smyrna,^{cxviii} and perhaps lime-pits, if Fabri's observation is correct.^{cxix} Nor should we be surprised that superstitions surrounded their antiquities, as at Manbij/ Hierapolis;^{cxx} that others in Alexandria (their re-used columns misleading Dolomieu to identify them as of Arab construction)^{cxxi} were still in use in the 16th century,^{cxix} or were patently

⁶⁰ Mahfoudh 2008, 85–131 for North Africa: *Les Installations Hydrauliques* demonstrates that there are plenty of circular basins surviving; that the ones at Kairouan probably earlier than their usual denomination; and that the installations at Raqqada are probably Roman, there being a lot of Roman settlement around – not just the Raqqada mosaic, but tombs as well – also at Bir Chaouch, where there is a Roman well.

⁶¹ Arce 2004, for the Citadel at Amman: Roman systems down in the town, but not apparently on the Citadel. Includes a bath complex. “The restoration and re-use of the original hydraulic system have proven how efficient it was, and avoided the building of new infrastructures that would have disturbed archaeological remains.”

rebuilt;^{cxxiii} and that Ibn Butlan seems to have mistaken a church crypt at Resafa for a cistern.^{cxxiv} The French in Algeria were, naturally, particularly alert to food-related matters, especially storage bins, cisterns for water, and springs, fountains and canalisations.^{cxxv} At Cherchell, for which we have the benefit of a modern survey,⁶² waterworks were extensive,^{cxxvi} and some were still in use when the French arrived.^{cxxvii} At Bône, their architecture was particularly impressive.^{cxxviii} At Toledo, there was a variety of water-systems of varying dates,^{cxxix} and Granada, or at least its Moslem houses, had fresh and waste-water flows.^{cxxx} In other cases, such as Um El Jemal,^{cxxxi} perhaps the towns were abandoned precisely because the cisterns could no longer be filled. At Jerusalem, where the aqueducts necessarily have a sometimes continuous history,⁶³ digging cisterns allowed the discovery of antiquities, the cisterns' necessity "fending off Turkish jealousy and Moslem fanaticism."^{cxxxii} Grosvenor in 1830 thought the cisterns the only thing in Carthage worth looking at.^{cxxxiii}

Baths & Fountains

Grand and Long-Lived Structures

Monumental fountains and nymphaea, often splendid not to say over-the-top,⁶⁴ were a constant feature of Roman cities, and generally pipes were visible to confirm the fact – unless the structure lay near to public baths, making use of their water.⁶⁵ Naturally, monumental fountains provided usually large and often sumptuous basins into which the water would splash, and these sometimes got re-used.^{cxxxiv} Sarcophagi could also serve as fountain basins, and Castellan praises the good repair of one he observed in Gallipoli.^{cxxxv}

Travellers were not especially interested in details of antique water supply, unless monumental in the form of fountains – compare Blount's admiration for the palaces of Cairo.^{cxxxvi} A main reason is that they could

⁶² Leveau 1984, Caesarea de Maurétanie, 419–427 Les techniques hydrauliques d'après l'archéologie.

⁶³ Mazar 2002, 238ff for a survey.

⁶⁴ Dorl-Klingenschmid 2001, on fancy fountains in Asia Minor, 165–256 in her catalog lists 145 fountains (plus 11 more with minimal info), many illustrated with views, plans and reconstructions; these are neatly divided by type, mainly Brunnen mit ein Zugangssystem, Stufenbrunnen, Einfache Nutzbrunnen, Sigmabrunnen, Fassadennymphaea, and Brunnenhöfe.

⁶⁵ Glaser 1987, for a wide-ranging survey. The book then does a photo-survey of the subject for Athens, Aspendos, Caesarea Maritima, Ephesus, Jerusalem, Masada, Perge, Petra, Pompeii, Rome, Samos and Side.

not recognize the traces of water-use in field-systems (aerial photography would change this, to the profit of all landscape archaeology). Abd Al-Latif's admiration for baths he saw in Egypt in the late 12th or early 13th century, rather than on their water-supply, depends on their rich marbles, the majority surely taken from ancient monuments, perhaps at Alexandria.^{cxvii} Clearly, he took the water arrangements for granted. Such baths kept going, or new ones built, thanks to the water activities of Al-Nasir Muhammad, that great builder.⁶⁶ More recent water setups were noticed, though, as with Ali Bey's description of the elaborate fountains and channels in the gardens outside Morocco.^{cxviii}

Although bathing establishments can of course be much older,⁶⁷ an essential component of Roman towns, villas and fortresses was one or several baths.⁶⁸ So rich were some baths that their lavish use of marble is a critical theme running through Roman literature.^{cxix} They were immediately recognisable, but many travellers did not know how to date them.^{cx} These were frequently large buildings, necessarily multi-room, and often long-lasting because of their poured concrete core with surrounding brickwork. (Amphitheatres, such as that at Tarragona,^{cxli} were equally difficult to destroy.) Floors would be of stone and/or marble mosaic; marble would often veneer the walls (of which Jomard saw traces at Antinoë in 1818),^{cxlii} and some rooms or porticoes would be divided and supported by marble columns. Such large installations required many services, not least water, and constant maintenance. Earthquakes could devastate them for good, but some, such as those at Skythopolis, survived and were refurbished even after an earthquake,⁶⁹ as perhaps happened at Hierapolis in Turkey.⁷⁰ These were structures on the same level of grandeur as temples, but with an added attraction for the post-antique world, in that they offered a water supply. In North Africa, a few large ones part-survived into

⁶⁶ Levanoni 1995, 161–8 for water projects including canals, aqueducts, bathhouses and dams.

⁶⁷ Hoss 2005: bathing in Palestine antedates the Romans, e.g. in Jewish ritual requirements. Cf. 92–9 for synopsis of "The bathing culture and the baths and *thermae* in Roman Palestine."

⁶⁸ Hesberg 2005, 169–182 for Roman baths and gymnasia; and Haan 2007 for a typology.

⁶⁹ Mazor 1999: the baths at Nysa-Scythopolis (Beit Shean) were rebuilt perhaps as result of 363 earthquake. Marble still *de rigueur*.

⁷⁰ D'Andria 2001, for Hierapolis: in 5th–6thC public baths are erected on demolition debris (from earthquake?) on S. stoa of the agora. But by mid-7thC another earthquake has halted town development.

the 7th century,⁷¹ although they were robbed of their finery.⁷² In the more humble structures water was useful both for settlement, and for Christian baptism;⁷³ so that we sometimes find baths as well as villas under later occupation, although frequently with the marble veneer and columns stripped away at some stage (and metal smelted on site), and the service degraded.⁷⁴ Equally, they might be turned into housing or cemeteries, as happened in Spain.⁷⁵

Abandonment and Re-use

Although many baths seem to have been abandoned in late antiquity,⁷⁶ on a very few occasions in Christian communities in the West baths were retained as baths. This was the case at Pozzuoli⁷⁷ and elsewhere in Southern Italy.⁷⁸ In Spain Islamic civic buildings, including their baths, were later re-used,⁷⁹ sometimes with materials from marble-rich Roman baths.⁸⁰ At Bosra, the Hamann Mangak was given an opus sectile floor,⁸¹ and was presumably fed from the town's cisterns. Very large Roman baths were generally left well alone, or only small parts of them occupied over the centuries, as at Hierapolis.⁸² In the late 19th century, it was believed that some functioning baths in Tunisia were indeed rebuilds of ancient ones.^{cxliii}

⁷¹ Thébert 2003, for North Africa: 418–421 for the installations and refurbishments of the 5th century. At Sitifis, still occupied in 7thC, perhaps still in use. Mosaics laid at Timgad in 5th–6thC.

⁷² Stirling & Lazreg 2001, at Leptiminus (Lamta), 10: baths “thoroughly stripped of their marble decoration at the time of their abandonment probably by the late 4th c., and either then or subsequently the walls and hypocaust floor were robbed for building materials.”

⁷³ Romana Stasola 2002, for the sacral symbolism of water, and convenience of the bath buildings.

⁷⁴ Horton 1996, for a 6th-century bath at Caesarea, a botched job: bathing continued, but with low-quality repairs.

⁷⁵ García-Entero 2005, baths in Roman Spain: 869–865 repair and refurbishment into the 6thC, then functional transformation into housing or cemeteries (what about churches?).

⁷⁶ Well 1999: the bath on the Odeon Hill at Carthage was abandoned early 6thC. Biers 1985: same date for Corinth.

⁷⁷ Maddalo 2007: originally antique baths, which never seem to have gone out of use.

⁷⁸ Martin 2007, concludes 77 that bathing continued at ancient sites and also in part-antique buildings – but urban baths were completely abandoned.

⁷⁹ Díez Jorge 2001, 260ff, incl. 270–276 for baths.

⁸⁰ García-Entero 2005, Roman Spain: 839–841 for marble pavements; 841–843 mosaic floors; 846–847 marble veneer on walls.

⁸¹ Meinecke 2005, 101–148, including fig. 53 for a reconstruction of its mosaic floor, with a few fragments of opus sectile recovered, colour pl. 1.

⁸² Piera Caggia 2007.

Bath complexes, then, were generally too big to be completely occupied as houses or converted wholesale into churches, except by megalomaniacs such as Michelangelo with S.M. degli Angeli. Hence parts were re-used, sometimes for churches, as at Sabratha;⁸³ a few housed light industry.⁸⁴ These carcasses survived down the centuries and still survive today, although stripped of wall veneers, and sometimes of floor mosaics and columns. Such solid structures could still be useful, serving as anything from fortresses, parts of city walls, or to house olive presses.⁸⁵ In so many cases, their demolition was and would still be an arduous task, and an unprofitable one, yielding only brick and concrete, the latter being not only solid and long-lived,⁸⁶ but re-useless. One might posit as a general rule, that the less “interesting” and useful a building (for whatever purpose), then the longer it tends to survive.

Bathing in Islam

Bathing is still a communal activity for many people in Islam, with many of the customs and architecture probably derived from Byzantium.⁸⁷ For the rich it was a private one as well, and all fine houses had their own baths, fitted out with marble, some of it no doubt stripped from earlier monuments, just as these were stripped in their turn.⁸⁸ Such private baths are still to be seen in recent (18th and 19th century) houses in Damascus, Aleppo and Cairo, for example, but we know from construction documents and transfer deeds that they existed in mediaeval houses-cum-palaces as well. Indeed, an “idol” in glass (mosaic in a once-Roman bath?) was

⁸³ Blas de Roblès 2005, 59 for Sabratha Sea Baths with basilica and baptistery inserted.

⁸⁴ Stirling & Lazreg 2001, at Leptiminus (Lamta), 29–73: “The East Baths and their industrial re-use in late antiquity.”

⁸⁵ Stirling & Lazreg 2001, 69–71 for “Aspects of the re-use of baths and some other public buildings in North Africa in late antiquity.” 70 Baths used as fortress (Mactar), incorporated into city wall (Guelma), oil presses installed in frigidarium of Thuburbo Maius, where olive presses also installed in forum and buildings behind Capitolium; Byzantine palace of Bishop of Djemila also got olive presses – and several other examples. 72: such change in use “not necessarily a sign of urban decay... changing economic pressures and shifting patterns of benefaction and expenditure.”

⁸⁶ Lamprecht 1993, 27–87 for the technology of concrete. 89–221 for building types from aqueducts, cisterns and baths to theatres, houses and halls.

⁸⁷ Kiby 1995: Byzantium 43–52, Islam 53–115, with a typology by region.

⁸⁸ Malpica Cuello 2002, 98–159 for late-13thC Palace of the Abencerrajes at the Alhambra, including baths (with part-surviving hypocaust); but no marble retrieved in the digs, so where did it all go?

destroyed at Fustat in the 8th century.⁸⁹ It is conceivable that Villamont (who was certainly interested in baths)^{cxliv} described a still-functioning bath in the citadel at Amman in 1595^{cxlv} – a city which had a marble-clad mosque by the 10th century,^{cxlvi} but was apparently deserted by the 19th century.^{cxlvii}

In other words, the Moslem world took to bathing more-or-less Roman fashion, and with enthusiasm in view of Koranic requirements. They even imported marble (which of course does not survive except in fragments) for the palace bath at Samarra,⁹⁰ and regularly dragged sarcophagi to serve decoratively in mosque courtyards as fountain-basins – for example in Turkey.^{cxlviii} And their marble baths much impressed Christian travellers,^{cxlix} for whom a visit to a bath was generally *de rigueur*. Thus we have reports from Gazara^{cl} and Acre,^{cli} both of which were much admired. Hence travellers in search of antiquities soon learned that a relaxing visit to a hamman could often produce them in quantity.^{clii} For this was an institution not seen back home, and its attractions sometimes mitigated the often-expressed scorn for the crumbling, neglected and ill-maintained buildings, their antiquities included, of “abroad.” They might have been less enthusiastic had they known that it was probably common for churches to be stripped of their marble to adorn baths. In Constantinople, several were stripped to adorn Murad’s Bath in Adrianople^{cliii} – and this was possibly a common occurrence, given the myriad baths in Constantinople itself during the Byzantine period.⁹¹

Although Moslems sometimes occupied and refurbished antique structures,⁹² it was more usually just the general layout, domes and marble fitments which were adopted, sometimes re-using materials in a new

⁸⁹ Denoix 1992, on Cairo, citing 14th–15thC historians: 123 Qaysariyya Abu Marra, a bath: *Il y avait une idole de verre représentant une femme, merveille des merveilles mais on la cassa l’année ou Yazid b. ‘Abd al-Malik ordonna qu’on brisat les idoles, c’est-à-dire en 102/720.*

⁹⁰ Leisten 2003, on Samarra, 100 for the bath at the Balkuwara Palace: “Walls and ceilings of the domed chamber and the barrel-vaulted rooms were lavishly decorated with marble dados and molded stucco ornaments.”

⁹¹ Yegül 2008: large baths declined, but small neighbourhood ones flourished. And cf. Table 11.1 for a chart of 26 named baths and their longevity/fate.

⁹² Dow 1996, mentions neither marble nor re-use in his chapter on Building Methods, although he does illustrate baths with marble veneers, and has more in his catalog of baths. Nielsen 1990, 84–118 for baths in N. Africa and the eastern provinces: the Romans introduced the public bath into N. Africa, but the eastern provinces had a bathing tradition going back to the Greeks, and prominently under the Hellenistic kings; excellent referenced discussions of source material for both areas. II 32–47 for short catalogue entries, essential bibliography for each bath, and plates and plans. Sauvaget 1939, includes

location (including inscriptions, as at Yeni Kieu),^{cliv} and building much smaller baths than the giant Roman structures.⁹³ Thus at the Qal'a in Algeria the marble fitments probably benefitted from the nearby Roman settlement.^{clv} However, the "fit" between Roman and Moslem baths is not a good one, since the Moslems tended to use small baths for bathing only, as at Caesarea,⁹⁴ lacking the pomp and circumstance of Roman structures: the civic and gymnastic appurtenances of Roman baths (with porticoes, art displays and the rest) went by the board; and there is never any temptation to mistake a Moslem bath for a grand civic building.

Baths and running water provide, in our Crescent, an element of semi-continuity with the antique world. Bathing in Islam, a social habit as well as a religious duty, developed in part from antique practice, just as Islamic baths have some tenuous connection with antique structures, of which plenty survived together with their ruinous waterworks to provide inspiration for new structures, themselves sometimes built of antique materials. What changed was from Roman swagger, monumental fountains and arrogantly long aqueducts to a simpler provision of water – the maintenance of springs, fountains and cisterns, often antique in origin, but little refurbishment of aqueducts, and then only for short spans.

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|--|------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| i Maqdisi_1901_II_137–8 | xvi Perrier_1842_11 | xxxii Moudjir-ed-Dyn_1876_142 |
| ii Seetzen_1854_I_18 | xvii Lindsay_1838_II_138–139 | xxxiii Russell_1835_353 |
| iii Princesse_de_Belgiojoso_1858_132–3 | xviii De_Bourgoanne_1809_615 | xxxiii Richer_1824_359 |
| iv Bramson_1820_II_35 | xix Ibn_Khaldun_1856_III_252 | xxxiv Della_Cella_1840_57b |
| v Péchot_1914_I_200–201 | xx Poirer_1789_128b | xxxv Lemprière_1801_44 |
| vi Yanoski_&David_1848_37 | xxi Scott_1842_205 | xxxvi Arundell_1828_30 |
| vii Pococke_1814_171 | xxii Gregory_1859_II_157 | xxxvii Pückler_Muskau_1839_II_106–8 |
| viii Le_Camus_1889_I_43–44b | xxiii Faucon_1893_II_102 | xxxviii Guérin_1869_II_299 |
| ix Poirer_1789_156b | xxiv Thévenot_1727_307–8 | xxxix Jaussen_&Savignac_1922_III_20 |
| x Péchot_1914_I_170–1 | xxv Mocquet_1696_283 | xl Black_Sea_Pilot_1920_28 |
| xi Della_Cella_1840_viii | xxvi Burckhardt_1822_16 | xli Pellissier_1836_I_88–9 |
| xii Waddington_1853_3 | xxvii Laborde_1809_II_57 | xlii Procopius_Wars_1914ff_IV_vi_6–8 |
| xiii Maudrell_1853_15 | xxviii Münzer_2009_143 | xliii Serres_1839_54 |
| xiv Seetzen_1854_I_26 | xxix Bussière_1829_I_205 | xliv Péchot_1914_I_208 |
| xv Münzer_2009_136 | xxx Huart_1879_44 | |

material on Arabic adaption of Roman baths. See also Broedner 1975, 185–202, and Grotzfeld 1970.

⁹³ Thébert 2003, for North Africa: 421–433 Architecture thermale tardo-antique et médiévale.

⁹⁴ Horton 1996.

- xliv Saint-Arnaud_1855_
 - I_212
- xlvi Gsell_1902
- xlvi Prus_1852_151
- xlvi Von_Loeher_1878_
 - 178-9
- xlvi Le_Strange_1890_247b
- l Nassiri_Khosrau_1888_12
- li Castellan_1820_I_222
- lii Turner_1820_III_211
- lii SHD\$99_Génie_1H501
- liv SHD\$98_Génie_1H400
- lv SHD\$77_MR1321B
- lvi SHD\$78_MR_2H43
- lvii SHD\$79_MR1322
- lviii SHD\$76_MR1322
- lix Arvieux_1735_V_239
- lx Blanchet_1895_103-4
- lxi Morell_1854_86
- lxi Morell_1854_173
- lxiii Chatelain_1944_136
- lxiv SHD\$17_MR1323
- lxv SHD\$18_Génie_1H415
- lxvi SHD\$16_Génie_GR1H48
- lxvii Poujoulat_1847_II_211
- lxviii Baudicour_1856_525
- lxix Shaw_1743_I_38.
- lxx Vignon_1887_138
- lxxi Association_française_
 - 1896_I_63-88
- lxxii Pückler_Muskau_
 - 1839_II_293-4
- lxxiii Leake_1830_III_264
- lxxiv El_Abdery_1844_
 - 166-7
- lxxv El-Edrisi_1866_132
- lxxvi El-Edrisi_1866_221
- lxxvii Thévenot_1727_
 - I_329-330
- lxxviii Fiedler_1840_I_220
- lxxix El-Bekri_1859_179
- lxxx Ponz_1792_XVII_159
- lxxxi Condé_1825_I_461-2
- lxxxii Condé_1825_I_329
- lxxxiii El-Edrisi_1866_
 - 261-262
- lxxxiv Laborde_1809_II_42
- lxxxv Morgado_1587_
 - 281-282
- lxxxvi Urquhart_1838_I_194
- lxxxvii Scrofani_1801_II_164
- lxxxviii Holland_1815_I_73-4
- lxxxix Hughes_1830_
 - I_424-425
- xc Mariti_1791_I_77_
 - Larnaca
- xc Cuinet_1896_I_79
- xcii Ibn_Khaldun_1863_
 - I_360
- xciii Clarke_1814_II_1_141
- xciv Arundell_1834_I_269
- xcv Beulé_1873_II_26-7
- xcvi El_Abdery_1844_167-8
- xcvii Ibn_Khaldun_1854_
 - II_340-341b
- xcviii El-Kairouani_1845_
 - 398-9
- xcix Seetzen_1854_
 - I_368-369
- c Guys_1855_57
- ci Cagnat_1884_II_26-27
- cii Baratta_1831_86-7
- ciii Niebuhr_1776_I_36
- civ Leo_Africanus_1896_
 - II_260
- cv Le_Camus_1889_II_370
- cvi Lindsay_1838_II_48-49
- cvii Lucas_1712_I_254
- cviii Conder_&_Kitchener_
 - III_1883_237
- cix Guérin_1869_II_125
- cx Guérin_1869_II_91
- cxi Guérin_1869_II_129
- cxi Clarke_1816_II_86-8
- cxi Ritter_1866_II_184
- cxiv Perry_1869_445
- cxv Deshayes_de_
 - Courmenin_1624_337
- cxvi Rohlf_1871_I_7
- cxvii Guérin_1869_II_148
- cxviii Gemelli_Careri_1699_
 - 216-217
- cxix Fabri_1849_II_412
- cx Le_Strange_1890_500
- cx Dolomieu_1922_15
- cxii Belon_1588_210
- cxiii Norden_1755_I_14
- cxiv Le_Strange_1890_522
- cxv Blakesley_1859_
 - 277-8c
- cxvi Shaw_1743_I_49-50
- cxvii Poirer_1789_xvii
- cxviii Anon_1785_137ff
- cxix De_Bourgoanne_
 - 1809_542
- cxix Münzer_2009_118
- cxix Graham_1858_252
- cxix Thomson_1880_
 - I_507-8
- cxixiii Grosvenor_1830_61
- cxixiv Hamilton_1842_
 - II_85
- cxixv Castellan_1820_I_223
- cxixvi Blount_1636_41
- cxixvii Abd_Allatif_1810_
 - 297-8
- cxixviii Ali_Bey_1814_
 - I_277-8
- cxixix Boissier_1899_170
- cxl BICA_1837_161-72
- cxli Ceán-Bermúdez_
 - 1832_6-7
- cxlii Jomard_1818_II_29
- cxliiii Association_
 - française_1896_I_63
- cxliv Villamont_1595_I_54ff
- cxlv Villamont_1595_I_224r
- cxlvi Le_Strange_1890_392
- cxlvii Seetzen_1859_IV_212
- cxlviii Durbin_1845_II_134
- cxlix Hammer-Purgstall_
 - 1811_82-3
- cl Fabri_1849_II_368
- cli Clarke_1814_II_1_238
- clii Napier_1842_I_317-18
- cliii Hammer_1844_I_191
- cliv Keppel_1831_II_372-373
- clv Beylié_1909_67

CHAPTER FIVE

TOMBS

The legions of the dead exceed those of the living, almost always outside town boundaries, generally formalised into great necropoleis, and regularly flanking the main roads leaving the town, sometimes in extravagant displays. A target for treasure-hunting, funerary antiquities in marble were frequently re-used in later cemeteries and also in housing, churches and mosques, just as monumental tombs found a use as housing for people or their animals. So many antique tombs survive not only because of population decline but because, if Christians sometimes prized and re-used sarcophagi, Moslems rarely used them except as fountain basins, or for construction. So many survive either because people were simply not interested in them, or because they were too heavy to move.

Tombs Survive Cities

Recent work has studied tombs in their landscapes, offering cogent evidence of their importance for the living.¹ Or, as Azaïs & Domergue note in 1858, at Sarepta, near Sidon: “En Orient, les tombeaux ont plus de durée que les villes, et sont quelquefois le seul vestige d’une cité qui fut autrefois florissante.”ⁱ Again, it was not unusual to find the cemeteries much more splendid than the civic remains.ⁱⁱ Funerary antiquities provided a reservoir of attractive elements for later re-use, not necessarily in a funerary context, as we shall see. Equally the legions of the later dead, Christian, Moslem and Jewish, are often marked by non-funerary antiquities extracted from ancient sites.² Many tombs were of course to be found around completely abandoned towns, and these were the easiest to view for inscriptions, since only monumental masons visited such places, looking for material to re-use.ⁱⁱⁱ In populated localities, however, they were sometimes converted into small churches, as on Santorini, mentioned by Benoît^{iv} and Bent,^v or with the tiny church of Panagia Marmariotissa

¹ Stone & Stirling 2007 for an overview.

² Leisten 1998, 27–53 for the “mausoleum landscape” in Egypt, Syria, Iraq and further east, followed by survey of tomb types.

at Chalandri (Attica).^{vi} Near Toledo, a mausoleum became a church and then probably a mosque.³ At Apollonia in Lycia, a Roman tomb became a Byzantine chapel.⁴ We shall review several such conversions in the course of this and later chapters.

Cemeteries were so common that they were often veritable dépôts of gathered re-use. If marble and columns were markers of ancient settlement, so also were tombs,^{vii} and they survive in a bewildering variety.⁵ One of the reasons for the survival of such often sumptuous structures is simply that there were a lot of them. Some, for instance, were still waiting study in Libya in the 1920s,^{viii} and many have not yet been thoroughly studied. Splendid tombs were also a feature of Roman Asia Minor (a country rich in sources of marble), where some flamboyant traditions developed.⁶

Funerary antiquities are re-used in the world of the living, while in later centuries non-funerary antiquities are frequently re-used to furnish the world of the dead. Given that no thorough work appears to have been done on re-use in cemeteries, it is unknown just how many Christian or Moslem bodies occupied classical vessels, or how many cemeteries were in use by three or more religions (did Jews always have separate cemeteries?) from classical times, using and re-using each other's paraphernalia. Hence it was not only antique cemeteries that were markers for the existence of other ancient ruins nearby, but later cemeteries which made use of antiquities in their own cemeteries – Christian, Jewish and Moslem. This practice was so common that more than one traveller referred to such cemeteries as veritable museums – as in 1834 at Tralles^{ix} (naturally at the expense of any standing monuments)^x and 1858 at Scutari.^{xi} Tralles was still being dismantled for gravestones in the 1850s.^{xii} Plenty of tombs, of course, were also opened for their contents – as in early 19th-century Athens, when no civil authority prevented visitors conducting their own excavations.^{xiii} A tomb found on Calymnos c.1842 had its gold ornaments dispersed: because of a squabble over compensating a neighbour, the authorities were called in.^{xiv}

As well as surviving cities, tombs also provide useful markers for habitation or its abandonment in antique houses and villas. For in most instances

³ Calvo Capilla 2007, 166 for the octagon at Las Vegas de Pueblanueva (Toledo): a late Roman mausoleum converted into a Visigothic church – with a probable mihrab indicating later conversion.

⁴ Hellenkemper & Hild 2004, pl.30.

⁵ Hesberg 1992, for a broadly-based typological survey of monumental tombs, with bibliography by place.

⁶ Cormack 1997, 153 for Asia Minor: “imported construction techniques and the increased quantities of marble in the funerary record” – plus the impact of Roman tomb types.

it must be the case that the existence of tombs indicates abandonment of the site (or parts of it) by the living⁷ – although it is not unusual to find family tombs as an integral part of Roman villa sites. In other words, in a reversal of the tomb-to-housing progression, many late antique abandoned houses and villas themselves became cemeteries. The practice was widespread all over our Crescent,⁸ for example in North Africa.⁹ Conversely, it is not unusual to find ancient funerary antiquities recycled time and again in cemeteries which are still in use,¹⁰ as Tissot observed in 19th-century Tunisia,^{xv} or in some country cemeteries in Turkey today.

Because of the attrition of other ancient architecture and sculpture over the centuries, much of what we know about the ancient world is related to the dead and their commemoration, whether in splendid stone or marble tombs or tomb-houses, in plain or decorated sarcophagi, or by inscriptions.

Sometimes they are interrogated as thermometers of cultural change,¹¹ and protected by various hopeful inscriptions.¹² Sometimes they are famous for their quantity and variety, as at Arles or Pola.¹³ The poor were

⁷ Leone 2007: i.e. tombs within the floors of temples, houses and churches. Including graves, in abandoned structures – abandoned “sometime after the mid-third century” – e.g. El Djem/Thysdrus and Hadrumetum.

⁸ Graen 2008, for catalogue by area: 469–480 for Greece (overview 113–120); 481–498 for Spain (75–83 overview); 481–498 for the East (121–128 overview).

⁹ Carucci 2007. Several villas became cemeteries: 148–50: El Djem, Sollertiana Domus, a cemetery by end 3rd/early 4th century; 152–3: Hadrumetum, Maison des Masques, destroyed by fire in last quarter of 3rdC, and then used for graves.

¹⁰ Sartre-Fauriat 2001, 105 En effet, les stèles, à l'exclusion de tout bloc d'une autre nature qui pourrait faire penser qu'elles ont été transportées là depuis un autre lieu, sont constamment réutilisées par les villageois sur les tombes récentes, à la tête ou au pied desquelles elles sont fichées. L'ignorance de l'écriture qui y figure, le grec comme le nabatéen là où il est présent, a souvent conduit à placer la pierre indifféremment à l'endroit ou à l'envers ce qui, dans ce dernier cas, rend la lecture particulièrement difficile. Lorsque le sommet inscrit de la pierre est à demi ou aux trois-quarts enterré, on imagine aisément qu'il ne soit pas, dans ces conditions, très facile, ni bienvenu, d'arracher la stèle pour la lecture ou la photographie, même si certains de ces cimetières sont partiellement abandonnés aujourd'hui pour d'autres plus récents.

¹¹ Sartre-Fauriat 2001, 231 des hypothèses concernant la façon dont les habitants du Hawran dans l'Antiquité, à travers la construction de leurs tombeaux et par leurs coutumes funéraires, manifestent leur assimilation ou au contraire leurs distances par rapport aux courants de l'hellénisme en général et aux modes importées après leur intégration dans l'Empire romain – and concludes there was a permanence de la culture grecque.

¹² Schoeller 2004, II.169–294: “You shall not build upon the tomb nor write upon it!” Funerary monuments and epitaphs in Islamic theory and practice. And Henry 2003, 6–7 for invocations against tomb destruction in Anatolia, and 16–19 for Dépradations et problèmes de conservation.

¹³ Letzner 2005, 76 cites Dante Inf. IX 112–115 on Pola: Si come ad Arli, ove Rodano stagna, / Si come a Pola presso del Carnaro, / Ch'Italia chiude e suoi termini bagna / Fanno

of course buried in now-unmarked graves; but the pietas of the survivors of the rich frequently manifested itself in terraced rows for better visibility, just like the terraces of seating in a stadium. Piranesi may have exaggerated in the crowds of towering monuments flanking his vision of the Via Appia Antica, but not by much, as can be seen from surviving examples at Assos and Elaiussa Sebaste, both in Asia Minor.

As we shall see, antiquities can – as it were – float in and out of cemeteries. Although some originated in a funerary environment, many others began in a secular or civic context. Such a pagan monument (or just a piece of it) might get re-used in a church, then be assigned to a cemetery either Christian or Moslem. It might then go into a mosque or a more recent church; until the archaeologist or epigrapher comes along to reclaim it, or the mason to rework it for new building – or even to place it in another cemetery.

Christianity and Islam

In tomb-making the ancient world is different from Islam, which does not (except on very rare occasions) bury with grave-goods, and develops different types of structures.¹⁴ Christendom also differs, for only the high and mighty were buried with possessions, bishops often in their churches,^{xvi} although the bones of saints and martyrs were themselves collected by the pious or the mercenary. As in pagan environments, funerary churches could be found at the end of streets of sarcophagi, as at Elaiussa Sebaste,^{xvii} where Christian and pagan tombs are still in place¹⁵ and – as was common outside Roman towns¹⁶ – to incorporate churches.¹⁷ These are to be seen at Apamea,^{xviii} at Tyre,¹⁸ or in parts of Greece.¹⁹ Sarcophagi,

i sepolcri tutto illoco varo – but his overview 76–81 shows there aren't many left there today.

¹⁴ Korn 2004, 62–72 for Ayyubid memorial buildings including tombs.

¹⁵ Schneider 2003, I 383–523 for the extensive necropoli at Elaiussa Sebaste.

¹⁶ Heinz 2003, 83–93 Gräberstrassen und Heilige Strassen.

¹⁷ Elton et al. 2007, 25–43 The Temple at Elaiussa Sebaste. Structure destroyed by earthquake by the mid 7thC.

¹⁸ Linant de Bellefonds 1985, 14 for Tyre: the necropolis contains over 300 sarcophagi, each usually on its own little platform; most are in local limestone, but there are also imports from Attica (15 complete ones thus far), Proconnesus, Assos (in its volcanic stone) and Egypt (only one from Egypt). 15 the Attic ones were obviously prized, given their placement within the necropolis; the limestone vessels tended to get crowded together, the marble ones easily seen, flanking the main road, so their reliefs could be seen.

¹⁹ Flaemig 2007, Cat 33 Palatiano (Macedonia), where the four statues of the Patraos heroon have been found virtually complete; and cf. 113: 176 grave structures thus far

whatever the level or nature of their decoration, were a status-symbol in Christianity,²⁰ but only in some places and for some periods – witness the exact evidence of sarcophagus destruction from one of the great cemeteries of France.²¹

Statues, Columns and Crosses in Moslem Cemeteries

In some instances, as Irby reports from near Aksehir in 1823, Christian epitaphs, cross included, are used on Moslem graves,^{xxix} and on a Moslem saint's monumental tomb;^{xx} as indeed they are in other Turkish towns.^{xxi} And there are plentiful examples of classical antiquities christianised, and subsequently used as Moslem tomb-markers.^{xxii} In some cases, the Moslems obliterated crosses, but left other Christian symbols they perhaps did not recognise – and re-used the materials in their mosques and houses, as at Deir Istia in Palestine.^{xxiii}

Column-shafts (often just stumps) were ideal as the usual gravemarker throughout the Turkish Empire, that is, a column at head and foot, for rich and poor alike.^{xxiv} Fellows reports a fine Greek statue as a marker, stuck into the ground upside-down and with the feet broken off,^{xxv} Ainsworth a figure with naked breasts,^{xxvi} and Dodwell a whole range of slabs and figured antiquities re-used in a Turkish graveyard at Athens.^{xxvii} There is a similar profusion at Nicaea, where Hammer writes of the resurrection of the tombs, rather than of the dead.^{xxviii} The re-users surely paid more attention to the characteristics of the block rather than to any images: for example, in another instance, at Benghazi, a marble statue was built into house foundations, presumably because it was a solid block, rather than for any apotropaic reason.^{xxix} The great majority saw the practice as routine and worthy of no more than passing comment, and Turkish cemeteries in particular were patronised as likely find-spots for inscriptions and figured antiquities.

Wahabi Destruction of Tombs

The Wahabis (from Ibn Abd-al-Wahhab, preaching from 1740), forbade tombs of any kind.^{xxx} A body should be laid in the ground, as the Koran stated, and all monuments were frivolous and forbidden.^{xxxi} Rulers seemed powerless to prevent their desecrations.^{xxxii} Their eponymous leader “enjoins the

published, from the several hundred known to exist, with dense concentrations at Patras and Nicopolis.

²⁰ Dresken-Weiland 2003: author surveyed 785 vessels, pagan and Christian. Vessels were for senators, professionals, ecclesiastics. Gives figures for types of subject-matter chosen, but suggests it was the fact of sarcophagus burial that was prestigious, and not its subject-matter, or even whether it was decorated at all.

²¹ Cazes 2006: many fragments were on their way to the lime-kiln. Cf. his figs 10–15, found in a 1995 dig beneath the Musée Saint Raymond in Toulouse, and placed in the middle of the necropolis. The archaeologists extracted several hundreds of marble fragments from it, obviously because it had not been fired up this last time.

absolute necessity of prayer, under the open canopy of heaven, and destroys all the mosques he can seize," as Browne reported in 1799.^{xxxiii} Kerbala was damaged;^{xxxiv} they placed an embargo on visiting even the once marble-rich^{xxxv} Prophet's tomb at Medina, (although not the mosque),^{xxxvi} destroying all its ornaments.^{xxxvii} If accounts are to be trusted, this was indeed very rich in marble columns and veneers.^{xxxviii} Even Mecca suffered, as Henniker reports^{xxxix} and as Burckhardt saw with his own eyes.^{xl}

Several edicts echo this austere view about not marking graves, but actual practice usually contradicts them.²² Indeed, the tombs of some early dignitaries were marked with marble inscriptions^{xli} and even marble enclosures.^{xlii} It sometimes seems as if scholarly opinions were there to be admired and then ignored, for one scholar had dusty words to write both about marble and about re-using Christian slabs.²³ But such an attitude did not stop the Moroccans burying their kings under marble, outside Fez,^{xliii} or a rent-collector filching a porphyry column from Damietta at the end of the 18th century, for his tomb.^{xliv} The 19th century saw some loosening to the austere rule,^{xlv} and Djezzar Pasha, not known for obeying any rules, had his marble tomb in the courtyard of his mosque at Acre^{xlvi} (though there is no indication that this was an antique vessel, even if the materials were perhaps in re-use).

As a consequence of the Wahabis, Ali Bey was able to admire a sarcophagus near Suez only because they had not passed that way.^{xlvii} Nevertheless, taboos are made to be broken, and it is surely surprising to find so few Islamic burials in antique sarcophagi, except in the 19th century (for example at Cairo), even when there are so many deliciously beautiful plain ones available.²⁴ The apparent lack of interest is the more strange not

²² Schoeller 2004, II 270: "It is important to note that not a single source in which I found reports about marble tombstones, voices any critique of that practice, quite in contrast with some legal manuals or treatises whose authors railed against such 'detestable' innovations."

²³ Schoeller 2004, II 272 for the dictum of the Maliki scholar Ibn al-Hagg (d.1336), forbidding stone or even wooden inscriptions above the tomb: "Worse than that, however, is (an inscription) put on a column made of marble or other material. Marble is the most detestable material, yet even if (the inscription) is put on a wooden column it must be considered forbidden." Same author rails against thieves stealing tombstones and selling them for re-use elsewhere, and "if the thief sells it to a Christian or a Jew the matter is worse, because they intend the humiliation of everything which is exalted by the pure Muhammadan Law."

²⁴ Hitzl 1991, Abb 12 for plain if horned vessel on Aegina; Abb 14 for plain vessel in Paros Museum; Abb 71–85 for stunningly beautiful plain vessels from Carthage; Abb 33 for a marble sarcophagus in Agrigento, decorated only with dentils. But at least two similar vessels were re-used: cf. Abb 8–9 for two plain vessels in the monastery at Daphni.

only because of the extensive use of marble in Islamic tombs,^{xlvi} but also because of the frequently attested re-use of antique blocks bearing human figures for grave-markers, both in Turkey^{xlix} and probably in the Balkans.^l

Re-use of Antiquities for Funerary Purposes

Re-use of such plentiful remains was common since, epigraphic curses aside,²⁵ the dead had no apparent claim to them. At Gaza, columns were re-used as race-course markers as well as grave-markers.^{li} At Jaffa, a Crusader tomb slab is reversed for use as a mosque inscription.²⁶ At Thessaloniki, a variety of antiquities was to be seen in the Turkish graveyards,^{lii} and scattered around inside and outside the city,^{liii} while at Alexandria the cemeteries were conveniently located in the midst of marble columns and fragments.^{liv} There is no doubt that marble tomb markers were often re-used more than once and (presumably suitably cleaned up) across religions.²⁷ Architectural elements also sometimes appear in later cemeteries,^{lv} and later cemeteries also contained Byzantine antiquities, which might otherwise have been destroyed.^{lvi}

Re-use of Funerary Antiquities

Graves and gravegoods have suffered just as have the tombs themselves, usually in the course of building other, larger structures such as fortresses,^{lvii} or houses.²⁸ On a smaller scale, ancient tomb monuments were easy to convert into small forts, as Barth found at Kasr Doga^{lviii} and Mizda.^{lix} In some areas there might have been a trade in recycled marble, as has been suggested for the graves of Carthage.²⁹ There were of course plenty of smaller stelae and grave slabs that were easily moveable; and there was no hesitation about re-using

²⁵ Cormack 2004, 126–133 for curses etc on the desecration of tombs, and sometimes on the defacing of their inscriptions.

²⁶ Pringle 1993, Cat 110 Jaffa S. Nicolas: marble slab of a Crusader Bishop, unknown, d.1258, with on verso inscription consecrating mosque dated 1335–6.

²⁷ Schoeller 2004, II 286–7 on Re-using and stealing tombstones: author concluding that “the theft of tombstones was not infrequent, especially if they were made of such materials as marble.” II 287–93 on The destruction of tombs. Christian and Jewish cemeteries were sometimes cleared as well, but no indication of what might have happened to the materials. 292 for the story of older stones from a tomb in As-Salihyah being re-used in 11thC Damascus – until the dead father appeared in a dream, and forbade the practice.

²⁸ Kraeling 1962, 109: “tombs erected as freestanding monuments at Ptolemais.” They have long since disappeared as features of the landscape because they provided such excellent and accessible supplies of building material. Destruction of such tombs preceded the visits of the early European travellers, who noted chiefly what remained of their contents, that is, the sarcophagi.

²⁹ Leone 2007, 187: at Carthage “the spolia used in the construction of graves further suggest that there was an organised redistribution of building elements. Although previously used, these materials may have been sold to meet the needs of buyers.”

these in both domestic and military contexts, as on Paros^{lx} or in Tunisia³⁰ or, much earlier, at Cape Sounion.³¹ There was little compunction in 19th-century Turkey about disturbing cemeteries for inscribed classical stones,^{lxi} and this appears to have begun in late antiquity, when it is reckoned that for the wall at Aphrodisias, about 2000 monumental tombs of varying sizes would have been needed to provide the c.25000 cubic metres of fine stone for the wall facing.^{lxii} Is this what happened to monumental tombs at Olympia? At Mérida, some tombs went into the late walls, while others were subsequently dismantled to make much lower-quality ones.³² This might have been common: large quantities went to make the walls of Cyaneae, a virtually undisturbed city in Lycia, just as they did at Olbasa.³³ At Alexandria, Necropolis was still being dismantled for building materials in the 1880s.^{lxiii} In Algeria, standing monuments were disappearing just as easily.^{lxiv}

Sarcophagi re-used as water-basins in mosques were not rare, as Jomard describes in the Nile Delta in 1818, for ensuring the health of the living rather than for containing the bones of the dead.^{lxv} Near Istanbul, a sarcophagus made a good store for onions.^{lxvi} And for Cairo, if much of the fine marble to build the mediaeval city came from Alexandria, the granite came from tombs nearer the city, and also from the Delta where, it has been argued, they were used because of the sturdiness of the material.^{lxvii} This may have been why travellers could find the Delta and the route to Cairo so uninteresting.^{lxviii} Gregory in 1859 noted many re-uses in the mosques and palaces of Cairo,^{lxix} and Wilkinson provides some details.^{lxx} In some Egyptian cemeteries, however, the tombs stayed put, and their occupants were replaced, sometimes more than once,^{lxxi} which was only to be expected in a town where the architecture was re-used as well.^{lxxii} Just as some of the tombs in Cairo's great cemeteries are inhabited today, so were earlier ones, such as at Gadara in Palestine,^{lxxiii} at Oom Keis,^{lxxiv} and also in late 19th century Anatolia,^{lxxv} which also housed some travellers.^{lxxvi} Hamilton found a Bedou in a decidedly up-market tomb at Cyrene,^{lxxvii} and temples also made good palaces, as Graham discovered in 1858 in the Hauran.^{lxxviii} Not that tombs needed to be re-used as such: they were simply often dismountable slices of marble, and they disappeared in large quantities where transport was easy – as from Thasos in the earlier 19th century.^{lxxix} The great cemetery of Kairouan was full of “ravisantes sculptures,”^{lxxx} presumably hunted down in nearby Roman settlements, if not further afield. Bringing antiquities from a distance of a few kilometres to adorn graves might not have been unusual.^{lxxxi}

³⁰ Béjaoui 2002, Fig 9 for a Punic stele used as a church stylobate at El Ksour.

³¹ Camp 2001, Fig 163: 3rdC BC artillery bastion for catapults at Sounion built out of marble blocks from earlier tombs.

³² Kulikowski 2004, 105–107 for re-use in city walls in Spain.

³³ Hellenkemper & Hild 2004, pls.205, 272.

Monumental Tombs

Neither tomb-structures nor sarcophagi were prized as such in Moslem circles in our Crescent. This could be the reason Mas'udi tells of Alexander being removed from his gold coffin, which would soon get stolen, and placed in a marble sarcophagus, which would not.^{lxxxii} In other versions of the story, gold was replaced by glass.^{lxxxiii} To steal the sarcophagus known as the "Tomb of Alexander," the French forced their way into the mosque containing it, contravening the treaty they had made.^{lxxxiv}

Except when in convenient locations for storage, housing or byres, there was no interest in our Crescent in discrete tomb monuments or towers either, until well into the 19th century. The result is that many antique-looking landscapes survive with such monuments in their centre, such as the one Davis describes near Hydra in 1862.^{lxxxv} Had succeeding inhabitants been more interested in mausolea, presumably fewer than the 340 monumental structures counted for Tunisia would now remain.³⁴ At Aphrodisias the locals were indeed interested in them – providing blocks for the new city wall,³⁵ as did the collapsed Mausoleum at Halicarnassus for the nearby fortress.³⁶

Tomb-structures (usually a single-room "house," though sometimes with corridors or alcoves to take additional vessels) could conveniently be used as houses, as byres for the animals,^{lxxxvi} or for storage; and near Lattakia, Lucas found one in use as a bath.^{lxxxvii} Some of them were certainly dismantled so that their material could be re-used, as an anonymous account of 1785 tells us happened at Tripoli.^{lxxxviii} But there is very little interest in the burial vessels themselves – many of which were, of course, not "housed," but lay directly in the open air. By extension, tombs dug out of the rock survived well, and sometimes their vessels as well, as near Lattakia,^{lxxxix} perhaps the same one described by Lucas. In Circassia, doctors sent patients to sleep in ancient tombs to cure them^{xc} – so at least they served one modern use.

³⁴ Moore 2007, for North Africa.

³⁵ De Staebler 2008, 318 for the new city wall at Aphrodisias: author believes most of the blocks came from tombs (and perhaps votive monuments from within the city), perhaps without disturbing the tomb itself, abstracting only the superstructure. That this is certain is seen from the tomb reliefs regular and decorative in stretch by SE gate (author's fig.19); and also from re-use of blocks that had base- or crown-moldings; plus high percentage of funerary inscriptions.

³⁶ Jeppesen 2002, on the Mausoleum: fig 17.3 for blocks from the Pteron base incorporated in the nearby fortress, and 23.2 for *ibid* the Crepidoma blocks.

*Sarcophagi**Variable Interest*

Possibly as early as the Middle Ages, some landscapes were completely deserted, and the tombs empty – which impressed later travellers: “The dead as well as the living have fled the country.”^{xci} Sarcophagi, unless on travelled roads, were too low to see from afar, but not those tomb monuments which aped small temples,³⁷ and for this reason sometimes found a second life as churches.³⁸ Some sarcophagi may have survived because of their supposed connection with famous figures, such as David,^{xcii} but most alerted travellers to the existence of an ancient town, as Hamilton writes of Tauschanli on the Rhindacus,^{xciii} or Merrill at Gadara.^{xciv} Sometimes sarcophagi were discovered by chance; as, for example, at Myme-kion on the Bosphorus, when the installation of a flagpole brought a fine sarcophagus to light.^{xcv} Does the fact that fine vessels frequently come to light today indicate how little they were prized in past centuries?³⁹

Several sarcophagus-rich landscapes are still to be seen today, witness the still-intact terraces with their sarcophagi largely in place at Assos outside the west gate, intact because of the silt washed over them from higher up the hill. The great majority of vessels had already been broken into by the 18th century,^{xcvi} but they were generally too heavy to move, even assuming anyone wished to do so – hence the soil cleared away in the past decades reveals the whole setup exactly as it was in Antiquity. At Cyrene, the sarcophagi were also stacked in terraces.^{xcvii} Similarly all-of-a-piece are the great cemeteries at Elaiussa Sebaste, and probably Jerash in the 19th century. Here Burckhardt counted nearly fifty vessels in 1822.^{xcviii} Here also Robinson in 1837 found no inhabitants, and the same vast quantities of columns and sarcophagi,^{xcix} as did Belon at Philippi in the 1540s.^c Even smaller settlements, such as Caesarea in Mauretania, had such tomb-streets.⁴⁰

³⁷ Cormack 2004, for a catalogue of temple tombs 161–332, and a useful chart of tombs by place and type.

³⁸ Graen 2008, 312–315 for H4, Quinta de Marin in the Algarve: two columned structures, with a church between the villa and the ancient road. 315–319 for H5 at Milreu, Algarve, with the arcaded mausoleum abutting the same area as the villa peristyle – and with a baoptistery and Early Christian mausoleum inside it.

³⁹ E.g. Flaemig 2007, Cat 10 In Plateia Platanou, Kephisia (Attica), discovered in 1886 some 2m under the then-road level, with no fewer than four sarcophagi in pentelic marble, and in good if far from perfect condition; or Cat19 Alyzia near Mytika (Akarnanien), where splendid acroteria have been found, but the remainder of the vessels much damaged.

⁴⁰ Leveau 1987: long streets of tombs outside the E. & W. gates.

Because of their superabundant quantity, plenty of reusable vessels still lie scattered around the Mediterranean.⁴¹ This might at first seem to be a surprise when the supposedly prestigious place of antique sarcophagi in mediaeval and later Western culture is considered (such as Venetian abstractions from Cyprus),^{ci} yet even this is overrated, for few of the myriad vessels available to the Middle Ages were actually re-used, either because of sumptuary conventions of which we know nothing, or because of the difficulty of shifting the large weights sometimes involved. Indeed, even in the late antique West (when we might expect a continuation of earlier practices) re-use is very patchy: there is a lot in Italy, and some in Provence;⁴² but remarkably little in Spain, for example⁴³ – but this applies also to altar furniture.⁴⁴ Even in later centuries, when Italian city-states roamed the seas, re-use was selective and generally restricted to smallish vessels, for example in the atrium of the Duomo at Salerno, and those now in the Campo Santo at Pisa. And it is not difficult to demonstrate that there were large quantities available that were simply ignored, as for example at Elaiussa Sebaste.^{cii}

Moslems and Sarcophagi

In the Moslem world – the world which had suzerainty over our Crescent and the sarcophagi it contained – there was almost no interest in the re-use of such vessels for funerary purposes. (Cyprus might have been an exception, for the Turks seem to have re-used plain marble sarcophagi therein.)^{ciii} Indeed, sometimes the local authorities register a complete inability to date funerary discoveries even roughly, as in 1766 when accusing a man on Cyprus who had dug up some funerary antiquities of disturbing the rest of Moslems.^{civ}

Why do so many sarcophagi survive in Moslem lands? Because there was no reason to destroy sarcophagi if they were not needed for building

⁴¹ Giuliano 1962: gives a list of 469 attic sarcophagi, together with a cross-index of where they are now – i.e. plenty scattered allover the Mediterranean (see his keyed map) had scavengers wanted to pick them up for re-use. Ferrari, Glorio, *Il commercio dei sarcophagi attici*, Rome 1966: see the map for findspots, most of which are by or very near the sea (Antalya, Side, Perge, Smyrna, Bursa, Nicaea, Byzantium) or close to a river (Hierapolis, Magnesia, Sardis).

⁴² Baratte 1998, for the small church of La Gayolle in the Var, commune of La Celle, its Attic vessels first pointed out by Claude Fabri de Peiresc in 1626.

⁴³ Bovini 1954, for sarcophagi in Spain, 254: the majority of vessels found along the coast or flanking navigable rivers.

⁴⁴ Guardia 2006, 206–207 for Catalonia, for eight sarcophagi re-used at Sant Feliu in Gerona, four pagan, four Christian, in the presbyterium c.1200 – figs 17a–b. 208–211 re-use of altars, including a Roman decorated column shaft (with a dog on it) supporting a visigothic chancel screen as altar-table in Sant Sadurní at Pesillà de la Ribera (Rosselló).

materials. In other instances, sarcophagi were destroyed or heavily mutilated in search of treasure,^{cv} just as adjacent walls were dismantled to build churches^{cvi} – there being no apparent difference in attitude between Christians and Moslems (but could the dearth of sarcophagi in Spain be something to do with Moslem attitudes?).⁴⁵

Why no re-use? For they were certainly available, and it is recorded in 1846 that even some handsome plain ones near Beirut were broken up to make both projectiles and decorations.^{cvi} Indeed, the existence of decorations probably aided the fashioning of projectiles,^{cvi} and might have contributed to the tradition that many sarcophagi were broken up in Constantinople in 1453.^{cix} Pollution was probably a factor, since plenty of the vessels were opened in search of treasure (for which how-to-get-it books were available),^{cx} and it was quite clear what they contained. Another was surely the convention that a Moslem be buried under the earth, while a third was the prohibition on figurative art in any religious connection.

Sarcophagi, in other words, were targets for treasure-hunters, usually locals, who simply abstracted any useful fragments, but left the useless broken pieces on the ground once the vessel was found to yield nothing, as Pashly found at Arvi in Greece in 1837.^{cx} So apart from a constant interest in looting their contents, there is no equivalent in our Crescent to the later re-use and reworking of sarcophagi seen in Italy⁴⁶ although, as already noted, burial in antique vessels was by no means a regular European tradition.⁴⁷ Christians in the East did re-use sarcophagi, but only for prestigious burials, such as those of saints. In one case, it was the Hand of God that brought a vessel (afterwards immovable) from Asia Minor to Cyprus.^{cxii}

Occasionally, such vessels seem to have been comprehensively destroyed, as Gsell reports from Tipasa,^{cxiii} perhaps because they featured “idols” – Barth, for example, believes ancient sculptures were venerated in Tripolitania,^{cxiv} and Sandys tells of an apotropaic crocodile sculpture in Egypt.^{cxv} But putting funerary antiquities in bridges (as happened near

⁴⁵ Bovini 1954, for sarcophagi in Spain: he catalogues 48: cat 3 in Covarrubias, from Monastery of Arlanza, where it was tomb of Donna Sancha de Navarra; cat 27 in Panteon de los Reyes, Oviedo (only a lid); cat 30 on façade of Tarragona Cathedral; cat 42 fragment immured in Puerta del Sol at Toledo, with a head above it.

⁴⁶ Barbavalla di Gravellona 2002, for Italian examples, and very well illustrated.

⁴⁷ Meier 2002, 228–34 for re-use of antique sarcophagi in the West, but these are few: Kiev (for Grossfurst d. 1054), Ravenna for the Counts of Spoleto; notes that the sarcophagi in Aachen and Metz, and perhaps also in Saint-Denis, were collected during the life of the prospective occupant; cf. note 248 for the antique vessels in Lorsch.

Aezani) might just have been convenience. The Moslems dismantled parts of the walls of Córdoba shortly after the conquest and used the stones (which they replaced with bricks) to build a bridge.^{cxvi}

Re-use of Sarcophagi – But Not for Burial

In our Crescent, then, and for a variety of reasons, there was little interest in re-using sarcophagi for burial. Fortunately, they could also be used for building, since they were generally cuboid in shape. Some settlements were indeed built on top of cemeteries, not ancient towns. As von Loehér remarks, at Larnaka these formed the sum total of the ancient town.^{cxvii} There are also cases where the sarcophagus body was left alone, presumably useless for local requirements – while the lid was taken away to be cut up into tombstones.^{cxviii} For the monks of Athos, indeed, sarcophagus lids made a good refectory table.^{cxix}

Legions of “suitable” sarcophagi were visible and readily available to travelling and sedentary Moslems – for example no more than one kilometre from the coast of Cilicia⁴⁸ – but no vogue for their re-use for burial developed, as it did in Western Christianity. Nevertheless, such vessels were often re-used in town as water-basins and to decorate fountains, as in Palestine,^{cxx} or at Phanagoria on the Taman Peninsula in the Crimea,^{xxxi} where excavations might have been fruitful.^{xxxii}

In some cases and at some periods, indeed, we may wonder just how much aesthetic attraction the sheen of white marble actually held, given its overpainting to enhance colour and prettiness.^{xxxiii} Naturally-coloured marbles, however, were another matter,⁴⁹ and this is perhaps why large porphyry sarcophagi, shunned for burial, became prime candidates for conversion into slabs. Perhaps towns with a profusion of coloured marbles, such as Cuicul,⁵⁰ were also targeted for dismantling.

Looting Tombs in the 19th Century

By the 19th century, antique cemeteries began to disappear fast, providing as they did conveniently shaped and sized building materials. At Olympia,

⁴⁸ Machatschek 1967, for an account of tomb monuments, sarcophagi and their settings, with maps and photographs. Plenty of the vessels would have been suitable for Moslem burial, or easily made so: plain vessels (pl.8, 13, 14), or with garlands (pl.12, 15–18).

⁴⁹ Pensabene 2006.

⁵⁰ Antonelli 2010.

Pouqueville was informed in 1826 that, yes, there had been large tombs with inscriptions, but these had been destroyed – presumably the blocks carted away for housing.^{cxxiv} In the Crimea, with an increasing Russian population, and where apparently limestone could conveniently be quarried, Moslem tombs were violated (by Christians) for building material.^{cxxv} Athens, a target for travellers because of its various associations, also had plentiful tombs, and in the early 19th century there was no bar on visitors rifling them.^{cxxvi} Thebes in Egypt presented an even worse sight in the 1820s, with the landscape scattered with corpses and body-parts,^{cxxvii} rarities offered to the British while at dinner, near Memphis.^{cxxviii} Lottin de Laval logged similar vandalism at Sarabit, in the Sinai.^{cxxix} When the French drove a road through a cemetery at Algiers, local opinion said the marble had been pilfered, and Moslem bones ground up to be used for adulterating bread back in France^{cxx} – just as marble was pounded up in Turkey to adulterate rice.^{cxxi}

But the Christian world also lorded it over antique cities and tumuli in the Crimea, where all visitors were disgusted by the behaviour both of the Russian archaeologists and of the Russian soldiers, the former “excavating” into a tremendous mess, and the latter breaking up wooden sarcophagi – not, after all, the most common of antiquities – to feed the fires at which they warmed themselves.^{cxxii} De Hell experienced what happened to monuments during and then after his visit; he was shocked that this could happen in a town with a museum, and clear that much of the current “excavation” was mere looting and treasure-hunting.^{cxxiii} But similar looting also happened elsewhere, Newton recording the breaking up of a tomb on Castellorizo before his very eyes in 1865.^{cxxiv}

With populations increasing over much of our Crescent, with Western eyes turned toward more portable antiquities, and in the absence of any widespread vogue in East or West for sarcophagus burial, many of the great cemeteries melted away during the later 19th century. If in Rome the Via Appia fed the building of the new S. Peter's, in the East and North Africa it was ordinary domestic building that swallowed much cemetery furniture. Marble facings were stripped from funerary monuments to feed churches and especially mosques, or lime-kilns to accommodate building-booms. The cemeteries described by earlier travellers have lost their classical columns, architraves and the rest – and only the recent discoveries (such as the spectacular Sidon vessels) have reached the museums. We are left today with the impressive tomb terraces of Hierapolis, Assos or Elaiussa – but they are filled with sarcophagi in unattractive stones, not marble.

- i Azaïs & Domergue_1858_20
- ii Saint-Martin_1852_II_338
- iii Fellows_1839_281
- iv Benoît_1850_622
- v Bent_1885_147
- vi Flaemig_2007_cat 9
- vii Hamilton_1838_154
- viii Corò_1928
- ix Michaud & Poujoulat_1834_III_388
- x Rayet & Thomas_1877_I_50-1
- xi Godard-Faultrier_1858_80-81
- xii Rolleston_1856_105
- xiii Clarke_1818_VI_199
- xiv Newton_1865_I_287
- xv Tissot_1888_267-268
- xvi Le Camus_1889_I_339
- xvii Langlois_1861_204
- xviii De Forest_1856_278
- xix Irby_1823_493-4
- xx Leake_1824_40
- xxi Rott_1908_191
- xxii Wilde_1840_II_60
- xxiii Guérin_1875_II_160
- xxiv Baratta_1831_101-102
- xxv Fellows_1852_193-4
- xxvi Ainsworth_1839_240
- xxvii Dodwell_1819_I_305-6
- xxviii Hammer_1820_308
- xxix Omont_1902_I_310
- xxx Burckhardt_1831_108
- xxxi Corancez_1810_19-20
- xxxii Mirza Abu Taleb_Khan_1810_II_333-6
- xxxiii Browne_1799_389
- xxxiv Wellsted_1840_I_377
- xxxv Ibn Battuta_1874_I_263
- xxxvi Ali Bey_1814_III_33
- xxxvii Ali Bey_1814_III_35
- xxxviii Caetani_1914_324-325
- xxxix Wellsted_1840_I_378
- xl Burckhardt_1831_109
- xli Ibn Khallikan_1843_I_520
- xlii Ibn Khallikan_1843_II_114
- xliii Leo Africanus_1897_II_172
- xliv Browne_1799_356
- xlvi Perrier_1842_143-144
- xlvi Guérin_1880_I_503-504
- xlvi Ali Bey_1814_III_71
- xlvi Pardoe_1837_II_54-5
- xlvi Walpole_1817_104
- li Keppel_1831_II_380
- li Meyer_1907_154
- lii Souciet_1755_282
- liii De la Motraye_1727_I_394
- liv Wilson_1805_218
- lv Leake_1835_IV_365-6
- lvi Ainsworth_1839_220
- lvii Clarke_1816_II_102-3
- lviii Barth_1896_I_80-81
- lix Barth_1896_I_107
- lx Leake_1835_III_85-7
- lxi Ramsay_1897_11
- lxii De Staebler_2008_288
- lxiii Neroutsos-Bey_1875_46
- lxiv Gsell_1912_Pl_12
- lxv Jomard_1818_II_5
- lxvi Hornby_1858_II_182
- lxvii Du-Bois-Aymé & Jollois_1826_203
- lxviii Anon_1586_197
- lxix Gregory_1859_II_94
- lxx Wilkinson_1843_I_235-6
- lxxi Naville_1894_12
- lxxii Naville_1894_33
- lxxiii Ritter_1866_II_307
- lxxiv Lindsay_1838_II_97
- lxxv Bent_1890_454
- lxxvi Bent_1890_445
- lxxvii Hamilton_1856_71
- lxxviii Graham_1858_241
- lxxix Tozer_1890_292-3
- lxxx Cagnat & Saladin_1894_110
- lxxxi Fellows_1839_21
- lxxxii Mas'udi_1863_I_259
- lxxxiii Affagart_1902_53-4
- lxxxiv Clarke_1817_V_336
- lxxxv Davis_1862_144
- lxxxvi Arundell_1834_I_88
- lxxxvii Lucas_1704_244-6
- lxxxviii Anon_1785_179-80
- lxxxix Shaw_1743_II_3
- xc Taitbout de Marigny_1837_126
- xc i Durbin_1845_II_46-7
- xcii Olin_1860_II_418-20
- xciii Hamilton_1842_I_98-9
- xciv Merrill_1881_154-5
- xcv Dubois de Montpéroux_1843_V_232b
- xcvi Walpole_1817_130
- xcvii Hamilton_1856_36
- xcviii Burckhardt_1822_252
- xcix Robinson_1837_248
- c Belon_1588_127
- ci Bustron_1886_20
- cii Irby_1823_515-16
- ciii Mariti_1791_I_80-81b
- civ Mariti_1791_I_80-81
- cv Mac Farlane_1850_I_199-201
- cvi Pashley_1837_I_275-6
- cvi Stanhope_1846_II_345
- cvi Lechevallier_1802_I_241
- cix Schlumberger_1890_14
- cx Livre des perles enfouies_1907_II_154
- cxi Pashley_1837_275-276
- cxii Mas Latrie_1861_I_100-101
- cxiii Gsell_1893_33
- cxiv Barth_1896_I_55
- cxv Sandys_1673_79
- cxvi Caetani_1914_V_1266
- cxvii Von Loehner_1878_3
- cxviii Mac Farlane_1850_I_161
- cxix Urquhart_1838_II_103
- cxix Salvator_1881_36-7
- cxix Anonymous (Crimea)_1824_18
- cxix Dubois de Montpéroux_1843_V_67
- cxix Pardoe_1837_II_53
- cxix Pouqueville_1826_V_406
- cxix Clarke_1816_II_159
- cxix Clarke_1818_VI_199
- cxix Carne_1826_138-9
- cxix Wilson_1805_143
- cxix Lottin de Laval_1855_9_291
- cxix Campbell_1842_192-3
- cxix Lawrence_1854_157
- cxix Hommaire De Hell_1847_399-400
- cxix Hommaire De Hell_1847_401
- cxix Newton_1865_I_338

CHAPTER SIX

PALACES AND VILLAS

Palace survivals are rare from the Roman and mediaeval Western worlds, and there is no explicit evidence in the Western or Eastern Mediterranean that ancient palaces were identified as such and specifically imitated. Nevertheless, mediaeval and later palaces in our Crescent are frequently built with antiquities, with marble being especially prized. Similarly there are villas in the Islamic world, which bear a relationship to ancient villas as tenuous as do Islamic baths with their ancient models. The collapse of irrigation systems, already discussed, ensured the survival of some mediaeval extramural palaces and villas, to be described by travellers in recent centuries.

Ancient and Mediaeval Palaces

In general, we may be sure that at least some rulers in our Crescent knew contemporary and ancient monuments, because they specifically visited them,ⁱ while it is known that in the 11th century an Andalucian wrote an account of antiquities.ⁱⁱ We should be aware that not all palaces were rich in marble, like the Palatine, and that the term commonly indicates the status of the resident, rather than that of the architecture. Fragments of some antique villas and their appurtenances survived, of course, and some of their elements were mentioned by travellers.ⁱⁱⁱ Many large ones, for example, were to be seen in the region of Sétif in the 1870s.^{iv} Others existed in semi-myth, such as the Ghumdan Palace in Yemen, rich in marble^v and, in one version, destroyed because it was thought to outshine Mecca.^{vi} Other mythical palaces were also popular in story, and perhaps inspired by admired antiquities.¹

Except in literature, we are not at all informed about what the mediaeval centuries knew about ancient palaces, and indeed most mediaeval palaces have disappeared without even a description, or just a brief mention;^{vii} but it is clear that the most elaborate re-used marble from

¹ Dakhli 1998, for the City of Brass. 20: one description includes “de hautes figures d'airain...de grands cavaliers taillés dans le marbre.” Emphasis of most descriptions is ruins. 32: another account describes a marble dome.

ancient sites in their construction. In many cases, we do not know their construction materials, only that they were rich, as at Tlemcen,^{viii} falling down by the 19th century^{ix} – as rich as the mosques;^x but unfortunately, the French invasion of 1798 caused enormous damage there.^{xi} At least some Western palatial constructions in our Crescent were of marble, as for example the palace at Famagusta,^{xii} for which it is a fair bet that the marbles (precious, because there are no marble quarries on Cyprus) came from nearby Salamis.^{xiii} The other palace built by Westerners was that at Beirut described by Leopold of Suchem, which might have re-used an antique mosaic floor, or been inspired by such a source.²

Islamic Palaces

Inherited Antiquities

Because of chroniclers and (in a few cases) excavation, more is known about early Islamic than about mediaeval Christian palaces, although some work has been done on the latter.³ Palaces are a prominent feature of all the centuries of Islam. They were frequently built with ancient remains, and of course dependent upon the material richness of the inherited antique context.⁴ Palaces, writes Ibn Khaldun, are spin-offs from the acquisition of power,^{xiv} and they are characteristically built with architectural care, and have running water.^{xv} A mixture of old and new techniques was used for construction, just as for mosques⁵ – as for example the palace at Constantinople, which so impressed Maurand in 1554.^{xvi} Occasionally they were constructed with freshly-quarried stone which could be polished.^{xvii} Dismantling has destroyed much, as at Quseir ‘Amra,^{xviii} perhaps more intact when Musil saw the complex,^{xix} leaving only fixing-holes for the marble veneer.^{xx} For Islamic palaces were frequently embellished with marble taken from antiquities,⁶ sometimes in a haphazard manner as in Morocco,^{xxi} or at Beteddin near Beirut.^{xxii} In Tunisia, one palace sat

² Barry 2007.

³ Brenk 2003, 129–137 Zur Christianisierung der Herrscher-Residenz.

⁴ Panzram 2002, 107–120 for late antique Tarragona (and its re-use of earlier materials); 208–219 for late antique Córdoba (and its re-use of earlier materials); 300–308 for ditto Mérida (an account which could be much longer).

⁵ Sezgin 2003, V, 63–90 for the technology of Islamic architecture, with reconstructions. Korn 2004, 75–79 for Ayyubid palaces.

⁶ Greenhalgh 2009, for details.

over a Roman bath and its water-supply,^{xxiii} and Tunisian houses took inspiration from the ruins to be seen in the mediaeval landscape.⁷

Sometimes it is not clear what date to give to a “palace,” for example that found within the fortress at Nicopolis, the marble veneer stripped from its walls,^{xxiv} or the one at Erzerum that Gassot says was built with marble from a plundered church.^{xxv} Thus also the palace in Gaza, were described by Laorty-Hadji in 1854 as venerable – but now falling down.^{xxvi} Such neglect amid proof of high architectural skill puzzled some travellers.^{xxvii}

While it is conceivable that some mediaeval palaces derived inspiration from surviving ruins of older structures, it is certain that many of the latter were stripped to provide luxurious decoration for newer structures. In several of the examples given above, local antiquities were conveniently used. But in others, especially later palaces, the materials were imported from a distance. It was smart for the ancient Romans to import foreign marbles, and it seems that some later palace-builders sought sophistication in the same way – but presumably without knowing they were following a long tradition.

Travellers were well aware of the ruins of palaces and villas (as for example near Constantine),^{xxviii} and surely the locals were as well. Occasionally, palaces could be built directly on top of ancient remains, no doubt gaining prestige therefrom. At Mérida, for example, part of the antique Temple of Diana formed the palace,⁸ and other high-quality antiquities went into noble houses.^{xxix} And in Algeria, Bougie was well-known in the 19th century for its illustrious Moslem palaces built on top of a Roman town, such as the Palais de la Perle,^{xxx} and there were luxurious villas outside the mediaeval town. Ibn Khaldun must have seen them during his times there.^{xxxi} As already mentioned, some of the materials from the mediaeval town came from the Qal’a. But unfortunately the French, occasionally sensitive to antiquities in Algeria, missed the opportunity to investigate ruins outside the town of these palaces or villas^{xxxii} – and little was recorded of the citadel either.^{xxxiii} Instead, the French took the opportunity to consolidate their defences at Bougie, by razing large sections of the town, presumably

⁷ Revault 1978, for Tunisian houses: 25–43 for development of techniques. 47–76 construction of various house elements. 79–230 *La pierre et le marbre*. 231–283 for decoration in stone and marble.

⁸ Alba Calzado, Miguel, “Arquitectura palacial emiral en el enclave del Templo de Diana,” in Calzado et al., 2004, 55–72, including 64–68 an account of the various occupations of the building.

including evidence of her noble houses.^{xxxiv} And at Oran, the mosques spared by earthquake were converted to French military use.^{xxxv} In the Hauran, palaces near habitation were always vulnerable,^{xxxvi} but in cities like Damascus could tap local antiquities for their decoration⁹ – and produce a splendid effect, as Ibn Khallikan notes.^{xxxvii} Ibn Battuta claims the Umayyad Mosque had six multi-coloured marble columns, with mihrabs picked out in the marble,^{xxxviii} which makes one wonder whether palace decoration might have been an inspiration.

As for later palaces, many constructions also used antique materials, hence material from Leptis Magna to Tripoli,^{xxxix} which presumably ornamented the pasha's palace there.^{xl} The majority have now disappeared in their turn, having been re-stripped for re-re-use elsewhere. Thus it is suggested that the late antique Cercadilla Palace in Córdoba served mediaeval palace-building there.¹⁰ Such re-stripping also occurred at the late 15th-century complex at Sidon, in ruins and again stripped of its marbles within 150 years,^{xli} just as most of the town itself was already ruined by 1422.^{xlii} Most mediaeval palaces were probably cleared out much earlier – such as the 1148 dismantling of the palace at the Qal'a in Algeria, and the carting of its materials to Bougie, leaving little luxurious for the excavator to find there.^{xliii} But chroniclers sometimes mention what has gone,^{xliv} as do travellers. Thus Henri Guys finds granite shafts at Anjar (which he maintains was still called Aandjar le Français), and notes a mosque not far away built over an antique temple.^{xlv} This was Madjel Anjar, one kilometre from the Islamic town: Burckhardt looked there, and found marble shafts.^{xlvi} At Constantine, Salah Bey's marble-rich palace (ruled 1770–1782) lay in ruins within half a century, its materials re-used in the palace to be occupied by the French Governor.^{xlvii} In Morocco Moulay Ahmed built El-Bedi from the 1570s, getting workmen from several countries (as early Moslem rulers had done) and the marble from Carrara.^{xlviii} Was this because local supplies of antiquities had run out, or because the ruler was being sophisticated? Perhaps the latter for, at Meknès, a mix of re-used antiquities and new imports was employed.¹¹ For Denon in Egypt in 1803, it was in part because

⁹ Saliby 1997, 191–194: for a palace built end-5thC early 6thC, mosaic floors, walls with re-used blocks perhaps from Temple of Jupiter; shows signs of restoration during Umayyad period; author remarks that the Caliph's palace probably not far from this site.

¹⁰ Kulikowski 2004, 119 Cercadilla Palace in Córdoba difficult to reconstruct because of “centuries of use as a quarry, not least for the great caliphal palace at Medinat al-Zahra” (how does he know?).

¹¹ Barrucand, 1976, 149–160 for bases, shafts and capitals in re-use at Meknès. 161–163 for columns and capitals in local limestone. 160–161 monolithic triple colonettes author reckons are imports from Italy, from 16th-century workshops catering for Barbary – notes similar in Mosque of Qsar el-Mhannsha at Marrakech, and in Tomb of Sidi 'Abd er-Rahman at Algiers. Fig 10, 17, 18 for antique base and capital in Bab Mensur el-'Elj.

the Turks did not bother to clear the material from their ruinous mosques.^{xlix} In 17th-18th-century Tunisia, it was because Carrara provided marble more cheaply than could be supplied locally.^{l2} Greece also imported marble in the 19th century,^l though perhaps for snobbery.

Decoration

The many cases of loss are unfortunate (as at Cairo) because of their narrated magnificence – this the case even with smaller structures such as the one described in the 1690s by Le Mascrier, with its displayed antiquities.^{li} Syrian workers, famed for their skill, even went as far as Samarkand to erect a palace for Timur/Tamerlane.^{lii} At Baalbek, the Islamic fortress and the palace it contained – Arvieux calls it a *château*^{liii} and it was “quasi entier” in Belon’s day^{liv} – were made at the expense of the temple complex. There was another “episcopal” palace at Baalbek, for the priest who looked after the fifteen Christian families – and this, too, was decorated with antiquities from the temple complex.^{lv}

Whether commentators such as Ibn Haukal^{lvi} realised what lay underneath the Islamic palace cannot be determined and, unfortunately, full details are lacking, because various elements were dismantled before the mid-19th century.^{lvii} De Saulcy, for example, usually so meticulous in his descriptions, says little about it.^{lviii} What is more, the loss of palace structures means we know little about any relationship with an adjacent mosque, as at Jerusalem, or at Damascus, where it seems that the palace was as splendid and marble-rich as the adjacent Umayyad Mosque. An old chronicler who visited Damascus in the train of the Caliph Mutasim, describes an Umayyad palace as rich in marble, water and plants,^{lix} and similarly lavish structures were to be seen near Tunis.^{lx} In Mas’udi’s telling, Damascus was the ancient city of Irem, and rich in columns collected together there.^{lxi} Other cities built on or near antique remains could also erect splendid houses, if not quite palaces, such as the galleried ones at Gallipoli.^{lxii} As for Amman, Robinson in the early 1830s described the citadel itself (without further detail) as largely intact.^{lxiii} Conder in 1885 describes its mosque as “fine,”^{lxiv} while in 1901 Cuinet describes the palace at Amman (presumably the one in the citadel?) as nearly intact,^{lxv} – so perhaps it was the new population in the 20th century that helped largely dismantle the complex.

^{l2} Revault 1978, 83–85 for local Tunisian marbles priced out by Carrara imports.

*Buildings Fall Down, Decorations Are Re-used**Descent into Ruin*

Travellers were alert to crumbling palaces, because they were so different from the setup at home. In Morocco, for example, an 18th-century traveller expressed surprise that a ruler should simply let his splendid constructions fall down.^{lxvi} Not that such a “destruction cycle” necessarily harmed antiquities, for it meant that they were often re-used in palace after palace (a feature to which Ibn Khaldun alludes) with the same repetition as we found them moving from temple to church to mosque. Examples of such “jumping” include the fortress-palace of er-Rhoda in Cairo,^{lxvii} or the temple to church to mosque re-uses of antiquities at Nablus.^{lxviii}

The same swift dismantling and decay visited many of the structures built by that greatest of monomaniacal builders, Al-Nasir Muhammad in Cairo¹³ – but we should also register a latish preference for replacing buildings rather than restoring them.¹⁴ Going back to the Middle Ages, we should not of course forget that non-moveable decoration is not a feature of the mediaeval West either – so much so that Casola in 1494 found the Dogal Palace in Venice unusual for this very reason.^{lxix}

Crumbling palaces degraded further when tourists took souvenirs. In the 1880s, for example, tourists were allowed to take tiles from the Seljuk fortress-cum-palace at Konya,^{lxx} which had been in ruins for at least a century.^{lxxi} Gertrude Bell part-excused her doing this as a tit-for-tat for Moslem re-use of Christian antiquities.^{lxxii} The city’s walls were crumbling by the beginning of the 19th century,^{lxxiii} but Sarre could still admire their magnificent ruins at the century’s end^{lxxiv} – with a lonely lion surviving to 1908.^{lxxv} As an ironical measure of the pilfering which affected Konya this city, shining with Islamic religious monuments, is one where the splendid tiles in the museum today come largely from palaces well outside the

¹³ Levanoni 1995, 156 of his monumental constructions in Cairo: “A large part of these huge expenditures was a pure waste of treasury funds – the replacement of existing buildings with new ones served little purpose other than satisfying al-Nasir’s vanity, while there was no further benefit to the state for already soon after al-Nasir’s death some of them fell into disrepair, thus pouring good money after bad only a short time after their construction.”

¹⁴ Pascual 1983, 16, Table I for Principales constructions, reconstructions ou restaurations au XVI^e siècle, shows few restaurations, so “apparemment l’intention manifeste des dignitaires ottomans est, plutôt que de restaurer des bâtiments existants, de leur substituer de nouveaux édifices,” which are mostly religious.

city itself, and whence many of the antiquities have disappeared, although reworked Seljuk pieces are still to be seen in her museums.

One feature of the Islamic world which is strange to Westerners of later centuries is the practice of destroying the structures of one's predecessors. In some cases this was done by letting them fall to ruin,¹⁵ in others by selling off the materials for one reason or another.^{lxxvi} They could also be converted to an inappropriate use, such as barracks near Beirut.^{lxxvii} Ironically, it was the need for materials for a barracks that moved the earth at Kharbet ed-Douarah in 1874, allowing Guérin to examine the antiquities before some of them were carted off.^{lxxviii} Other dismantling occurred at Baalbek,^{lxxix} Antioch^{lxxx} and Nablus,^{lxxxi} perhaps carting off the materials for re-use elsewhere. Such a redistribution of materials happened at, for example, Adrianople,^{lxxxii} Kairouan,^{lxxxiii} Cairo¹⁶ and Constantinople.^{lxxxiv} Emir Fakhreddin's palace at Beirut, built in the early 17th century, was falling down when Lucas saw it in the early 18th century, its materials presumably taken from the plentiful antiquities which he also mentions.^{lxxxv} Even well-used structures, such as the porticoes at Bethesda, were neglected.^{lxxxvi}

Movable Fixtures, Dispensable Buildings

Both destruction and selling-off chime in with another decidedly non-Western usage, namely that it is the fixtures and fittings of such palaces that are movable, and the actual structure dispensable. Hence a tendency to find antiquities re-used not once but several times, for which some columns at Alexandria, a city where Jouvin saw houses erected directly on top of ancient "palaces,"^{lxxxvii} might hold the record.^{lxxxviii} A description of the 19th-century rebirth of such structures in Alexandria survives.^{lxxxix} Hence also a tendency for structures, their fitting ripped out, to be left simply to decay. This is in no sense different from the fate of Roman villas in, for example, North Africa. Their structure often lasted for centuries because they were well-built, but the fittings would sometimes be stripped. Others were converted to a new use, as happened to Deir el Kammar, near Beirut, which became a military hospital in the 1840s.^{xc} Yet other villas survived only as agricultural units with mosaics and baths destroyed, as

¹⁵ Cf. Greenhalgh 2009, for details.

¹⁶ Bloom 2007, 59–65 for Al Azhar, and 65–69 for the palace.

at Hyparria – an example of “productive re-use.”¹⁷ Another type of re-use was the implantation of tombs in abandoned urban areas.¹⁸

Because of the practices outlined above, some of the most sumptuous palaces of the Middle East boasted a variety of sources for their ornament, the acquisition of much of which entailed destroying previous structures.^{xcⁱ} Of course, many of these plundered structures were in ruins, and an energetic driving-force was required for such exertions, such as ‘Adud al-Daulah in Baghdad at the end of the 10th century.^{xcⁱⁱ} Nor is the practice of deferred maintenance (as it has been called) restricted to mediaeval centuries, for the self-congratulatory inscriptions in 17th- and 18th-century palaces^{xcⁱⁱⁱ} and mosques^{xc^{iv}} of Algiers refer to their beauty, which is presumably that of marble. Then again, travellers report the practice in the 18th and 19th centuries, with the inevitable impact of the further dispersal and ultimate loss of any antiquities such palaces contained, as in the palace rebuilt by Ahmed Bey (ruled 1842–1849) at Mohammedia. This was already in ruins in the 17th century,^{xc^v} and still being quarried for materials two hundred years later,^{xc^{vi}} a plundering for which Gregory provides the commentary in 1859.^{xc^{vii}} Certainly, this appears to have been a fine place in 1667 when visited by Giovanni Pagni, who admired a deep well, and the ruins of an “antico tempio,” describing its columns and various marbles, and copying inscriptions he found scattered nearby.¹⁹ MacGill, writing in 1815, is led by the poor quality of Tunisian palaces to make a mournful and incorrect statement about Carthage itself;^{xc^{viii}} suggesting from their appearance that Carthage now lacked quality materials. But of course it was not only palaces that were decorated with antiquities – witness the remains from Carthage to be seen all over the houses of Tunis itself,^{xc^{ix}} and consequently any “concentration of quality” frittered away.

The Citadel at Cairo: Joseph's Hall

One of the greatest of Islamic palaces – probably run close by some in the city below²⁰ – was that in the Citadel at Cairo, in a setting of great luxury.^c Of course, Saladin's palace rivalled if it did not imitate the older palaces down in the city itself; but demolition and reconstruction in the 1880s obliterated any solid opportunity to investigate thoroughly the between-the-palace area.^{ci} Luckily, some descriptions of their splendours

¹⁷ Chavarría Arnau 2004, 76–81.

¹⁸ Leone 2007, 198–208 for tombs in urban areas in Byzantine North Africa.

¹⁹ Ada Gunnella 2000, 413.

²⁰ Pauty 1932, 37–48 for Les palais et les maisons sous les princes Ayyoubides et les sultans mamelouks baharites – including the Diwan in the Citadel.

survive.^{cii} Boulaq also sported some luxurious marble-rich palaces, as we learn from travellers' accounts^{ciii} – but these later city palaces did not rival the mosques for marble “magnificancy,” as Sandys relates.^{civ}

Joseph's Hall was a series of rooms, but most details of them are lost to us,^{cv} because Westerners sometimes seem in earlier years to have found entry difficult.^{cvi} Apparently still in use at the end of the 17th century,^{cvi} several sections were still functioning in the mid-18th century,^{cvi} including a diwan, and its columns still drew admiration in 1800.^{cix} Webster thought the shafts were about thirty feet tall,^{cx} but others thought them half as tall again.^{cx}

In 1650 the diwan still had its immense monolithic columns intact, but its walls and domes were damaged.^{cxii} Nevertheless the structure described by Deschamps in 1678 (apparently believing it to be Pharaonic) is still imposing.^{cxiii} There were inscriptions as a wooden frieze (some said by le Mascrier to be the height of a man)^{cxiv} above the columns, and these also were inscribed,^{cxv} but with its wall decorations gone by the later 18th century.^{cxvi} Lucas in 1704 implies that all the decorations had gone,^{cxvii} but Hasselquist, in 1749/52, describes sufficient to make its surviving magnificence clear.^{cxviii}

Was the Hall of Joseph intended to look antique? Many Westerners (such as Irwin^{cxix}) understood the wrong Joseph, namely the Biblical one – another example, perhaps, of the tendency to connect famous people with great monuments across the centuries – although the term “Joseph” may well have been used for anything that looked old, as Sicard suggests.^{cxx} (The Biblical Joseph, according to Maqdisi, was interred in nothing less than a marble sarcophagus.)^{cxxi} The complex was supposedly first built by Saladin, who might conceivably have wished to conjure up the impression of illustrious antiquity by re-using old shafts. If so (and in spite of the Pharaonic piece built into the Citadel)^{cxii} he certainly fooled those who considered the structure Pharaonic^{cxiii} – although in a double confusion the appellation “Joseph's Hall” referred to his own name, rather than to anyone biblical. Lucas in 1724, noting many Pharaonic blocks there, seems to have swallowed the story whole.^{cxiv} Della Valle had already noted the ubiquity of “Joseph” as an appellation in 1616, and greatly admired the Hall.^{cxv}

This connection with “Joseph” was presumably made clear in the inscriptions cut into each column, reported by Thompson in 1767,^{cxvi} but for which apparently no full transcription survives. If we are to believe Witmann, panels with the names of ancient kings of Egypt decorated the walls.^{cxvii} He writes that these panels were six feet high, to match what he measures as the column shafts' forty-five feet.^{cxviii} (Has he got the correct room? It apparently had a triumphalist inscription as a frieze,^{cxix} so

were Witmann's panels underneath?) In 1707 the Diwan was still standing, if we believe a Russian report.^{cxxx} But two decades later, only with two walls were intact (although perhaps a different diwan was to be understood^{cxxxi} – perhaps the room with twelve great columns mentioned by Jouvin in 1676).^{cxxxii} By the late 1730s, the dome had collapsed,^{cxxxiii} and parts of the walls had gone by 1786.^{cxxxiv} This sketch-description makes one think that some travellers, such as Brocchi, were describing something else when they believed that were writing about the Diwan^{cxxxv} – a term similar to “palace,” encompassing function and not strictly architecture.

As late as 1819, Fitzclarence hoped that the Hall could be cleared of its artillery, and saved.^{cxxxvi} Apparently it was already part-granary,^{cxxxvii} and the “habitation of desolation,” as Richardson reports in 1822.^{cxxxviii} But the diwan had also been used for storing gunpowder since before 1830,^{cxxxix} was damaged by the explosion of this magazine at some time in the 1830s,^{cxli} and was demolished by Mohammed Ali to make way for his monstrous mosque,²¹ which one traveller reckons took shafts from Joseph's Hall.^{cxlii} Why he did not re-use some shafts for his large and much-columned palace nearby, is a mystery.^{cxliii} This move was interpreted by some as an attempt to curry favour with the pious,^{cxliiii} and by others as simply bad taste.^{cxliv} Column fragments lay all around in the 1840s,^{cxlv} with apparently only one shaft left standing^{cxlvi} (but see the reports below). The thirst for grandeur and antiquities did not stop in the Citadel, however, but percolated into several of the palaces down in the city, which housed conspicuous remains in the later 17th century.^{cxlvii}

The diwan's story is one of neglect but, luckily, several descriptions of the monument survive. The majority are by Westerners who unfortunately saw it long after its heyday, when it had become a lonely but still-imposing ruin. It boasted mosaic decorations, including glass mosaics with the colour sandwiched therein^{cxlviii} (and with iconographic links to the Umayyad Mosque at Damascus)^{cxlix} and marble veneers. It featured mother-of-pearl, ebony and crystal,^{cli} and gleamed with colour.^{cli} The veneers of the adjacent mosque went to Constantinople, and the gaps are still visible: is this what happened to the marble panels of the diwan?

An adjacent council-room was also impressive.^{clii} Domenico Trevisan saw the Diwan in 1512, judged it better than the Palazzo Ducale at Venice, and particularly noticed its elaborate marble floor.^{cliii} It also incorporated hieroglyph-covered granite blocks,^{cliv} perhaps from Heliopolis^{clv} or

²¹ Greenhalgh 2009.

Memphis. The fullest description is by Le Mascrier, relaying that of the French Consul in Cairo, de Maillet, in the Levant in 1692–8.^{clvi}

In spite of such degradation, some of the decoration of what we may continue to call (for clarity's sake) Saladin's Diwan survived into the 19th century, as Russell notes in 1831.^{clvii} The shafts and ceilings were still in place, although ruinous, in 1829,^{clviii} most of the structure had gone by 1843,^{clix} and only "six or eight" great shafts were standing or supine in 1871.^{clx} Rochfort Scott saw some shafts being chopped up in 1838, perhaps for the new mosque;^{clxi} but if so, where are they?

It is surely ironic that it was Mehmet Ali, whose intentions were indeed to modernise Egypt and introduce Western ideas of industry and commerce, should have overseen (literally) its destruction while protesting just how much he was doing to protect the monuments.^{clxii} In mitigation, however, he did try to promote a little industry by opening up alabaster quarries, even if the material was often flawed.^{clxiii} Lower members of the Egyptian hierarchy did likewise with Egyptian antiquities.^{clxiv} Egyptian industrialisation – and palace, farm and house-building – provide a mournful list of destruction.^{clxv}

An alternative building-history for the Diwan is provided by Al-Maqrizi, namely that the famous hall was really built by Qalawun, and restored by his son. Given Qalawun's flaunting of four extremely large columns in his Funerary Complex, the fame of which reached Constantinople^{clxvi} (not to mention his enthusiastic marble-rich works in Palestine,^{clxvii} followed as usual by his son),^{clxviii} this makes good sense. So also does the explanation Al-Maqrizi provides (and he was after all a native Cairene, d.1442, and alive within only a few generations of Qalawun, d.1290) for the source of the materials.^{clxix} Such a prolific builder was naturally emulated by his lieutenants, who were also a notable drain on luxurious marbles in the palaces they built for themselves.^{clxx}

Constantinople

In Constantinople, which perhaps exported some of its palace styles as well as its marble materials to Venice,²² palace buildings as well as mosques were constructed by the Ottomans. These included the main

²² Kramer 2006, 82–86 for Kämpferkapitelle now at Palazzo Barzizza (3, plus another 3 mediaeval imitations) and Palazzo Vitturi (2): were these perhaps surplus to requirements on S. Marco??

palace, where Dallam was so impressed by the mirror-like marble and porphyry^{clxxi} – for centuries^{clxxii} an admired attribute of some churches, as well, such as Bethlehem,^{clxxiii} or Hagia Sophia.^{clxxiv} Some palaces – such as the remains across the water at Scutari^{clxxv} – we know little about. When part of the Seraglio was rebuilt after a fire in 1668, a start made in wood was soon converted into something much more sumptuous, and fit to rival the mythical palaces of old.^{clxxvi}

Kiosks

Of the subsidiary buildings, one of the most intriguing was a kiosk on the Asian shore at Ingirkoey, supposedly built by Soleiman the Magnificent. Galland went there with his ambassador in 1672–3, and they were fascinated not only by the tiles, but also by the various columns supporting the structure in the water.^{clxxvii} On a second visit, they found there Cornelio Magno, from Parma; and Galland takes the opportunity to give a fuller description of the antiquities: “Je ne pense pas que, dans tous les environs de Constantinople, il y ait un monument plus digne de la curiosité des voyageurs que celui-là. Cependant, je doute fort si personne l’a remarqué devant nous, Petrus Gillius n’en dit mot.”^{clxxviii} From a further description, one of the shafts appears to have been vine-rich, perhaps similar to those now in St. Peter’s, although not barley-sugar.^{clxxix} But whatever the source of the antiquities, Christian or pagan, if the structure was indeed built by Soleiman, they were relegated to a decidedly supporting role, since the actual superstructure displayed tiles inside and out – not antiquities in any form. What happened to this structure, and when? There seem to have been other such kiosks, also built with antiquities.^{clxxx} They also existed on the shores of Lake Tiberias, described by Nassiri-Khosrau,^{clxxxi} some of them perhaps already in a church there.^{clxxxii} Cairo also had several, which disappeared in 1870 when Ezbekiya Lake was filled in to make the present park.^{clxxxiii} So were such kiosks a metropolitan fashion taken up in the provinces?

Perhaps such palace-building declined in quality over time due to a dearth of suitable materials: much earlier structures, such as Madinat al-Zahra or its imitator al-Mansuriyya,²³ were of high quality. The antiquities of the Great Palace at Constantinople (including self-filling marble

²³ Bloom 2007, 40–42 for Al-Mansuriyya in the Mediterranean context: points out that Abd al-Rahman III began building Madinat al-Zahra in 936, exactly a decade before al-Mansuriyya.

vases)^{clxxxiv} were badly treated even in the nascent age of museums, with a porphyry altar in use as a sun-dial in the 1830s,^{clxxxv} and large quantities of relicts down by the sea below the Seraglio. Three porphyry sarcophagi were seen in a side-court of the Seraglio in 1854:^{clxxxvi} were they going to be re-used in seraglio building-work? Such antiquities were still being destroyed as late as 1886.^{clxxxvii} The seraglio itself was rich in imported marbles,^{clxxxviii} and once adorned with walks and a porphyry-column kiosk^{clxxxix} – similar, perhaps, to what Madinat had boasted centuries earlier.^{cxc} But then, large parts of that Palace were apparently in ruins in 1573,^{cxci} although Clavijo perhaps saw some of its imposing columns in the early 15th century.^{cxcii}

Eighteenth–Nineteenth-century Palaces and the Depletion of Antiquities

Antiquities Still Feed New Constructions

The 18th and 19th centuries saw the construction of many palaces and villas in the Moslem world. European travellers often had diplomatic relations with Moslem countries and, in any case, palace-visiting was a standard pastime in both East and West, the more so since foreigners often had to visit local rulers through courtesy or necessity. So the more travellers, the more descriptions of palaces, such as Poujoulat's of Bechir II's palace in Lebanon.^{cxci} And, since marble was de rigueur for their construction and particularly ornament, there were three possibilities for acquiring the material. One was quarrying, which happened in Morocco if not elsewhere. Another was to seek materials amongst the ancient ruins – so that palaces on or near ancient sites could be richly appointed. But the third was that the material was sometimes ordered from Italy, as happened for a suburban palace at Cairo.

The palace of the Emir Baschir, at Beteddin, appears to have used both imported marble, and blocks scavenged from the ruins of Beirut,^{cxci} if we are to believe the detailed account given by Brocchi.^{cxcv} Aleppo was importing marble in the 18th century, but perhaps only to complement the superfine aesthetics of her architecture.^{cxcvi} And marble was still being imported from Europe to our Crescent at the end of the 19th century, although not in very large quantities.^{cxcvii} But while some Islamic palaces were no longer using antique materials, in the West, the Palace of Caserta, building 1752ff, was supplied from convenient local antiquities.^{cxcviii} Such quarry-imports were probably never common in our Crescent. Indeed, palaces were sometimes built

actually within the ancient ruins, as at Corinth, provided with gardens and fountains;^{ccix} at Castel Peregrino, near Caesarea;^{cc} or on Djerba, where the search for building materials also uncovered colossal statues.^{cci} At Damascus, the white marble came from Italy, the remainder from quarries no more distant than Aleppo.^{ccii} At Prevesa, in 1816, it is reported that the veneer in the fortress had been stripped,^{cciii} perhaps for the local palace; while the aga at Stratonicea built himself a typical wooden house in the middle of the marble ruins, albeit with a reversed capital for a fountain-basin in the courtyard.^{cciv} This may not have been too unusual: De La Motraye was assured in 1697 that God was immortal, so his house was solidly built – whereas men were mortal, hence their houses were of wood.^{ccv} However, in places such as Tokat, this disparity certainly gave travellers pause.^{ccvi} In Illyria in 1835, Leake records cartloads of materials taken from ancient sites, leaving little standing.^{ccvii} On Cyprus, carting away wooden beams from old buildings was apparently allowed – but to move stone blocks was strictly forbidden.^{ccviii} Perhaps this was why modern buildings were frequently made with wooden columns, and antique capitals re-used to share the load of the roof.^{ccix} At Beiteddin, we may assume the marble came from the ruins of nearby Beirut – but the place was stripped in 1860, and its marbles broken^{ccx} – just as were those of Christian houses in Damascus.^{ccxi}

Local Antiquities, Local Palaces

Naturally, local antiquities were frequently re-used for local palaces. This was the case at Metellin. Here, during the course of the excavations in the early 1830s, interesting remains were uncovered; but these left the local official unmoved: they were nothing more than building material.^{ccxii} At Pahalagoria also, antiquities found their way into the commandant's house.^{ccxiii} Such 19th-century building seems to have done much damage to the antiquities: indeed, Metellin was still rich in antiquities in the 17th century, although much damaged by earthquakes.^{ccxiv} When Galland visited in 1672–3, he encountered some held by a sea-captain (did he export them?).^{ccxv} Clavijo had been here in the early 15th century, found the remains of a “palace,” and been told the city council sat on the platform of marble blocks.^{ccxvi} At Acre Djezzar Pasha erected elegant and splendid buildings,^{ccxvii} including a sumptuous mosque,^{ccxviii} and using plenty of antiquities, in both mosque and palace, some from Acre,^{ccxix} some from Mount Carmel.^{ccxx} Unfortunately, they did not outlast him. Conder notes the profusion of antiquities re-used in Acre, including Djezzar Pash's work,^{ccxxi} and Hogg describes the palace in its ruined state.^{ccxxii} Indeed, Djezzar caused great damage to the remaining antiquities by reworking the city's walls.^{ccxxiii} At nearby Château Pélerin, Lamartine came across a complete enceinte occupied by one tribe – a kind of hand-me-down palace, with their sheik esconced in the ruins of a Roman temple.^{ccxxiv}

Luxurious houses – perhaps not quite palaces – provided plenty of building materials and, in an emergency these even found their way into fortifications, as during Napoleon's occupation of Cairo.^{ccxxv} Further north, in Russia,

Potemkin villages might have been built to impress the Queen; but Potemkin's palace, rich in colonnades and cornices (were any of them antique?) did not last two generations, as peasants took what they needed for their own constructions.^{ccxxvi} Marble from our Crescent also reached Moscow: we do not know the exact origins of the marbles in Radziwil's palace at Wilna; but we are told they were carried off to Moscow by the Emperor.^{ccxxvii}

Villas Antique and Moslem

If ancient town walls were a demonstration of protection, then the very existence of ancient villas indicated that in their areas security was assured, and that an often extravagantly opulent level of "transplanted civilization" was available. Proof of this is seen in some spectacular finds of sculpture, not frequently too mutilated.²⁴ Indeed, we might rank villas as one of the most important elements in Roman civilization, given their enormous numbers, as well as an affirmation of prosperous landscapes often remarked upon by travellers. But the problem for our theme is that, in the centuries before aerial photography, ancient villas could be recognised only if tell-tale signs survived above ground. Hence our travellers recognised and identified other types of ancient buildings – temples, colonnades, tomb monuments – much more readily than they did villas. Of course, some villas formed part of extensive agricultural properties with waterworks and irrigation – more reasons for retaining some of their prominence in the later landscape, and easily recognisable by alert travellers such as Barth.^{ccxxviii} And if least one Roman pleasure garden has been shown to have survived into Byzantine times, with its waterworks put back in order,²⁵ this is counterbalanced by the large numbers which became cemeteries, often with the admixture of Christian buildings.²⁶ Could this conversion have been influenced by the not unusual addition

²⁴ Hannestad 2001, on sculpture in late antiquity, including the survival or burial of sculpture in late antique villas – emphasises deliberate destruction is unusual, except for mutilation of faces, or of genitals if naked.

²⁵ Gentelle 2003, 86: Iraq el Amir, ou les eaux d'agrément; for an ancient Roman pleasure garden (with sculpture), also inhabited in Byzantine times, with some of the water supply put in order, 105 "mais avec de faibles moyens."

²⁶ Chavarria Arnau 2004, 81–3 for funerary re-use, and 83–85 for Christian structures. 90–97 for a list of late villas in Hispania, with a bibliography for each.

of contemporary burial in Roman villas?²⁷ However, in some areas both the quantity and quality of the evidence is very variable,²⁸ albeit with fine exceptions such as Centum Cellas.²⁹

Depending on their location ancient villas could be stripped down to their lower walls, or left virtually intact. Poiret, for example, found one in the mountains near Bône in 1789 that was intact except for its roof.^{ccxxix} What about post-antique villas in our Crescent? Generally speaking, life was too dangerous to resurrect the ancient Roman villa-and-farm system, even if the water supply could be resurrected or freshly developed. Hence what villas we found are suburban, not rural, as with Dom Philippe's outside Tunis.^{ccxxx}

Villas (usually called palaces) multiplied around prosperous cities, and Tunis had several. In one, Grosvenor when he visited in 1830 found porphyry and antique marbles affixed to the walls.^{ccxxxi} Nearby, other fragments were to be seen in plenty, washed by the encroaching sea.^{ccxxxii} Perhaps such emirs had read and digested Ibn Khaldun, who proclaimed that rulers at the height of their powers built "de vastes édifices, des bâtimens immenses, de grandes villes, des monuments énormes."^{ccxxxiii}

Cairo and Competitors

Mosque-building was lethargic in 18th and 19th-century Cairo, but she was still importing antique columns in the 18th century, so presumably these were for the decoration of palaces.^{ccxxxiv} By the early 19th century, however, just as in Morocco, new marble shafts were being imported from Carrara;^{ccxxxv} these were used to build the new palace at Shoubra,^{ccxxxvi} and also sections of Mohamed Ali's mosque in the Citadel in Cairo,^{ccxxxvii} presumably because imports were considered smart – as indeed they had been in earlier centuries – this is, after all, why marble got to Alexandria in the first place. Travellers could also compare Mamluk Cairo with modern productions, as for example Mohammed Ali's country palace at Shoubra, to the honour of the former and with disdain for the latter.^{ccxxxviii} At Athens, this was of course unnecessary, and we find the current tyrant of the early 19th century, Haliadgi Aga, building a fortified house with a thirty-foot-high staircase, all with marble from the ruins.^{ccxxxix} It seems to have been common practice for local pashas to build in marble, using antiquities rather than quarrying. This happened at Cairo,

²⁷ Hild & Hellenkemper 1990, pl.65–66 for villa at Anavarza, with a formal arrangement of sarcophagi.

²⁸ López Quiroga 2002, for Hispania.

²⁹ Nünnerich-Asmus 1993, 365–366 & pl. 151 for the tower portion of the villa at Centum Cellas, Belmonte, surviving in beautiful blocks for two storeys, plus part of an attic.

when Antinoë was plundered for Defterday Bey's palace;^{ccxi} and at Rapsista, in Thessaly,^{ccxli} and at Zeitouni in the Peloponnesus where, however, the re-used antiquities were not properly maintained.^{ccxlii} Antiquities on Thasos also appear to have been claimed for the Khedif of Egypt (whose fief it was) and then disappeared.^{ccxliii}

“Palaces” – luxurious buildings often incorporating antiquities – are common in our Crescent, and were built by bishops and merchants, by princes and pashas. Some might have been inspired by antique exemplars but, since many lasted little more than a generation, their fittings removed for re-use elsewhere, this is impossible to demonstrate. Country houses did survive from Antiquity (for example, to the west of Aleppo), and some were certainly lived in for centuries. But Roman villas are much scarcer, and limited in their coverage due to considerations of security; again, although evidence survives of the use of some examples for several centuries for habitation or for burial. On many sites roads degraded or disappeared, and water sources dried up because they were not maintained.

- i Ibn_Khaldun_1854_
 - IV_252–3
- ii Al-Makkari_1840_I_71
- iii Boschini_1658_60
- iv Féraud_1872_52
- v Caetani_1918_117
- vi Caetani_1918_311
- vii Al-Makkari_1840_I_211
- viii Al-Tenissy_1887_
 - 69–70
- ix Bargès_1841_12–13
- x Poirret_1789_XXC
- xi Blakesley_1859_188
- xii Hasselquist_1766_174
- xiii Reinach_1891_179
- xiv Ibn_Khaldun_1863_
 - I_343
- xv Ibn_Khaldun_1865_
 - II_371
- xvi Maurand_1901_191
- xvii Al_Tabari_1881_
 - III_415–16
- xviii Jaussen_&_Savignac_
 - 1922_III_81b
- xix Musil_1907_I_230
- xx Jaussen_&_Savignac_
 - 1922_III_81
- xxi Rey_1844_13
- xxii Laorty-Hadji_1854_48
- xxiii Association_
 - française_1896_I_73
- xxiv De_Vaudoncourt_
 - 1816_163–4b
- xxv Gassot_1550_20
- xxvi Laorty-Hadji_1854_
 - 427–428
- xxvii Charmes_1883_41–42
- xxviii Roscoe_1838_286
- xxix Ponz_VIII_1784_139
- xxx Beylié_1909_102
- xxxi Ibn_Khaldun_1844_46
- xxxii Carette_1848_V_20
- xxxiii Anon_1785_133
- xxxiv Féraud_1857_458
- xxxv Armand-Pignel_
 - 1836_135
- xxxvi Dussaud_1903_46
- xxxvii Ibn_Khallikan_
 - 1843_I_471
- xxxviii Ibn_Battuta_1874_
 - I_199–200
- xxxix Rohlf_1871_I_33
- xl Mac_Carthy_1819_
 - I_308–309
- xli Arvieux_1735_I_318
- xlii Tobler_1874_266b
- xliii Beylié_1909_14
- xliv Miskawaih_1921_II_330
- xl Guys_1850_II_34
- xlvi Burckhardt_1822_8
- xlvi Carteron_1866_
 - 257–258
- xlvi Castries_IV_1913_
 - 573–574
- xlvi Denon_1803_I_281–2
- l D'Istria_1863_II_237
- li Le_Mascrier_1735_
 - 195–196b
- lii Hammer_1844_I_147
- liii Arvieux_1735_II_437
- liv Belon_1553_153
- lv Lamartine_1848_
 - II_40–41
- lvi Ibn_Haukal_1800_43
- lvii Castlereagh_1847_II_277
- lviii De_Saulcy_1853_II_640–1
- lix Bukhsh_1920_155–6
- lx Ibn_Khaldun_1854_
 - II_340–341
- lxi Mas'udi_1864_III_271–2
- lxii Castellan_1820_I_216
- lxiii Robinson_1838_231
- lxiv Conder_1885_158
- lxv Cuinet_1901_4_511
- lxvi Steward_1725_115–116
- lxvii Lane-Poole_1896_
 - 137–8

- lxviii Guérin_1874_ I_392-393
 lxix Casola_1907_127
 lxx Scott-Stevenson_ 1881_323
 lxxi Olivier_1807_ VI_389-90
 lxxii Bell_1911_357-358
 lxxiii Griffiths_1805_276
 lxxiv Sarre_1896_45
 lxxv Huart_1897_12-13
 lxxvi Margoliouth_1921_484
 lxxvii Gasparin_1866_ II_310
 lxxviii Guérin_1874_I_463
 lxxix Schikler_1863_90
 lxxx Rey_1871_185
 lxxxi Le_Camus_1889_ I_43-44
 lxxxii Hammer_1844_ III_158
 lxxxiii El-Kairouani_ 1845_82
 lxxxiv Hammer_1844_ III_390
 lxxxv Lucas_1714_I_289
 lxxxvi Bovet_1861_418
 lxxxvii Jouvin_1676_13-14
 lxxxviii Brocchi_1841_I_78
 lxxxix Turner_1820_II_521
 xc Gasparin_1866_II_311
 xci Miskawaihi_1921_ II_198-9
 xcii Miskawaihi_1921_ II_444-5
 xciii Colin_1901_I_Cat_45
 xciv Colin_1901_I_Cat_108
 xcv Pagni_1829_156ff
 xevi Perry_1869_416-417
 xcvii Gregory_1859_ II_212-13
 xcviii MacGill_1815_73-4
 cxix Boissier_1899_53
 c William_of_Tyre_1880_ II_277
 ci Rhone_1882_34
 cii Thompson_1744_ III_258-9
 ciii Thénauud_1884_36
 civ Sandys_1673_93b
 cv Savary_1786_I_101
 cvi Affagart_1902_175
 cvii Gemelli_Careri_1699_ I_64
 cviii Thompson_1744_ III_263
 cix Norry_1800_35
 cx Webster_1830_II_18
 cxi Russegger_I_1_1841_ 134
 cxii Della_Valle_1650_ 466-7b
 cxiii Deschamps_1678_ 130-2
 cxiv Le_Mascrier_1735_ 191-2
 cxv Thompson_1744_ III_263-4
 cxvi Niebuhr_1776_I_94
 cxvii Lucas_1704_205
 cxviii Hasselquist_1766_ 95-6
 cxix Irwin_1780_344-5
 cxx Sicard_1717_21
 cxxi Maqdisi_1903_ III_71-2
 cxxii Pococke_1814_191
 cxxiii Beauveau_1615_160
 cxxiv Lucas_1724_ II_125-126
 cxxv Della_Valle_1650_ 466-7
 cxxvi Thompson_1767_ II_128-9
 cxxvii Wittman_1804_265
 cxxviii Russegger_1841_ I_1_134
 cxxix Clarke_1817_V_121-2
 cxxx Volkoff_1972_59
 cxxxi Volkoff_1972_83
 cxxxii Jouvin_1676_40
 cxxxiii Pococke_1814_ 190-191
 cxxxiv Savary_1786_I_104
 cxxxv Brocchi_1841_I_203
 cxxxvi Fitzclarence_1819_ 468-9
 cxxxvii Henniker_1823_60
 cxxxviii Richardson_1822_ I_67
 cxxxix Fuller_1830_147
 cxl Dawson_Damer_1841_ II_149-50b
 cxli St_John_1845_113-14
 cxlii Vetromile_1871_ I_45-6
 cxliii Michaud_&_ Poujoulat_1834_V_266-7
 cxliv Le_Camus_1889_ II_68-9
 cxlv Dawson_Damer_ 1841_II_149-50
 cxlvi Tischendorf_ 1847_26
 cxlvii Le_Mascrier_1735_ 195-196
 cxlviii Clarke_1817_V_125
 cxlix Clarke_1817_V_122-3
 cl Villamont_1595_I_262r
 cli Palerne_1606_63
 clii Le_Mascrier_1740_ I_239-40
 cliii Thénauud_1884_188
 cliv Rome_1846_I_50
 clv Jomard_1818_II_4
 clvi Le_Mascrier_1740_ I_240-1
 clvii Russell_1831_386-387
 clviii Bussièrè_1829_ I_324
 clix Olin_1843_I_58-9
 clx Vetromile_1871_II_45
 clxi Rochfort_Scott_1837_ I_159
 clxii D'Estournel_1844_ II_482-3
 clxiii Russegger_1843_ II_1_297-298
 clxiv Wilkinson_1843_ I_369-70
 clxv Flinders_Petrie_ 1918_84-5
 clxvi Evliya_Celebi_1834_ I_70
 clxvii Moudjir-ed-Dyn_ 1876_241-2
 clxviii Moudjir-ed-Dyn_ 1876_246
 clxix Lane-Poole_1896_ 46-8
 clxx Al-Maqrizi_1906_310
 clxxi Dallam_1893_63
 clxxii Wright_1848_31
 clxxiii Fabri_1893_590
 clxxiv Schiltberger_1879_ 101
 clxxv Von_Struve_1802_198
 clxxvi Hammer_1844_III_110
 clxxvii Galland_1881_ II_127-8
 clxxviii Galland_1881_ II_141-2

- clxxxix Galland_1881_II_213
 clxxx Nassiri_Khosrau_
 1881_56
 clxxxi Le_Strange_1890_
 336-337
 clxxxii Pococke_1814_459
 clxxxiii Sandys_1673_93
 clxxxiv Ludolph_of_
 Suchem_1851_5
 clxxxv Temple_1836_II_222
 clxxxvi Rolland_1854_236
 clxxxvii Mrs_Walker_
 1886_133-5
 clxxxviii Chesneau_
 1887_26
 clxxxix Palerne_1606_385
 cxe Condé_1825_I_40-41
 cxi Alberi_1840_I_390-1
 cxcii Clavijo_1859_36
 cxciij Poujoulat_1861_169
 cxciiv Brocchi_1842_III_214
 cxciy Brocchi_1842_
 III_215-17
 cxcvi Russell_1756_48
 cxcvii Cuinet_1896_I_131
 cxcviii Galton_1861_50
 cxciy Buchon_1843_552
 cc Lamartine_1848_
 I_233-4
 cci Pellissier_1853_308
 ccii Paton_1870_II_356
 cciii De_Vaudoncourt_
 1816_163-4
 cciv Deschamps_1894_339
 ccv De_La_Motraye_
 1727_97
 ccvi Van_Lennep_1870_
 I_139-40
 ccvii Leake_1835_I_372-3
 ccviii Mariti_1909_66-7
 ccix Cesnola_1878_139-40
 ccx Poujoulat_1861_200
 ccxi Poujoulat_1861_399
 ccxii Michaud_&
 Poujoulat_1834_III_305
 ccxiii Guthrie_1802_II_323
 ccxiv Boschini_1658_80
 ccxv Galland_1881_
 II_160-161
 ccxvi Clavijo_1859_22
 ccxvii Clarke_1817_IV_109-10
 ccxviii Seetzen_1854_II_83
 ccxix Richer_1824_358-9
 ccxx Guérin_1875_II_271
 ccxxi Conder_1830_I_25
 ccxxii Hogg_1835_II_162
 ccxxiii Buckingham_1822_
 I_117-18
 ccxxiv Lamartine_1848_
 I_348-350
 ccxxx Gabarti_1838_61
 ccxxvi Hommaire_De_
 Hell_1847_69-70
 ccxxvii Macarius_1836_
 II_184
 ccxxviii Barth_1896_I_99
 ccxxix Poirret_1789_156
 ccxxx Arvieux_1735_
 IV_42
 ccxxxi Grosvenor_1830_51
 ccxxxii Blondel_1840_
 68-9
 ccxxxiii Ibn_Khaldun_
 1863_I_357-8
 ccxxxiv Niebuhr_1776_
 I_45
 ccxxxv Denon_1817_103
 ccxxxvi Michaud_&
 Poujoulat_1834_V_237
 ccxxxvii Rochfort_Scott_
 1837_I_159-60
 ccxxxviii Castlereagh_
 1847_I_167-8
 ccxxxix Bartholdy_1807_
 I_228
 ccxli Cadalvène_1841_
 II_430
 ccxli Leake_1835_IV_520
 ccxlii Finlay_1995_I_148
 ccxliii Reinach_1891_105

CHAPTER SEVEN

INSCRIPTIONS

The Romans had a seeming irresistible urge to inscribe on stone and marble, for temple dedications, civic monuments, laws, funerary stelae and sarcophagi, and milestones. This was fortunate, for the thousands of surviving inscriptions provided the necessary bait to lure classically-trained travellers to our Crescent (and elsewhere), and allowed them to piece together a coherent map of the ancient world. Since the majority of inscriptions (written on flat, smooth and generally small tablets of marble, and therefore easy to handle) had long since been re-used in churches, houses and mosques, the cataloguing of their findspots tells us much about the circumstances and frequency of re-use, as well as about ongoing destruction, as epigraphers frantically copy inscriptions before they are carried off to the kilns.

Popularity and Prestige of Inscriptions

The writing of inscriptions was a long-lived¹ activity beloved of the Egyptians, Greeks and Romans, for both private and public purposes. The Romans developed inscriptions into an arm of political and imperial propaganda, as plentiful survivals make clear.² The results are in such profusion that it will be a long time before they are all edited and explained, offering as they do an authoritative (and often cross-checkable) window on the ancient world. They can also sometimes be interpreted as giving a firm and demonstrable connection with the classical past – if we believe in re-use having “meaning”. These handy flat slabs of quality marble frequently offer examples of re-use from the ancient world,³ and sometimes

¹ Witschel 2006, 380 on the “epigraphic habit” concludes from the survival of interest “auf einen tiefgreifenden Verlust an urbaner Mentalität und städtischem Patriotismus insbesondere in den Reihen der Oberschichtangehörigen schliessen.”

² On the political dimension of monumental building as reflected in inscriptions, cf Waldherr 1989, 403–415, “Baupolitik als Propaganda für die restitutores orbis,” for many inscriptions cited deal with restoration (e.g. Macomades, Tebessa, Lambaesis, Djemila, Sétif, Tipasa).

³ Crawford 2007, *passim*.

the possibility of reconstructing artistic groups long since disappeared.⁴ A moderate-sized Algerian city could yield over 800 inscriptions,ⁱ and Tunisia probably as many,⁵ making inscription-collecting easy and usually fruitful. They still survived in large quantities in 16th-century Spain.ⁱⁱ Inscriptions (often on re-used tablets) were also popular for mosques and madrasas, calligraphy being a domain where Moslems outdid early Christians in quantity and quality – not that many inscription-hunters knew Arabic, or were interested in matters Moslem or Christian.

Although the writing of inscriptions did continue as Rome declined (they were still being written in late antique Caesarea),⁶ the practice was less frequent in the West, perhaps a thermometer of changing times.⁷ It was very popular in Islam, which in this as in other areas carried on part of a classical tradition, and used the medium for decoration as well as for meaning.⁸ Perhaps paradoxically the Moslems, who largely discarded the Roman notion of beautified public city space, nevertheless adopted the Roman love-affair with inscriptions, and produced many which were as large and extensive as those on ancient triumphal arches. And for Moslem rulers just as for the Romans, inscriptions were a visible expression of power, and were especially focussed on buildings and their founders.ⁱⁱⁱ This is perhaps why some classical ones appear to have been defaced at Kairouan.^{iv} Some educated Moslems could probably read Roman inscriptions; and, in any case, there were plenty of Christians and Jews who could read both Latin and Greek. Inscriptions on Islamic tombs were more problematic, ones on marble especially being sometimes seen as bad.⁹ (They

⁴ Eck 2008, 277: In view of the relative dearth of survivals in Syria/Palestine, "Scholars who have attempted to reconstruct the ancient sculptural landscape have not always paid sufficient attention to ... the epigraphic or inscriptional evidence." Largely devoted to Caesarea.

⁵ De Vos 1997: the team examined 36sqkm of land near Dugga, found c.100 ancient sites, and 44 inscriptions, of which 19 were in re-use, 11 in their original position, and 14 sporadic.

⁶ Magness 2003, 212–213: plenty of evidence that Caesarea flourished mid-6th–mid-7thC, including a marble-paved esplanade; and a mosaic floor with Greek inscription reading "May the years of the most glorious proconsul Andreas, devoted to building, be many!" – dating late 6th to early 7thC. 213: "The inscription indicates that at this time Andreas, a previously unknown proconsul of Palestine, was still following the classical tradition of sponsoring public building projects for public benefit." And this room is thought to be part of the civil governor's palace.

⁷ Liebeschuetz 2006, 463–4: the change in the epigraphic habit does indeed represent "a profound change in the political culture of the cities."

⁸ Yovitchitch 2004, for the citadel at Bosra: 216 author lists no fewer than 13 inscriptions on the building, dating between 1089 and 1241.

⁹ Schoeller 2004, II 272.

were even more problematic in Andalucía, where Renaissance scholars could not read or print the language.)¹⁰

For modern scholars, inscriptions offer a host of information, even about the importance of technology,¹¹ and the importance of their study is often assessed.¹² For travellers, they were invaluable in identifying ancient sites,^v or explicating Roman military strategy,¹³ and offering the illusion of direct contact with the ancients. That they were important even in late antiquity is not in doubt – witness their continuing popularity in public settings.¹⁴

Inscriptions as Markers of Civilisation

As well as gladdening the heart of Western antiquarians, classical inscriptions were (naturally) seen as markers of Roman civilization, and could provide a bridge to the past, as in the actions of the estimable Colonel Carbuccia in Algeria.^{vi} They were enthusiastically pursued during the Renaissance in Europe, not least because they were able to help in dating antiquities: without inscriptions, little was possible, as Morgado complained in Seville in 1587.^{vii} In the 1670s, Galland trained himself to look for inscriptions in village and house walls, and churches.^{viii} Indeed, the hunt after inscriptions by Westerners mainly from the 18th century onwards is the channel whereby we gain much incidental information about the state of the original or replacement monuments on/in which they are to be found. The re-use of antiquities for modern inscriptions was also widespread, although in many cases, the marble being recut for the

¹⁰ Wunder 2003, 212, relaying Rodrigo Caro, of 1634: “Caro could not ignore the Moslem past, but he would not waste too much time or effort on it. He included Castilian translations of a few inscriptions found around Seville, but he did not supply the Arabic originals, since, he wrote, “I do not know how to write or read them, and in Seville we do not even have the characters for the printing press.””

¹¹ Zanini 2007, for inscriptions giving the knowledge, technical expertise and status of engineers.

¹² E.g. Dondin-Payre 1988, for an overview giving examples from Greece and Egypt as well as North Africa and Europe, with short introductions. 11–13 Les français et l'épigraphie grecque et latine jusqu'au XIX^e siècle; 14–15 L'épigraphie classique: de la curiosité à la science.

¹³ Chausa Sáez 1997, 35–56 for veteran settlements supported by inscriptions.

¹⁴ Bauer 2007, on the inscriptions on statue bases, and their collection.

purpose, the original designation is unknown. In others, enough remains to read, when for example inscriptions were cut for paving.¹⁵

For generations schooled to see the past through inscriptions, it was evident that the great deeds of the present should be similarly commemorated. Inscriptions on the Acropolis at Athens recorded Athenian riches, as Chandler reported in 1776.^{ix} Hence, after all his work there Beulé, before leaving Athens, added an inscription on a marble slab: “La France / a découvert la porte de l’Acropole, / les murs, les tours et l’escalier. / 1853 Beulé.”^x An inscription left by the French at the Dog River north of Beirut, however, was made possible only by obliterating the ancient inscription – and an Englishman took pleasure in likewise obliterating the French Emperor’s name.^{xi} Such obliteration probably ruined many ancient inscriptions, as Laorty-Hadji recounts for Jerusalem.^{xii} Again, we can learn a lot about how buildings degraded and were refurbished under the Romans and Byzantines by studying inscriptions. But, as any viewing of a corpus such as the CIL will demonstrate, plenty survive to keep epigraphers and ancient historians busy for decades.

Inscriptions and the Identification of Ancient Sites

Leo Africanus

If many of our travellers from the 17th century onward recorded inscriptions, Leo Africanus¹⁶ produced in parts of his “Della descrittione dell’Africa” (perhaps 1526) an almost philosophical meditation on what he saw. He knew Latin and Greek, Spanish and Hebrew – these last two nearly as useful in North Africa as his native Arabic. So impressive were many of the great walls of Africa that Leo Africanus generally judges cities and their prosperity by them.¹⁷ He ponders the dearth of inscriptions in African languages; and he goes on to draw parallels with the choking of indigenous languages in his own day.^{xiii} Naturally, he also uses the inscriptions he sees to identify the Romanness of various of the towns

¹⁵ Pflaum 2003, 7719 Cuicul dans le dallage d’une rue du quartier est, stèle votive à sommet arrondi, brisée à son extrémité supérieure et en bas. Cf. 7727 for a similar broken stele – in both cases surely deliberate to allow them to be laid square with other slabs; 7734 is similar, but with only the upper register broken off.

¹⁶ Zhiri 1991 for background to the book.

¹⁷ Ghisleri 1928, 95–107 La Libia nell’opera geografica di Leone Africano e nei due secoli posteriori.

he visits and describes.¹⁸ He presumably had a mental check-list, for he always notes them, even if current conditions in some settlements form a great contrast.^{xiv} He does not appear to have read the Greek and Roman geographers,^{xv} so his careful noting of when a city is Roman in origin (as distinct from when it is African) must have been done from personal observation, with some hints, perhaps, derived from Arabic geographers. A great admirer of what the Romans left, he is no apologist for his own day, which seems to him often degraded, and he frequently condemns later generations for letting fortifications fall into ruin.^{xvi} Pardonably, he is triumphant when he discovers Roman towns and inscriptions nobody had yet recorded^{xvii} – a characteristic often found among later collectors. Thus for Mergo,^{xviii} and similarly for Tebessa.^{xix} For Anthius he writes, “This citie was built vpon the easterne banke of Nilus by the Romans, as many Latin inscriptions engrauen in marble, and remaining til this present do beare sufficient record.”^{xx} But Thebes, with its inscriptions in three languages, was altogether more confusing.^{xxi} Leo was in no doubt about the symbolic value of the Roman inscriptions he saw displayed in walls built of re-used materials. For him they were triumphalist, and no less than the proof that the Romans had destroyed African civilization and replaced it with their own. He muses on what *lost African writing* would have been like, finding it strange that the inscriptions on tombs or walls should be Roman, not African. Why was it lost? Because of the inevitable and traditional annihilation by every race of the monuments of their predecessors.^{xxii}

Leo believed he could identify cities from the tablets he found in their walls, but might sometimes have been mistaken. For there is no hard evidence, if perhaps a slight possibility, that earlier inscriptions were set in walls as tokens of glorious history, as Yasin argues for Christian inscriptions in 18th-century Rome – “both ruins and relics.”¹⁹ But because such tablets were easily portable, often it is not possible to be absolutely certain where an inscription had come from, unless there was internal evidence. Leake gives the general rules,^{xxiii} and Ramsay explains that in particular instances stones were moved over distances for profit, thus queering any identification.^{xxiv} We should also note that for some of the same reasons

¹⁸ Cresti 2000, 332–337 for Leo and inscriptions; and 337ff for features suggesting Roman origins, which he observes in re-use in walls, e.g. at Algiers.

¹⁹ Yasin 2000, 42 & 57: “they were valued as physical objects which preserved both the glory of the martyrs and the history of the Church by making them visible and accessible.”

(including stability?) ships used items such as marble as ballast, and flat inscription slabs would be easy to handle. New finds were broken up for road materials, or the inscriptions chiselled out were the slabs to be recycled.^{xxv} Inscriptions could also be used to discover the name of ancient cities, assuming they were not somehow degraded^{xxvi} – and naming groups of ruins was frequently a problem. Thus for blasé travellers confronted with an *embarrass de richesses*, as in Syria, an inscription could make the difference between ignoring an ancient site and visiting it.^{xxvii}

There were three ways in which later generations could come across Roman inscriptions. First, plenty survived *in situ*, as many do to this day, on their original monuments. Second, the solid but usually thin slabs on which inscriptions were recorded made excellent building material, and many thousands were to be seen re-used in later buildings, along with other undecorated and decorated blocks. Third, inscriptions on refurbished buildings sometimes proclaimed the saga of rebuilding, usually from the “very foundations,”^{xxviii} a phrase which generally seems to exaggerate. Rebuilding was often achieved with old materials, surely a common practice judging from the sparse inscriptions referring to building with new stock.^{xxix} Again, restoring ruined buildings was a matter of pride, to be mentioned in the new foundation inscriptions.^{xxx}

However, there is a catch involving walls and inscriptions, in that they were often set inscription-inwards, as Sterrett found (frustratingly) at Konya^{xxxi} – but not always, apparently, at Sinope.^{xxxii} Anyone who has ever built a wall using mortar will know that this inward-turning is nothing to do with “meaning” or “power” – simply the best way to make the mortar adhere (in the runnels of the inscription) without going to the trouble of chipping out yet more indentations in the slab. Thus we find them providing bonding for masonry in a mediaeval monastery at Calymnos, in this case laid like tiles,^{xxxiii} and in various positions at Saguntum near Valencia.^{xxxiv} At Konya, the inscriptions could be read reversed in the mud/clay of the walls as they were demolished, along with the imprints of other antiquities.^{xxxv} In the building work of the Dome of the Rock, some inscriptions seem to have been cut from re-used wall veneer.^{xxxvi} We might even surmise that inscriptions were only re-used face-outwards when the verso was rough; and this might also be why the inscribed surface was sometimes scraped flat – that is, to provide a smooth surface,^{xxxvii} hence useful for re-use elsewhere. Is this why De la Motraye found no inscriptions in the walls of Sinope in 1703,^{xxxviii} or was he just not looking hard enough?

Inscriptions, Meanings, and Treasure

Classical inscriptions were generally undecipherable by the locals in our Crescent, but some were nevertheless retained with other prestige items, as on several Seldjuk caravanserais,^{xxxix} so were perhaps valued for the mystery of their meaning. (Indeed, sometimes guides could not read, as Pashley discovered at Axos in 1837.)^{xl} Various explanations were invented for them.

There are plentiful explanations for incomprehensible inscriptions in foreign letters,^{xli} and some “translations” were highly convenient. Thus the discovery of a Virgil-like prediction in an inscription found at Acre,^{xlii} and an equally suspicious one in Cairo, held by an idol.^{xliii} Near Aleppo, the locals believed that an unreadable inscription in a town wall was a powerful talisman,^{xliv} and there is a similar belief reported from Jerusalem.^{xlv} Condé helps fill in the aura of inscriptions by emphasizing their importance (and that of water) in the political architecture of Abderrahman at Córdoba.^{xlvi} Indeed, Moslems had plenty of similar talismans upon which to call.²⁰ And occasionally, mosaics were also suspected of holding the key to treasures – for the Europeans clearly knew where to look for them, as at Utica.^{xlvii} In North Africa, the Arabs invented hopeful Moslem-oriented translations for what they found on old tombs;^{xlviii} while at Tripoli ancient inscriptions were somehow connected with the survival of the city.^{xlix} Jaafar the Barmicide likewise sought to have a stone in a church interpreted, to his own advantage.^l And in Egypt, while some Copts claimed to be able to read hieroglyphs,^{li} most of them, and the Arabs as well, puzzled over inscriptions there long before they became a passion of classically-trained Europeans.^{lii} Many such travellers, and with the evidence of their own eyes, viewed the Copts simply as destroyers of Egyptian and classical antiquities.^{liii} But none of them, of course, matched the reported stupidity of Fourmont in his search for inscriptions in Greece.^{liv}

Treasure stories abound, many caught up with the incised letters that so few could read and even fewer interpret. One reason for this interest was the belief that inscriptions contained the key to hidden treasure; and that, since only the Franks could read the inscriptions, they should be watched to see what they did next.^{lv} The predilection for carrying classical

²⁰ Langner 1983, 112–120 for Moslem amulets and talismans. Juberías 1996, 249–344 for *Lo maravilloso en el Islam*, including 312–344 for talismans.

texts to which they frequently referred – a book of spells, indeed! – no doubt underlined to the observant locals the idea of magic. Variations on this theme are found in Kabylia. Here squared blocks without inscriptions were known by the locals to contain treasure – but only Christians could get inside them.^{lvi} Similarly, locals were convinced that blocks in an ancient dam also contained treasure.^{lvii} In Egypt, some locals could not see the point of carrying off stones to Europe if they did not contain treasure.^{lviii}

Sometimes the unreadable (to the locals) inscription was bound up with local legends, generally to do with kings and riches^{lix} but sometimes, as near Thermopylae, involved no less than human sacrifice to make a bridge solid against the water flow.^{lx} Only rarely, like Islamic inscriptions in Spain, do inscriptions appear to have been deliberately destroyed.^{lxi} Hence they cannot often have seemed malevolent, for they were not smashed as frequently were “idol” statues. For plenty of classical inscriptions survived to be read by epigraphers in position, in the walls of mosques, as at Chimenlai,^{lxii} or built into houses, such as in Turkey^{lxiii} or on Cyprus.^{lxiv}

Under such conditions, travellers sometimes needed expensive arrangements to avoid confrontation with interested villagers, who of course were anxious to retrieve riches.^{lxv} The same beliefs were a disincentive to thorough exploration in Montenegro as late as 1896.^{lxvi} Not that the locals were necessarily always wrong about the relation between inscriptions and treasure: in one case, in the Ionian Islands in the early 19th century, a modern inscription in Syriac enriched the lucky student who managed to read it and follow the instructions it contained.^{lxvii} This is just the kind of story, of course, to promote destruction of tombs in the hope of uncovering treasure.

Inscriptions and Land Ownership

Standing back from the treasure-marked-by-inscriptions thread, it is sometimes clear that the locals realised that such inscriptions were indeed from earlier centuries and made by other peoples – a leitmotif here being the notion that Europeans had come back not just to hunt for antiquities, but to use them as proof that they once lived here, and hence reclaim the land.^{lxviii} This touching tribute to the power of the ancient inscribed word was still alive in Palestine in the late 19th century.^{lxix} The idea of Europeans in North Africa was not a strange one: Arab geographers knew their history, and were quite clear that cities such as Carthage had been

built by foreigners.^{lxx} And at Le Kef, where little was readily visible,^{lxxi} Peyssonel was insulted by some of the locals who thought he would consult the inscriptions to read when Christians would return to what was now their country.^{lxxii}

Copying Inscriptions

The copying of inscriptions – bills of lading from the shipwreck of time^{lxxiii} – was by far the most popular and widespread antiquarian activity in our Crescent on the part of Europeans. It was popular in Italy and elsewhere in the Renaissance, and in our Crescent by the 17th century,^{lxxiv} and probably remains so today. Although recreation of inscriptions has several conspicuous renaissance examples,²¹ a main attraction was that they could be copied where they stood and information brought home – for sporting Latin or Greek transcriptions in one's manuscript or printed journal brought kudos. Another was because of a desire to match texts to monuments.²² No doubt there was much enthusiastic correspondence concerning antiquities, such as that of Peiresc.^{lxxv} Recording inscriptions could also entail scrabbling around the mosques or prisons into which they were built, sometimes visibly degrading.^{lxxvi} In 1855 Porter, in the Hauran, reports Christian inscriptions in a church then used as a mosque,^{lxxvii} and also inscriptions in their original location in standing buildings at Kureiyeh.^{lxxviii} Conversely, we find antique column-shafts used to hold modern inscriptions, as in the Turkish fort at Charchell, finished in 1518.^{lxxix}

Perhaps particularly in the days before the camera, or for those too poor to take a draughtsman along with them, there were pressures for travellers to return with some hard evidence of where they had been. Inscriptions re-used in later buildings may have been particularly at risk, the argument being that they were not in their original position, and hence no harm could proceed from removing them.^{lxxx} Such beliefs are the counterpoint to the scandalous stories of Europeans destroying monuments to try and

²¹ E.g. Tucci 2001: Manlius' decoration of his palazzo with re-used sculptures and inscriptions 201: il cui inserimento non può essere considerato casuale e consente più chiavi di lettura, and a new inscription 21m by 1.3m in 1476.

²² Allison 2008, 48: "long established tradition of excavating and studying material remains to illustrate textual evidence – to be able to say that we can identify the exact place where something we know to have happened took place, the materialization of history."

abstract their inscriptions, as at Dugga.^{lxxxi} For this reason, travellers often seem to be in a rush, so many works were there to record^{lxxxii} – some of them on blocks broken up before their eyes.^{lxxxiii}

Occasionally, inscriptions could be collected from ancient monuments still in place, as Seetzen found in the Galilee.^{lxxxiv} But generally they were to be found re-used in a different location: thus, for example, the hieroglyphic inscriptions found in Cairo in 1903, in the construction of later doorways,^{lxxxv} or the variety of locations from which inscriptions were retrieved on Cos,^{lxxxvi} including the church at Antimachia.^{lxxxvii} More was known about Greek inscriptions, for example, than about Greek sculpture,^{lxxxviii} and although at least one epigrapher proved himself completely ignorant about sculpture, possibly because it was Roman,^{lxxxix} Greek inscriptions were sometimes privileged^{xc} because their architectural surroundings were seen as earlier and hence preferable to Roman monuments.

Sometimes getting access to inscriptions required ingenuity and powers of persuasion.^{xc} In one case, this leads the sheepish Peters in 1893 to proffer excuses for harvesting insufficient inscriptions^{xcii} – perhaps sensing in advance the rebukes of scholars such as Ramsay.^{xciii} The reasons for the excuses are not hard to discern. Peters probably realised that the usual position for an epigrapher in the field was upside down, in a trench,^{xciv} or scrabbling around later structures to decipher the inscriptions built into them.^{xcv} Hester Stanhope's doctor copied one inscription at Laodicea on an upside-down column supporting a water-wheel.^{x cvi} One English non-scholar even chipped the letters off an inscription, and sent them home for decipherment, to the great amusement of the French.^{xcvii}

A knowledge of local practices helped, and the belief that inscribed slabs contained treasure governed how finds were treated.^{xcviii} Taking plenty of tools and workers was the key to success, as Fourmont describes his veritable siege-train for Athens in 1729, with ladders, ropes, sponges, crowbars and the rest.^{xcix} He then exulted in the numbers (over two hundred within a third of the town) he harvested.^c We might take this with a pinch of salt, since Fourmont also invented inscriptions, as we learn from Gell about his machinations at Amyclae,^{ci} and from Aberdeen about his untrustworthiness or mis-judged patriotism.^{cii} Such tackle was necessary to collect and take home important inscriptions, such as that from Sigeum, where the British Army did the work for Lord Elgin.^{ciii}

Helpful and Obstructive Locals

Antiquarians and classical scholars could, therefore, frequently copy inscriptions – authoritative paper antiquities, much lighter than marble blocks, and sometimes available without hassle. Or if they couldn't

themselves read them, give them as a present to cognoscenti back home^{civ} – or indeed lament, alibi at the ready, that illness had kept them from an inscription known to be important.^{cv}

Conditions varied across our Crescent, and Ross even describes the pleasures of his inscription-hunting in Athens in 1832.^{cvi} Indeed, in many cases visitors with sketching pads provided entertainment for the locals, as a kind of spectator sport,^{cvi} some of whom sometimes ventured the existence of other similar pieces. Even with the complaisance of the locals, however, copying inscriptions was not always easy. For example in 1893 Peters (the sheepish traveller already mentioned), managed together with a companion and a servant to turn over a column near Philadelphia which had defeated fifteen Frenchmen.^{cvi}

Inscription-hunting produced a variety of reactions. Ramsay, for instance, in Turkish villages, needed to employ cunning to see what he needed.^{cix} Buckingham had small notepads made so that he could copy unobserved at Bosra in 1825 and thereby avoid insults or worse.^{cx} Not that the locals were always in unison, which denied Newton an inscription on Mytilene in 1852.^{cx} In one case a Greek priest had an inscription broken up because he did not wish to be disturbed by visitors who wished to copy it,^{cxii} while at Salona the bloody-minded locals would only let Fortas copy inscriptions, preferring to break the stones up rather than yield by selling them.^{cxiii} Evans found the field of an inscription in Illyria in the 1880s, the actual lettering having been broken to pieces in the search for treasure.^{cxiv} In another instance, a stone was copied and then broken up by the locals.^{cxv} And enquiring of the locals about statues and inscriptions could be disappointing: they were still being broken up at the beginning of the 20th century,^{cxvi} as Musil reported at al-Halasa. Several travellers, while inscription-hunting, saw antiquities being destroyed. Pouqueville at Nicopolis/Actium in 1826 tells of restraining the masons' hammers while he copies the inscriptions they were about to break up – and finding another already built into a small fort.^{cxvii} Hughes similarly fulminates at the evidence from antiquity thus being destroyed by an "Albanian robber."^{cxviii}

Various Re-uses of Inscriptions

Flatness meant, to repeat, usability; and usability could mean hiding within new structures (or at least placing face-inward), or wear, so that the inscription became nearly illegible. Hence inscriptions could also be found doing service as washing-tubs or pig-styes,^{cxix} or indeed as scrubbing surfaces by washerwomen, whether on Crete^{cxx} or in Phocis.^{cxxi}

Inscriptions Re-used in Mediaeval Structures

The Duc d'Orléans called inscriptions "l'imprimerie de ce temps-là,"^{cxxii} and why they were re-used can sometimes tell us about rebuilding and re-use where other sources of information are absent.²³ Such indeed is the profusion of inscriptions, generally on conveniently flat slabs of marble, that the frequent re-use of inscriptions was inevitable, as for example with Moslem re-use of a knight's tombstone in Jerusalem,^{cxxiii} or indeed in the Dome of the Rock itself.^{cxxiv} As Boschini writes just of the inscriptions re-used at Stampalia, they were sufficient to keep the antiquarian busy for several months.^{cxxv} Inscriptions could also be varied on the same site – Latin, Greek and Cufic at Bosra, all in re-use,^{cxxvi} and some on re-used columns.^{cxxvii} They sometimes record those most devastating of events – earthquakes – and the rebuildings required.²⁴

Depending on circumstances, the re-use could be late antique,²⁵ or much later, over a spread of centuries.²⁶ How long the inscriptions in a barber's shop at Aydin/Tralles had been there is impossible to know.^{cxxviii} Blocks (many containing inscriptions) were still being sawn for fortress-building in the early 19th century.^{cxxix} (Fourmont in one of his frequent crass actions countered this trend by dismantling a fortress in the Peloponnesus for its inscriptions.)^{xxx} Koppel, in the Balkans, found inscriptions in every one of the forty or so houses he entered at Kula.^{xxxi} If inscriptions were lacking, then identification of retrieved antiquities was near-impossible: for example, did Le Camus really see parts of the Forum at Antioch in the late 1880s?^{xxxii} Very occasionally, travellers tried to date rebuildings from the inscriptions re-used in them. This is the case with a barrage near Chemtou, where Tissot estimated its date by the letter-forms of the inscriptions re-used in its construction.^{xxxiii} Also at Chemtou, the date of restoration for the aqueduct to the quarry-town was estimated through re-used tomb elements.^{xxxiv}

Inscriptions in Houses and Work-Buildings

Re-use for building is attested by many travellers, for plenty were on their way into new buildings as the traveller watched, from Arcadia in 1820^{xxxv} to Mavrodhilissi in 1852,^{xxxvi} and Ankara in 1897.^{xxxvii} Porter in 1835 states that

²³ http://compute-in.ku-eichstaett.de:8888/pls/epigr/epigraphik_en gives 73 inscr for ruina; 27 for dirut; 730 for vetust.

²⁴ Guidoboni & Comastri (p. 433), 135–168 Catalogo delle epigrafi latine riguardanti terremoti, including North Africa.

²⁵ Pflaum 2003, 7898 Cuicul près du Capitole, dans un gourbi; base, brisée en bas. Djemila: a lot of material in re-use, such as – and these are just random examples – 8064 (dans l'église du ravin est), or 8068, dans le dallage du decumanus qui longe le rempart; or 8201, devant l'entrée du baptistère, dans le pavement.

²⁶ Pflaum 2003, 8524, Au Vieux Mila. Dans la rue principale, au 1er étage de l'ancien foudouk européen, dans la tour, base du pilier central. Or 8560, encastrée dans le mur byzantin, à l'extérieur; or 8655, in a tower of the same rampart. Or in houses in Vieux Mila, such as 8605, 8608, 8656, or 8712, 8725, 8728; or in mosques, 8607 (as a seat outside a mosque), or 8611, in the casbah mosque, an autel avec corniche et soubassement.

some of the inscriptions on the walls of Constantinople had fallen off, or been stolen, presumably for re-use in building.^{cxxxviii} Not surprisingly, inscriptions from Cyzicus are to be found in Constantinople, proof positive of the plundering of that site for reusable materials.²⁷ Moltke, in the same decade, saw many built into the Sea Walls,^{cxxxix} and De Vere, a little later, saw statues therein.^{cxl} And on Samos, Guérin was puzzled to find so few inscriptions, until he realised they were built together with other antiquities into the houses.^{cxli} On balance, however, the taking of inscriptions into local houses (for prestige, or just for convenience?)^{cxlii} helped to preserve many of them. Utility rather than preservation was the usual reason for re-use, as in the possibly pre-Roman block re-used by Qait Bey, and then in a later mill.^{cxliii}

Inscriptions in Fortresses and Town Walls

If the fortresses were still in use, 19th-century epigraphers were sometimes suspected of being engineers measuring military might or weakness^{cxliv} – a foretaste and illustration of problems with the Russians during the Great Game. For fortresses were popular structures to erect with re-used blocks, and travellers knew this. For example at Sinope Hamilton licked his lips when contemplating the feast to be found on the fortress with, like one ex-church,^{cxlv} so many antiquities incorporated. The wall was still there in 1905, when Robinson described its antiquities more fully.^{cxlvi} His listings demonstrate the need for exploring the modern town and nearby villages to run down many of its ancient remains, including inscriptions.^{cxlvii} Some of these were still to be seen, as well as scattered around, on monumental tombs at the entrance to the town.^{cxlviii} Similar walls existed in the Crimea, and have been well described by Clarke;^{cxlix} but they have now disappeared, and some inscriptions survived only because they were re-used.^{cl} It was the same story in Algeria, as materials noted soon after the conquest simply vanished.^{cli} In Turkey, the walls of Kutaya probably provided inscriptions, as well as architectural members.^{clii} Those of the citadel at Gafsa in Tunisia, already noted by El-Bekri,^{cliii} certainly did,^{cliv} as well as other antiquities,^{clv} but the majority were dispersed in the more recent buildings of the town.^{clvi} And at Konya, when Sterrett visited in 1888, he was just in time to copy some inscriptions which had been built face-inwards into the Seljuk walls,^{clvii} because these were in the process of being destroyed. In Tripolitania, a harvest of inscriptions was expected if and when the city walls of Tripoli were demolished.^{clviii}

Re-used inscriptions were also understood by some travellers to help date the lateness of various walls. Maudrell, visiting Baalbek in 1697, sees so many Roman inscriptions (some of them upside-down) in the fortress walls that he correctly deduces that these are late.^{clix} Similarly, Evliya Celebi tried to deduce (obviously incorrectly) the date of some houses in Bursa by the Infidel inscriptions built into them.^{clx} Again Wansleben, at Alexandria, works out the date of the town walls because all he can find therein are inscriptions in Arabic,^{clxi} just

²⁷ Robert 1987, 149.

as Belon at Konya sees Greek epitaphs built into the walls there.^{clxii} Mediaeval fortifications often contained inscriptions. In 1809, for example, Laborde wrote of the inscriptions in the walls of Cáceres.^{clxiii} Many are still there, whereas elsewhere they were filched for other purposes. Again, classical inscriptions were frequently found re-used alongside column shafts, placed horizontally and transversally,^{clxiv} and sometimes also intended to be decorative.²⁸

Inscriptions in Churches and Mosques

Just as churches were perhaps collection centres for pieces of antique architectural decoration, and statues, so they might have been for inscriptions (though whether with any particular view in mind is not known). This keeps Leake happy in Boeotia.^{clxv} Nor is this the only church he patronises there for, in the Valley of the Kanavari, cornices and architraves provide the icing on the cake.^{clxvi} Some of the churches were also veneered with marble, and Foucart worries at Delphi in 1865 that these panels (which they dare not touch) are often inscriptions with the operative side fixed to the cement.^{clxvii} And when mosques stood on the site of churches, or simply took them over, then inscriptions were often to be found as well, as Monk writes in 1851 at Ed-Durrah, where the locals invited his party to break the stones in the mosque and find the treasure underneath.^{clxviii} But plenty of inscriptions were re-used by Turks, presumably without any hope of their containing treasure; so that Ouvré maintains that they were prized for the beauty of their lapidary lettering.^{clxix} Toward the end of the century, indeed, inscriptions were being collected for study in Constantinople,^{clxx} under the auspices of Hamdi Bey, already mentioned.

Inscriptions in Cemeteries

Cemeteries were a popular destination for even non-funerary inscriptions, both into the cemetery for re-use there, and eventually out of the cemetery for tertiary (at least) re-use. If a Latin inscription is hidden in the Great Mosque at Kairouan,²⁹ the most common use for inscribed antiquities was in cemeteries as grave markers; in Palestine, these could be Greek, Roman, Coptic, or even Nabatean.^{clxxi} Arundell, for example, at Kobek, found many examples in the cemetery outside the town which he believed brought from a nearby antique site for re-use here.^{clxxii}

²⁸ Dangles 2004, 191 for the use of colonnes en boutisse for decorative purposes.

²⁹ Mahfoudh 2008, 133–170: La Grande Mosquée de Kairouan, fig 33 for reverse of a marble panel of the mosque mihrab with a Latin inscription.

North Africa from Justinian to the French

Very large quantities of materials had been re-used to build walls during the Justinianic conquests of AD 533/554. This arguably represented a *renovatio* for North Africa, although there are good reasons for treating statements in inscriptions (about building *a fundamentis*) with some scepticism,³⁰ the more so since dedicatory inscriptions (not to mention Procopius) do not mention any re-use, perhaps taking it for granted that their very use betokens a renewal, as they claim. Certainly, some sites do display great care – such as Timgad, where the Byzantines generally did not recut any blocks for the fortress (built 539–40, as we know from the foundation inscription), but simply chose them carefully – while consigning material to the kilns so they could rebuild.^{clxxiii} In the barrack houses, material was recut, but equally carefully laid (although of low quality when compared with the Roman wall). Columns are also re-used in the walls, “dans l'appareil du mur, remployé sans doute dans le noyau du mur en cours de régularisation,” as Lassus explains.³¹

However, the (usually inflated and already mentioned) late antique boast of *renovatio* tends (in North Africa,³² as in the West) to mean *making good* rather than completely building *a fundamentis* – although in some cases parallels with the renewal of the whole Empire are implicit, even if only rhetorically.³³ Indeed, the very act may imply “the reconstruction's status as a historical monument,” or yet, perhaps, as imitation of the antique.³⁴ This is obviously the case with S. Mark's, Venice, which struck at least Sansovino in 1568 (as it was certainly intended to do) as comparable to Hagia Sophia,^{clxxiv} even down to the enumeration of its marble varieties.^{clxxv} Civic boasting is always irredeemably upbeat.³⁵ Similar

³⁰ Thomas & Witschel 1992: most inscriptions say the walls were built from the foundations, when only repairs were made. Durlat 1981 for North Africa.

³¹ Lassus 1981, 59–106; cf. figs 26–30, 164, 142; fig. 13 & p. 42.

³² Kotula 1983, 257, and 262 note 4.

³³ Maguire 1994.

³⁴ Cf. Thomas & Witschel 1992, 168 & Appendix 2. But some scholars still take such inscriptions at face-value, such as Lepelley 1992; his view is underlined in the subtitle of his *Les cités de l'Afrique Romaine au Bas-Empire*, I: La permanence d'une civilisation municipale, Paris 1979 – although his list of municipal constructions and restaurations, taken from references in 236 inscriptions, at pp. 112–120, has no more than ten monuments built or restored after 400 AD.

³⁵ Durlat cit., 38 dedication inscriptions: cf. Cats 3 & 4 for Guelma, 8 for Tebessa, 12 for Afsa, 19–21 for Timgad. He points out, 109, that Justinian asked Belisarius to inventory

boasting, often explicit, is to be found in funerary inscriptions,³⁶ and there are parallels in claims of military conquest,³⁷ as well as in fort-building by the Arabs.³⁸ Indeed, while some Frenchmen were collecting inscriptions, others were dismantling Byzantine forts to build French fortresses, or farms – with the balance that perhaps more material was being destroyed than discovered.^{clxxvi}

In 19th-century North Africa, soldiers interested in inscriptions found themselves in a situation where destruction and rebuilding were necessary. Hence many inscriptions were to be obliterated – arguably more than in previous centuries, and we have many reports of what happened in Algeria, for example. Here in areas where limestone was rare, geology also conspired to have the French destroy large quantities of inscriptions in Algeria, around Constantine (where the French built on top of a temple),^{clxxvii} Philippeville and Chercell, in all of which places they needed to make lime for mortar.^{clxxviii}

Meanwhile the scholars catalogued what was recovered, and projected more work, but also difficulties. Thus Renier collected over 3,000 inscriptions in the province of Constantine, Algeria.^{clxxix} In a letter of 1850 applying for funds, he explained the danger threatening the numbers remaining, and cheekily threatened the Minister with the opprobrium of the scholarly world should he not take action – viz., give him a grant!^{clxxx} The ploy worked and he got the grant. But, once there, he had to write to the Minister again, whose plans for building a prison at Lambaesis from the abundant antiquities he saw would destroy many inscriptions. His letter seems to give the nod to destructions – as long as it did not include inscribed blocks.^{clxxxi} But where the French did not build defences, inscriptions reused in walls did survive.^{clxxxii} In 1842 the general of the same soldiers destroying inscriptions was sending copies of inscriptions back to Paris – and at the same time the locals were catching the taste for stone-built farmhouses, just like the colons.^{clxxxiii}

especially those cases where the walls should be made smaller in extent to cater for a smaller population of defenders.

³⁶ Saradi 1995, 44: epitaph of Bishop Eugenius of Laodicea Combusta on his sarcophagus: “I rebuilt the whole church from the foundations with all the adornments around it, namely the porticoes, the tetrastoa, the painting, the mosaics, the water-fountain, the porch and all the works of the stone-masons.”

³⁷ Ravegnani 1983, 27–8: Justinian, in spite of giving the impression of taking back all Roman Africa, in fact only controlled the coastal strip.

³⁸ Marçais 1926, 44 cites Ibn Khaldun to the effect that “Abin Ibrahim Ahmed erected in Africa nearly 10,000 fortresses, made of stone and lime mortar, and equipped with gates of iron”; for a census, see Bourouiba 1983.

How to preserve inscriptions when military necessity dictated their re-use? This dilemma confronted the French garrison at Guelma in 1836, surely conscious of the value of what they had to re-use, where they needed to employ blocks from the Roman ruins to make a fort. This was neatly done by placing the inscribed blocks the right way up and facing outward, so they could be read and studied^{clxxxiv} – a pretty solution, but one apparently not followed elsewhere in French Algeria. At Sétif, where Shaw saw little in 1743,^{clxxxv} the French Engineers proceeded likewise when they built a church from blocks taken from the ruins,^{clxxxvi} but some modern structures were condemned as mere garden-walls in comparison with their models.^{clxxxvii} At Constantine, however, a city once rich in antique remains,^{clxxxviii} an inscription left alone by Vandals and Arabs was saved from destruction by the French only by an appeal to Bugeaud (the Governor-General) himself.^{clxxxix}

Conclusion: Too Late, Too Late!

Epigraphy was one of the chief reasons for visiting our Crescent. That interest came in time to record the re-use of inscriptions, but too late to stop their casual destruction both for lime, and their reincorporation as conveniently-shaped building materials into modern constructions. Both type of destruction are well-documented. From the 18th century there is an increasing number of accounts of inscriptions disappearing into re-use, or into the kilns. Hence we find Fourmont in 1730 counting the loss of over 350 inscriptions for a building project in Athens.^{cxc} Sometimes travellers were too late to intercept inscriptions about to be re-used, as Williams discovered at Delphi in 1820.^{cxcⁱ} But plenty lay around on that site, Clarke finding a figured inscription right in the road leading to the Castalian Spring.^{cxcⁱⁱ}

Again, the construction of railways brought inscriptions to light;^{cxcⁱⁱⁱ} but many more must have been used as railway construction materials than were saved for science. Few must have been the optimistic travellers who, like Beaufort, replaced inscriptions exactly as he had found them, for the benefit of future travellers^{cxc^{iv}} – but he did this along the south coast of Turkey, deserted in his day. British soldiers walked off with at least one inscription from Itálica during the Peninsular Wars, but its fate is unknown.^{cxc^v} And inscriptions appear often to have been found there,^{cxc^{vi}} being collected in a “museum” doubling as a pigsty by the 1830s.^{cxc^{vii}}

We may conclude that epigraphy is a thriving pursuit today because of the many thousands of inscriptions that survive. But, as this chapter

has charted, myriad inscriptions – in many cases a kind of wall veneer – also fed new building both as blocks or slabs or when reduced into lime. In other words, it is the sheer quantity of inscriptions produced which underlined their importance. Contrast this abundance with the fate of ancient buildings and marble sculptures, of which many fewer pro rata survive.

Travellers were amazed at the quantity of standing remains of Antiquity they saw in our Crescent, and many of them were educated in the classics. (Moslem and Christian inscriptions are largely neglected – an opportunity missed to fill in further our knowledge of the past.) They grasped at inscriptions as the very voice of the ancient world, and often give the impression that the buildings are not important – a mere coathanger for the inscriptions if these were in situ, or the surroundings of little intrinsic value when found (perhaps 70%?) in re-use. The result of such preference/prejudice is that inscriptions get copied accurately, sometimes with the very letter-forms carefully reproduced. This is admirable, but puts the study of antique structures in the shade, because (at a guess) for every hundred copied inscriptions the travellers came back with fewer than one accurate drawing of the built monuments which carried them – and still fewer of the structures in which they were re-used. For these we must make do with descriptions: it is a pity such accurate transcribers of inscriptions did not then turn their attention to the monuments on which they found them.

- i Gsell_1922_181
- ii Morgado_1587_276
- iii Castlereagh_1847_I_110
- iv Rae_1877_199
- v Spon_&_Wheler_1679_I_Preface
- vi Saint-Arnaud_1855_II_263
- vii Morgado_1587_338
- viii Galland_1881_II_159–60
- ix Chandler_1817_II_64
- x Beulé_1873_I_77
- xi Jessup_1910_236
- xii Laorty-Hadji_1854_251
- xiii Leo_Africanus_1896_I_166–7
- xiv Ramusio_1563_I_1ff
- xv Massignon_1906_160
- xvi Ramusio_1563_I_54
- xvii Leo_Africanus_1898_III_58
- xviii Leo_Africanus_1896_II_500
- xix Leo_Africanus_1896_III_710
- xx Leo_Africanus_1896_III_866–7
- xxi Leo_Africanus_1896_III_867–8
- xxii Marmol_1573_fols_44r–44v
- xxiii Leake_1841_II_15–16
- xxiv Ramsay_1897_I_2_738
- xxv Mrs_Walker_1886_111
- xxvi Saint-Martin_1852_II_57–8
- xxvii Dussaud_1903_25
- xxviii Eichstätt_database
- xxix Eichstätt_database#2
- xxx Eichstätt_database#3
- xxxi Sterrett_1885_15–16
- xxxii Bell_1840_I_5
- xxxiii Newton_1865_I_312
- xxxiv Laborde_1809_I_276–7
- xxxv Sterrett_1888_225
- xxxvi PEF_1873_136
- xxxvii PEF_1873_157–8
- xxxviii De_la_Motraye_1727_I_316
- xxxix Rott_1908_21
- xl Pashley_1837_151
- xli Maqdisi_1903_III_109
- xlii Reinaud_1829_572–3
- xliii Al-Maqrizi_1840_I_2_1840_114
- xliv Nassiri_Khosrau_1881_34
- xlvi Muqaddasi_1896_84–85
- xlvi Condé_1825_461
- xlvi Davis_1861_513–14
- xlvi El-Bekri_1859_108–109

- xlix Melon_1885_76
 l Ibn_Khallikan_I_313
 li Abu_Salih_1895_111-12
 lii Mas'udi_1863_II_379-80b
 liii Mileham_1910_1
 liv Omont_1902_I_633
 lv Hamilton_1842_I_92
 lvi Carette_1848_V_163
 lvii Carette_1848_IV_428
 lviii Henniker_1832_50
 lix Beaufort_1818_101-2
 lx Galt_1812_210-211
 lxi Amador_de_los_Rios_1883_5
 lxii Newton_1865_I_127
 lxiii Ramsay_1897_62
 lxiv Hammer-Purgstall_1811_129
 lxv Beulé_1873_I_131-2
 lxvi Munro_1896_85
 lxvii De_Vaudoncourt_1816_118-19
 lxviii Taitbout_de_Marigny_1837_120-1
 lxix Conder_1887_55
 lxx El_Fezari_1898_19
 lxxi Shaw_1743_I_228ff
 lxxii Peyssonel_1838_I_124
 lxxiii Urquhart_1838_I_407-408
 lxxiv Della_Valle_1650_665-6
 lxxv Peiresc_1890_II_194
 lxxvi Letronne_1842_I_332
 lxxvii Porter_1855_II_215
 lxxviii Porter_1855_II_192-3
 lxxix Colin_1901_I_Cat_7
 lxxx Tozer_1890_322
 lxxxi Davis_1861_570-2
 lxxxii Ramsay_1897_68
 lxxxiii Grémois_2003_119
 lxxxiv Seetzen_1854_II_124
 lxxxv Daressy_1903.
 lxxxvi Paton_&_Hicks_1891
 lxxxvii Ross_1852_22
 lxxxviii Reinach_1886_76-7
 lxxxix Van_Egmont_&_Heyman_1759_I_116-17
 xc Bruce_1790_I_xl-xli
 xci Hogarth_1910_8
 xcii Peters_1893_5
 xciii Ramsay_1897_293-4
 xciv Ouvré_1896_65
 xcv Sterrett_1883_4
 xcvi Stanhope_1846_II_261
 xcvi Giraudeau_de_Saint-Gervais_1835_11
 xcvi Sterrett_1889_11-12
 xcix Omont_1902_I_556
 c Omont_1902_I_563-4
 ci Gell_1823_338-40
 cii Walpole_1820_489-503
 ciii Walpole_1817_97
 civ Drummond_1754_227
 cv Mac_Farlane_1850_I_218-19
 cvi Ross_1863_149-150
 cvii Ramsay_1897_281
 cviii Peters_1893_2
 cix Ramsay_1897_31-2
 cx Buckingham_1825_195-196
 cxi Newton_1865_I_96
 cxii Purdy_1826_236
 cxiii Abbé_Fortis_1778_II_58
 cxiv Evans_1883_45-46
 cxv Sterrett_1889_12
 cxvi Musil_1907_II_202
 cxvii Pouqueville_1826_III_445-6
 cxviii Hughes_1830_I_418
 cxix Carter_1777_II_188-9
 cxx Spratt_1865_II_77-8
 cxxi Leake_1835_II_541
 cxxii Duc_d'Orléans_1892_355
 cxxiii Clermont-Ganneau_1899_I_129-130
 cxxiv Warren_&_Conder_1884_308
 cxxv Boschini_1658_20
 cxxvi Porter_1855_II_152
 cxxvii Burckhardt_1822_228
 cxxviii Arundell_1828_293-294
 cxxix Hughes_1820_II_343
 cxxx Omont_1902_I_580-581
 cxxxi Keppel_1831_II_344
 cxxxii Le_Camus_1889_I_281-282
 cxxxiii Tissot_1881_14-17
 cxxxiv Cagnat_&_Saladin_1894_231-2
 cxxxv Walpole_1820_84
 cxxxvi Newton_1865_I_33
 cxxxvii Walker_1897_59
 cxxxviii Porter_1835_I_171
 cxxxix Moltke_1877_62
 cxl De_Vere_1850_317
 cxli Guérin_1856_241
 cxlii Ramsay_1897_294
 cxliii Pézard_1922_111
 cxliv Deschamps_1894_83
 cxlv Evliya_Celebi_1850_II_45
 cxlvi Robinson_1906_130-1
 cxlvii Robinson_1906_294ff
 cxlviii Rottiers_1829_282-3
 cxlix Clarke_1816_II_118-19
 cl Seymour_1855_265
 cli Gsell_1922_97
 clii Monk_1851_I_67
 cliii El-Bekri_1859_113-114
 cliv Shaw_1738_210
 clv Shaw_1743_I_271
 clvi Tissot_1888_665-666
 clvii Sterrett_1888_225
 clviii De_Bisson_1881_8
 clix Maundrell_1823_120
 clx Evliya_Celebi_1850_II_4
 clxi Ouvré_1678_117
 clxii Belon_1553_167
 clxiii Laborde_1809_I_369
 clxiv Hamilton_1842_I_378-9
 clxv Leake_1835_II_295
 clxvi Leake_1835_II_480
 clxvii Foucart_1865_6
 clxviii Monk_1851_II_260-1
 clxix Ouvré_1896_164
 clxx Reinach_1891_1888
 clxxi Merrill_1881_98
 clxxii Arundell_1834_I_96
 clxxiii Cagnat_1909_79
 clxxiv E.g. Sansovino_1568_52r
 clxxv Sabellico_1718_164-5
 clxxvi Gsell_1922_20

- clxxvii Duc_d'Orléans_
 1892_315
 clxxviii Renier_1851_59
 clxxix Renier_1851_474-5
 clxxx Renier_1850_61
 clxxxi Renier_1851_59-60
 clxxxii Diehl_1893_83
 clxxxiii Gsell_1922_287
- clxxxiv Rozet_&_Carette_
 1850_79
 clxxxv Shaw_1743_I_133
 clxxxvi Carron_1859_101-2
 clxxxvii Carron_1859_113
 clxxxviii Leo_Africanus_
 1896_III_704
 clxxxix Carron_1859_123-4
- exc Omont_1902_I_610
 exci Williams_1820_250
 excii Clarke_1818_VII_231-2
 exciii Tissot_1881_31
 exciv Beaufort_1818_69-70
 excv Quin_1824_311
 excvi Inglis_1831_II_83
 excvii Rochfort_Scott_
 1838_II_133-134

CHAPTER EIGHT

QUARRIES AND QUARRYING

Ancient ruins were constantly being dismantled, hence serving as convenient quarries, close at hand, since much of the population lived in the vicinity of ancient ruins, and any roads which existed were generally bad. Since the settled population in most areas diminished after Late Antiquity, ruins were always sufficient, until population increase and the building of modern towns in the 19th century required more materials and hence the reopening of quarries and the provision or refurbishment of roads. There is some evidence of marble quarries being operated well before the 19th century, and perhaps ancient ones re-opened – and it is likely that many of the blocks discarded at old quarries were carried away and re-used.

Knowledge and Re-use

Continuing Knowledge of Quarries

Just what Roman quarries, if any, continued in use into later centuries is unknown, not least because further extractions destroyed evidence of any prior working (although marble workshops were occasionally unearthed).¹ In any case, dating extraction is very difficult: does a quarry in Algeria nicknamed “la grande boutique” mean that its stone blocks were still being taken away?ⁱⁱ Certainly, plenty of part- or completely-worked blocks, architectural members and sarcophagi can be seen today near Roman quarries,¹ or indeed much earlier quarries,² simply needing the energy to carry them away – so an equivalent or larger quantity was also available to earlier centuries. Of course, some ancient cities were rich

¹ Dworakowska 1983, 55–59 for full details of quarries in which worked blocks and columns, unworked and partly-worked blocks, sculptures and sarcophagi have been found. Lazzarini 2007, 37 fig. 1, and 199–202 figs 8–30 for cipollino verde shafts at the Kylindroi quarry, Euboea. Did such shafts survive at Leptis Magna because they did not make good lime?

² Duru 2001, for quarried blocks at Yesemek, near Gaziantep, dating over 400 years up to 800 BC – presumably ordered for nearby rich and important cities: more than 300 blocks counted, many of them roughed out, in volcanic basalt, and some weighing 4 tons.

in marble because the materials were locally quarried, as Belon remarks of Philippi.ⁱⁱⁱ But there is no evidence for the cutting and extraction of fresh blocks from quarries in our Crescent between Antiquity and the later Middle Ages. Even in Italy, quarries do not appear to have been reopened before the mid-12th century.^{iv}

Quarries appear to have been working in Syria in the 17th century,^v on Chios in the early 1800s^{vi} and in the 1820s.^{vii} Were they in operation elsewhere as well? We might read Leo Africanus as meaning that at least one quarry of very distinctive marble was open in Morocco in the 16th century,^{viii} and that other quarries were simply not used.^{ix} Certainly, the city itself was already rich in marble by the end of the 17th century.^x In Algeria, the Moslems took marble from Cuicul, but apparently did not exploit the region's quarries³ – pre-quarried material was presumably easier.

Some travellers visited ancient quarries and sometimes left accounts of them,^{xi} even to details of surviving artefacts,^{xii} and were often conversant with the mechanics of ancient quarrying. They were able to observe similar features in different countries.^{xiii} In 19th-century Algeria, both travellers and colonists located some ancient quarries via the local signs of Roman occupation^{xiv} – but no thanks to the Government of Algeria, as a disgruntled observer relates.^{xv} In Euboea, at the Kapsala quarry, cipollino made up the quarrymen's house.⁴ This, following Turner's description, is what might have happened at Mendeli, not far from Marathon.^{xvi} Clark visited the quarries there in 1818, and concluded that they had not been used since Antiquity.^{xvii} By contrast, in one instance, near Bône (Algeria), the locals profited from the cast-off (or at least not transported) marble blocks in order to construct a saint's marabout.^{xviii} And in the same country, near the Cap de Garde, "partly detached blocks and columns" were still to be seen in the Roman quarries in 1846.^{xix}

Mechanisation in the 19th century was not kind to evidence in quarries. For quarrymen were now able to use modern brute-force methods, including gunpowder, which not only wasted marble but obliterated the remains of ancient workings, as at Athens.^{xx} Here a three-mile road was constructed (from a quarry of grey marble, perhaps newly discovered) to bring the marble to the new town.^{xxi} According to Buchon, the skill was now lacking to extract large blocks, and often all they got was rubble.^{xxii}

³ Antonelli 2010, 578.

⁴ Lazzarini 2007, 37 fig. 7.

Similar destruction occurred when seeking building materials in the Christian catacombs of Alexandria,^{xxiii} or when dismantling the walls of Beirut,^{xxiv} both in the 1840s. And by the late 19th century, we should factor railways into the equation, for these allowed antique blocks to be transported and re-used far from their original site,^{xxv} or of course used as hardcore under the tracks themselves.

A pointer to occasional ignorance about quarries in some quarters is a Turkish belief that porphyry was a stone confectioned in a mold.⁵ In the 1690s, Le Mascrier countered the moulded-granite notion by pointing to blocks still to be seen in quarries^{xxvi} – but the stone's artificiality was still widely believed in the 18th century. Both beliefs still being countered in the 19th century, and surely held by people who had never visited or examined the requisite quarries.

Continuing Use of Quarries

In the countries of our Crescent, we might expect that the locals were well aware of quarries and their products. Near Nicaea, for example, the quarries used to build the town were still visible in the 18th century, but unused.^{xxvii} For Egypt, we have the 9th century account of a learned 9th-century Copt relayed by Mas'udi,^{xxviii} demonstrating that quarries were known – perhaps not surprising when at least one stone quarry is known to have been working in 569.^{xxix} Cities such as Aleppo could not have been beautified without local supplies of stone, sometimes very large blocks,^{xxx} and sometimes of coloured stones,^{xxxi} extracted from working quarries rather than ancient monuments. Indeed, we learn of a large machine being used at Aleppo for this purpose in 1756, in the absence of wheeled carts.^{xxxii} In Arabia Ibn Zubeir, as well as using imported antiquities,^{xxxiii} was quarrying stone for Mecca in the late 7th century,^{xxxiv} and this quarry remained known.^{xxxv} At Aswan, the varied colours of the semi-cut-out blocks might indicate post-antique extraction.^{xxxvi} In Spain, a 10th-century author writes of fresh marble being extracted from quarries,^{xxxvii} but we cannot know whether these were re-opened ancient ones. Similarly, El-Edrisi affirms in the late 12th century that parts of Andalusia were supplied from Firrich.^{xxxviii}

For North Africa, we have evidence that the Byzantines re-used antiquities, blocks being removed from a deserted Carthage as early as the 7th century.^{xxxix} But we lack of any evidence that the Moslems actually quarried marble there.^{xl} However, it is possible that Fez was partly built with marble quarried in the Atlas,^{xli} as well as with materials from Volubilis, apparently used to build the slightly closer Meknès. This becomes the more likely since the Arabs

⁵ Yerasimos 1990, 27 for the “fabrication “ of porphyry in a mold, comme personne n’a vu une carrière de marbre.

were quarrying limestone (in smaller blocks than their predecessors) at Sidi Ghedamsy Island from the 8th century – and this was a regular series-style production for the ribat at Monastir.⁶ At Nea Paphos, on Cyprus, the Turks apparently took the Doric columns carved out of the living rock to support the roof, rather than excavating any shafts themselves.^{xlii}

Abandoned Quarries

In some cases, it is clear that the locals knew exactly where the ancient quarries were, and at times re-used them for something else. Thus in the Hauran, on-site quarries became cisterns.⁷ In Algeria, for example, Baudicour in 1856 relates being led near Tlemcen to one a mere hour's walk up the mountainside from the settlement, to be confronted with blocks and columns, some of building onyx, in a quarry presumably untouched since Roman times.^{xliii} From such accounts, which could be multiplied, we can confirm that old blocks down on the plain were much more attractive, and easier to get at, than semi-detached blocks up a mountainside. Elsewhere, as at Proconnesus, the quarries are so vast that it is difficult to know if and when they were re-used.⁸ Damaged shafts were also abandoned at quarries in France.⁹

Generally, of course, we cannot know how many of these conveniently available blocks of marble (or limestone) have been carried off for re-use. This is the case in parts of the Nile Delta, whether isolated temples (such as Beibei, being dismantled in the 1730s^{xliv} and still in the 1780s)^{xlv} or towns such as Tenny, ^{xlvi} where there are no local quarries.^{xlvii} If little remains today in the Delta – destroyed through need or superstition, writes Volney in 1787^{xlviii} – numerous remains were available in earlier centuries, as a 14th-century account relates.^{xlix} Again, instances of building stockpiles such as that at Bah, also in the Nile Delta, where blocks lay for a temple Nectanebo planned but never started, must have been rare.¹ Many sites in the Delta were targeted by books retailing where to find

⁶ Gaied 2010, 541: "The extraction of identically sized squared blocks attests that the quarry workers were proceeding to an extraction in series, as ordered by builders."

⁷ Lassus 1947, pl. IV for on-site quarries then used as cisterns.

⁸ Attanasio 2008, 748: "The extraordinary importance of proconnesos marbles implies that their correct provenancing, as well as the possibility of identifying specific quarrying areas within a site that occupies more than 40 square kilometres, are both crucial archaeological issues and may provide important information on the economy and art history of classical antiquity."

⁹ Julie 2006, 144–146 for shafts abandoned at French quarries.

treasure;^{li} and we might wonder how much such hunting contributed to attrition there. At Fayum, in Middle Egypt, many antiquities were visible in the 17th century.^{lii} But stone was always short there, as surveyers found to their cost in 1908.^{liii}

Certainly, many quarries, such as those at Alikí on Thasos, where the workings go right down to sea level,^{liv} look as if the quarrymen walked out yesterday.^{lv} Stephens gained a similar impression at Aswan,^{lvi} well known to Coptic Christians because of their churches there,^{lvii} and visited by Al-Maqrizi.^{lviii} Spoil-heaps from quarries high up a hill were often very visible from the sea, as at Marmara.^{lix} Legh writes similarly of Egypt.^{lix} If Perrot is correct, the abandonment of the south of Thasos occurred when the stone went out of fashion in its old markets;^{lx} in any case Paul the Silentiary does not mention this stone in his catalogue for Haghia Sophia,^{lxi} and Proconnesian came from nearer and was therefore less expensive.^{lxi} This stone was also more popular in the Roman world, outstripping Luni, which might have been a factor in its use.^{lxii}

But this “convenience store” rationale for easily accessible quarries does not apply everywhere, for some quarries were less accessible. Aswan, for example, may not have lost many blocks after the quarrying activity ceased, so that as much is to be seen today as in the 19th century.^{lxiii} On Skyros, Lechevallier in 1785–6 identified a large number of finished columns, as well as some only half-cut out of the rock,^{lxiii} and Fiedler did likewise in 1841.^{lxiv} Arvieux saw quarried blocks strewn over the road to the Baalbek monuments.^{lxv} One might wonder whether some at least came from a brother to “Monolith II,” another great part-quarried block discovered in the quarry at Baalbek in 1994: this was itself used as a quarry, *vide* stepped cuts for the removal of smaller blocks from its visible surfaces.^{lxvi}

Alternatives to Fresh-quarrying

As an additional complication to any consideration of quarrying, it also bears stating that it was apparently quite normal to re-cut antiquities into “freshly cut” blocks, so that we can never be certain without detective work

¹⁰ Timm 1984, 222–235 for Christian buildings at Aswan.

¹¹ Fobelli 2005, for the Silentiary’s texts, and full commentaries on his descriptions of the church (128–166) and ambo (167–178).

¹² Attanasio et al. 2008.

¹³ Butcher 2003, 368 and fig 177.

of whether such-and-such a block once formed part of a now-resurrected ruin. Perhaps this is what happened to the antiquities Leo found at Sella/Chella, where very little now remains.^{lxxvi} The columns Newton saw near Alexandria Troas in 1865 he believed were straight from the quarry, and he suggested they had been left there in antiquity – they were now being sliced up for other purposes.^{lxxvii} In those cases where antiquities were not destroyed, we may surmise that this was because more suitable blocks were readily available, and the fatigue of re-cutting thereby avoided¹⁴ – although travellers catalogue instances where antiquities were saved because the workmen could not cut them.^{lxxviii}

Quarrying in Islam

Quarrying activity in the Islamic world seems to have been by no means constant, and at least one inscription hints that recycling was common.¹⁵ The quarries at Marmara, for example, were apparently in operation before the Ottomans arrived.^{lxxix} They were still displaying plenty of antiquities in the 16th century.^{lxxx} In the early 17th century,^{lxxxi} and a century later, they were still being worked to supply materials for Constantinople construction in 1710.^{lxxxii} They appeared to a traveller in 1858 to have closed down, perhaps just after the large orders from Constantinople had been filled^{lxxxiii} – although twenty years earlier we are assured that they were still fulfilling orders,^{lxxxiv} and the Palatia quarries were still operating in 1910.^{lxxxv} Certainly, Turner in 1820 was struck by the wooden houses on Marmara, in view of the ancient (marble) city.^{lxxxvi} The large water urns in Hagia Sophia reportedly came from there;^{lxxxvii} but they are of alabaster, so might have been retrieved from the ancient site, rather than quarried. Perhaps, like the builders of the Duomo at Pisa,^{lxxxviii} recourse was had to quarrying only when supplies of antique marble ran out – and these were plentiful,^{lxxxix} even if, the later the building, the more disreputable

¹⁴ Robert 1954, 157–61 Heraclee de la Salbake in Caria: for the gradual destruction of the site by the locals for building-blocks and lime-burning; details of a large monument near the ruins, of marble blocks, with figured bas-reliefs (plates 24–8), which don't seem to have suffered at all since first remarked and drawn in mid-19thC.

¹⁵ Pascual 1983, 67 since one of the waqfs states that buildings “ont été construits totalement par le fondateur . . . avec des matériaux nouveaux” does this imply that re-used materials were not worthy of remark? Or just that it was a more common practice to have re-used materials?

the antiquities used in it.¹⁶ By 1800 marble was being extracted from Marmora apparently only for tombstones,^{lxxx} and for paving slabs,^{lxxxi} but not for building. Even earlier, the thirst for coloured marbles triggered the opening of quarries: coloured marbles were being extracted near Lattakia in the 14th century, according to Al-Dimashki (d.1327),^{lxxxii} and breccia di Settebassi columns re-used in several locations in our Crescent.¹⁷

In Athens in 1800 the standard building material was brick, and therefore the quarries were closed.^{lxxxiii} At Cerigo, unless we believe Boschini,^{lxxxiv} the available ancient quarry was left strictly alone, and people built with material from the ruins, or abstracted “antiquities” to Venice.^{lxxxv} Near the sea was an ancient quarry, but probably not used since Antiquity.^{lxxxvi} The same thing appears to have happened on Naxos, where Thévenot in the 1650s reports the Turks dismantling a bath complex (?) instead.^{lxxxvii} When Veryard was there in 1701, already little was left.^{lxxxviii} And in Algeria, large quantities of ruins were plundered as quarries as the French sought to secure their foothold in the country,^{lxxxix} and they were still being plundered in the 1880s.^{xc} The greater the need, the greater the damage; and for sites robbed out down to the very foundations, such as Chersonesus, by the 1790s not even the town-plan could be recovered.^{xci}

Cities and Monuments as Quarries

Quarrying the Ruins

In 1825 in the Crimea, Lyall asks the question: why rob out the cemeteries instead of using the quarries?^{xcii} The answer is that using what is nearby is much easier than going to distant quarries. This is illustrated by the building of a bridge in Tunisia in 1766, the account of which suggests that the miraculous discovery of stones that could be re-used without recutting meant they had fortuitously come across the remains of a Roman bridge,

¹⁶ Saadaoui 1996, 105 suggests that all the best materials had gone from Testour by the 17thC: cf. 227–35 for the Zawiya of Sidi Muhammad b.'Abd al-Rahman, probably c. 1630, and still using re-used antique stumpy columns; and 146–63 for the Mosque of Sidi 'Abd Al-Latif, probably mid-17thC, with re-used columns, and make-up stumps for some of the arcades of the courtyard. But 193–207, the Masjid Say, with a foundation inscription of 1812, was still re-using columns and capitals.

¹⁷ Lazzarini 2007 177–8, for Al Azhar, Cairo, and the Saadite Mausoleum at Marrakech. But did anyone know about the quarries themselves, for example Kourisies, where there are still plenty of blocks lying around: *ibid.*, 179, figs 28–35?

the river having changed its course.¹⁸ This is perhaps the bridge Péchot mentions in 1914, near a town also built from Roman ruins.^{xciii} In Syria, the citadel of Homs was still being quarried for building materials in the 1920s.^{xciv} And perhaps necropoleis in limestone country were especially attractive because some quarrying had already been done – hence the loss of sarcophagi from Tyre in the 1920s,^{xcv} as well as from locations in the area.^{xcvi}

In many settlements, new towns were built on top of and with the remains of earlier structures on the spot – which is presumably what an abbot in Thessaloniki means by “old stone quarries within the city.”¹⁹ Much the same probably happened in Renaissance and Baroque Rome, where coloured marble became a rage and continued in popularity.²⁰ While the city certainly survived, its monuments degraded²¹ – hence the quarrying. In Algeria, the French army documented their re-use of ruins, and lime-burning.^{xcvii} And it has been suggested that many Islamic settlements in that country grew on the site of Roman settlements, and then re-used the remains on the site.^{xcviii}

Overview of Examples

Antique pieces would generally be used first, and only then other sources of supply be sought.²² Elsewhere, as at Sparta in the 17th century, residents given

¹⁸ Saadaoui 2001, 307: ‘Ali Bey built a bridge at Rades in 1766, the chronicler Hammuda Ibn ‘Abd al-Aziz writes that “pour l’édification de ce pont, les bâtisseurs avaient besoin de gros blocs destinés à doter l’édifice de soubassements et d’arches robustes susceptibles à résister à l’eau. Cependant, la carrière ou on pouvait extraire un tel matériau était assez éloignée; le transport de la pierre était onéreux. C’est alors, et comme par miracle, qu’un ouvrier du chantier retrouva sous la terre un gisement de pierres énormes dans un endroit, tout près, situé entre l’emplacement du pont et la ville de Rades. La pierre fut extraite du site et employée dans la construction du pont. En outre, les pierres taillées convinrent parfaitement à la construction, comme si elles étaient taillées précisément pour cet ouvrage. Le site fut exploité depuis par tout le monde, comme carrière de pierres de taille qu’on utilise dans les grandes constructions.

¹⁹ Bakirtzis 2007, 107.

²⁰ Di Castro 1994, 13–15 for re-use, plus various regulations; and 48–151 for a revealing documentary appendix.

²¹ Robertson Brown 2010: “the failure to repair many ancient public buildings, the construction of cisterns and burials inside the walls, and the subdivision and industrialization of previously large mansions also indicate a definite narrowing of civic services and horizons in these centuries.”

²² Saadaoui 1996, 443–447 for summary of the use of columns at Testour, where author concludes that when antique pieces ran out, then they started to use contemporary ones, perhaps ordered from Tunis.

a choice between opening the quarries and re-using antiquities naturally chose the latter.^{xcix} Near the sea, this was probably a sensible course, since buried antiquities, for example at Alexandria, would not have suffered from degradation in the same way as those exposed to salt.^c Of course, the best-documented case of quarrying ruins is Rome where, characteristically, more probably went in the 16th century than at any other time.²³ Other classical sites, such as many around Izmir, effectively vanished with the expansion of that city,^{ci} including the theatre swallowed up in the bazaar.^{cii} Presumably this also happened in cities such as Granada, where the lower town (which had marble-rich mosques)^{ciii} is now bereft of marble antiquities – the Great Mosque having 117 shafts.^{civ} Local marble quarries around Granada were in operation by the 1770s,^{cv} and probably long before. But even where quarries were available (as on Thasos – essentially a complete island of marble), antique blocks were still taken for fortress-building in the 1860s,^{cvi} as they had been for the mediaeval fortress there,²⁴ and perhaps in earlier centuries by sea.²⁵ Nor was Thasos the only quarry-site where the workings were on the sea: similar were the nero antico quarries near Capo Tenaro.²⁶

Delos, Mykonos and Rhenea: Not least because some fragments remain, Delos provides the best example of a quarry-from-ruins, with monuments probably being dismantled by the Venetians and the Knights as early as the 13th century,^{cvi} and reaching England in the 17th century.^{cvi} Conceivably there was at least one building part-standing on Delos in the 16th century – namely a circular temple described by Maurand in 1544^{cix} – though everything seems to have been cleared out to just recumbent blocks and columns a century later.^{cx} Loot from Delos probably included some of the statues mentioned in 1581.^{cx} And 17th-century travellers to Delos believed they saw the remains of the colossal statue of Diana, as well as that of Apollo,^{cxii} Stochove suggesting that the two remained only because of Delos' location and poor docking facilities.^{cxiii} Belon claims to have seen similarly grand pieces at "Troy."^{cxiv} Leake still thought there were plenty of remains in 1835;^{cxv} but the Russians were there by the 1830s, taking material in large quantities, and perhaps setting up the lime kilns that Temple saw in 1836.^{cxvi} (Statues were much easier to break up than large blocks, which is why so many bases have survived in proportion

²³ Heuer 2009, 395–397.

²⁴ Hetherington 2001, 325–6 & fig. 16, for the Genoese fortress above Limenas.

²⁵ Kozelj 2005, for Thasos: some massive semi-industrial-scale extractions, but also some new small quarries. 478 "Les blocs abandonnés dans les carrières sont peu nombreux" – but authors do not consider that many were carried off much later.

²⁶ Lazzarini 2007, 102, figs 11–12. A drum of nero antico cjiota was also to be seen at Chios port: *ibid.*, 158 fig. 5.

to the statues which stood on them.)²⁷ Within twenty years, they had taken much more.^{cxvii} The same happened on Santorini by the 1850s.^{cxviii}

Presumably by this date the marble altars and tombs Sandwich saw on Rhe-nea in 1738–9 had also gone,^{cxix} for Swan saw nothing but rubble in 1826.^{cxx} Altars, indeed, made useful building material, being squarish or cylindrical – and they survive even today in large quantities²⁸ – plentiful enough to be built into later walls at Mopsuestia.²⁹ By the end of the 19th century Diehl, and well before the archaeologists began to tidy things up, saw it as just an unmitigated heap of ruins,^{cxxi} as did Benoît in the middle of the century on Santorini.^{cxii}

Dismantling for churches in the Mediterranean islands continued to the 19th century.^{cxiii} But there were plenty of other such sites, such as Ephesus, and Miletus,^{cxiv} Cos,^{cxv} or Citium/Kition (with large quantities of sarcophagi)^{cxvi} on Cyprus^{cxvii} – an island which had its own antique quarries as well.^{cxviii}

Egypt: In Egypt, the great granite quarries were certainly known, just conceivably because the Copts had taken materials from them in recent centuries, but also of course from travellers' accounts.^{cxix} Jomard, in Egypt in 1818, suggests that the dearth of granite shafts in Egyptian temples is because Greeks and Romans there did not wish to quarry such a hard stone – and so simply re-used the materials quarried by the Pharaohs.^{cxx} He then widens the argument to suggest that the local sandstone was not suitable for columnar architecture, so that antiquities were either re-used or burned for lime.^{xxxi} In a 6th–7th-century papyrus from Oxyrhynchus, it is difficult to know whether the substantial planned building was to be supplied from ruins or an active quarry.³⁰

Dismantling Monuments

In many cases cities and large monuments themselves served as quarries, some being demolished so efficiently that little survives. This happened

²⁷ Hojte 2005, Fig 9 for imperial portraits and bases surviving in various parts of the Empire: thus for Hadrian in N Africa 8/52, in Greece 16/124, and in Asia Minor 10/111 – these proportions are roughly equivalent for other emperors and locations.

²⁸ Leschhorn 1993, catalogues 299 from Pontus between 297–6 BC, 49 at Amisos, 76 at Amaseia, 44 at Sinope, 33 at Amastris, 64 at Ephesus – but only 26 for Samos.

²⁹ Hild & Hellenkemper 1990, pl. 308–309.

³⁰ Papaconstantinou 2005, for an Oxyrhynchus papyrus (end 6th–early 7thC) giving quantities, but no column shafts included. Author suggests (188) these omissions might have been because re-used shafts were to be sought. But the text lists 974 blocks needed, plus 120 capitals and bases. Since no one man could have cut this quantity in under five years or so, this suggests either that the papyrus is really a shopping-list for all re-used material (and that this stonemason either simply tidied things up, or was just the mason in charge), or that standardised blocks were being ordered from the nearby quarries.

at both Ephesus and Assos, where travellers found plentiful lime-kilns. Rifaud found another, still in use, at Akmin in 1830,^{xxxii} and blocks of stone were being exported thence a few years later for re-use in modern buildings,^{xxxiii} just as the granite of Assos was being shipped to Constantinople for modern buildings. Much the same kind of destruction happened in 19th-century France,^{xxxiv} in spite of the respectable French track-record in quarrying marble.³¹ Further East, stripping continued throughout the 19th century. De Saulcy saw a basilica near Beirut being stripped in the 1850s,^{xxxv} and it happened in spades in French Algeria, such as at Russicada, which was quarried for building stone – in spite of marble quarries being nearby.^{xxxvi}

Ramala & Lydda

One puzzle is Ramala, in Palestine, which was a centre for marble-working in Nassiri-Khosrau's day, and he particularly noticed the wide range of coloured marbles.^{xxxvii} But where did the marble come from? Some came from local quarries,^{xxxviii} and possibly from ruined antique towns.^{xxxix} But was it also from local structures, destroyed in the many earthquakes?³² The Christians supposedly hoarded some,^{cxl} just as happened in Rome,³³ and it is conceivable that it was Christian veneers that beautified a mashad at Lydda.^{cxli} What happened to another church in the same town is unknown^{cxlii} – but re-used materials are to be seen throughout the town.³⁴ The inhabitants of Lydda were still dismantling ancient mausolea in the later 19th century.^{cxliii} So was there more available from ancient ruins than we might suspect, or were the stocks to be worked imported from elsewhere? Samaria/Sebaste, perhaps, where Bost was surprised because the houses were built of stone;^{cxliv} other authors were aware of the illustrious past of that city.^{cxlv} At Alexandria in the early 17th century, Sandys notes that Christians were not allowed to explore ruins – presumably in case they found antiquities to hide away.^{cxlvi} A similar restriction is reported from Tripoli in the late 18th century, covering all foreigners.^{cxlvii} Do we see here repercussions of Christian hoarding at Lydda?

³¹ Julie 2006, for an informative and very well-illustrated survey of quarrying in France.

³² Guidoboni & Comastri (p. 433), earthquakes, Cat 12: dated 1033: "one third of Ramla was razed to the ground." Cat 034 quake at Ramala in 1065, and nothing was left standing except for two houses.

³³ Christie 2000, 317: the Schola Praeconum at foot of the Palatine "used as a dump for building materials and domestic refuse on two occasions, the first in c. 430–440, and a second either soon after AD 500, or perhaps as late as c. 600. The origins of the refuse are unclear, but presumably relate to a relatively well-endowed town house nearby (the 475kg of marble veneer from the first dump recommends a wealthy source)."

³⁴ Petersen 2001, 203–209 for re-used materials at Lydd.

Paros

Another example of monument-as-quarry was to be seen on Paros. There De Riedesel saw some part-cut-out capitals at the quarries, but asserts in 1802 that the locals preferred the marble of Tinos, because it was whiter.^{cxlviii} Bartholdy, a few years later in 1807, asserts that there were indeed marble-workers on Paros. He doesn't state that they were actually quarrying,^{cxlix} although what Marcellus says in 1839 suggests that they were.^{cl} In 1817 however, marble is not included in a perfunctory list of the island's exports,^{cli} and two decades later the locals were reported as ignorant or indifferent to the treasures nearby.^{clii} Thirteen-foot shafts of cipollino were noted in the early 19th century at the quarry itself,^{cliii} and plenty remain today.³⁵ Sibthorpe (traveling in 1787) saw plentiful blocks at Marmara, which had apparently been rolled down the hill.^{cliv} When we study Schuller's publication on the Temple of Artemis on Paros, the reason for the lack of a standing ancient monument becomes clear: the temple itself was used as a quarry. The meticulous reconstruction drawings of the walls of the temple (plates 99–101) demonstrate this clearly: there survive two of the perhaps 20 large blocks directly on the stylobate, some 40 of the 300+ blocks of the upper walls, and most of the triglyphs (?useless for anything else). None of the surviving wall blocks is undamaged, so we can assume the remainder were carted off, and the debris of demolition (whether by ropes or earthquake) simply left behind. Again, nearly all the cult statue (except for the head) survives – no use for that, either; was it too big to cart off, at 3.1m high including the head?³⁶ So why quarry, when easily-demolished temples are to hand? Ruins were literally a convenience store, although travelers attributed their re-use to simple laziness, as does D'Istria in Greece in 1863.^{clv} In the Ionian Islands, on Santa Maura, cyclopean walls were dismantled to build a church which appears not to have been finished.^{clvi} This happened despite fresh-quarried stone being available nearby, and being routinely used for the buildings of the town.^{clvii} Again, at Rhamnus (near Marathon), all of the columns of the Temple of Nemesis had survived when Leake visited in the 1830s^{clviii} – and plentiful fragment of high-quality friezes, plus parts of a colossal cult statue.^{clix}

³⁵ Sutherland & Sutherland 2002, figures and plates passim, plus 256–259 for this marble at archaeological sites outside Euboea.

³⁶ Schuller 1991: VII: Auf Paros sind von zwei Tempeln noch Fundamente und Fragmente des Oberhaus erhalten: dem Burg-Tempel A und dem Artemis-Tempel im Delion; dazu aber können aus über 3000 Spolien 20 weitere Bauten und Altäre nachgewiesen und rekoterragenstruiert werden, so dass sich Einheit und Vielfalt der parischen Baukunst lückenloser darstellen lassen als die mancher grossflächigen Ausgrabung.

Ancient Quarries in the 19th Century: Transport Costs versus Carrara

Many travellers were puzzled by how the relatively low-technology civilization of Rome had moved substantial weights, and they focussed not just on the obvious obelisks, or Pompey's Pillar in Alexandria, but on marble or granite shafts far from any likely quarry.^{clx} And they were certainly well aware of the continuing difficulties of moving marble, and of its high costs in a country like Tunisia with poor roads.

Re-opening Quarries

Just as travellers and would-be colonists viewed ancient agricultural landscapes as proof-positive that the country could prosper as it had done in the days of the Romans, so quarries were seen as a resource that could revive an economy. In other words, it was the Romans who, once more, had pointed the way, the only inconvenience from our Crescent point of view being that evidence of Roman quarrying, cut blocks, column shafts and the like, disappeared for ever. At Chemtou, for example, ancient blocks bearing numbers were reported.^{clxi} A Belgian company, cognisant, perhaps, that giallo antico had been the premier luxury stone of the ancient Romans tried to get the quarries going again, with extensive set-up facilities.^{clxii} At first, in the 1880s, it was apparently going strong,^{clxiii} soon had to close down because it could not compete with Carrara,^{clxiv} (which exported marble to Tunis)³⁷ although hopes were held two decades later that it could be reopened.^{clxv} It could once again have been transport problems which killed it.^{clxvi} But an overarching problem was that none of the above-named quarries could supply blocks of the size available from Carrara.

Elsewhere, in Greece, lack of enterprise seems to have been only part of the explanation for lack of exploitation,^{clxvii} restrictive trade barriers in Europe the other part.^{clxviii} In Athens itself, even the "quarries" of the ancient remains could not compete with Carrara by the mid-19th century, on either price or quality^{clxix} – in the 1840s patio floors for Athens came from Italy! For the same reason 19th-century Smyrna got its marble from abroad, as well as using the ruins.^{clxx} And even given easier communications, Algerian quarries could still not compete with Carrara.^{clxxi}

³⁷ Saadaoui 2001, 302–304 for Tunis: marble brought in large quantities from Carrara, and figures given.

Nineteenth-century increases in transport efficiency were perhaps responsible in some cases for ancient quarries remaining untouched, because increased ship-sizes and industrial-scale production meant that European quarries could beat possible rivals commercially, even taking transport into account. Just as Chemtou could not beat Carrara prices, so the Pentelic quarries remained untouched in the mid-19th century: was this perhaps because the best beds had been largely exhausted by late antiquity? But the old beds displayed all the signs of quarrying activity, including discarded blocks,^{clxxii} because it was cheaper and easier to bring marble from Italy.^{clxxiii} Similarly by 1900 in Morocco, what few ancient quarries the country contained (none of them prestigious) were left alone, and marble imported,^{clxxiv} as we are told it was for the mid-19th century palaces of Damascus.^{clxxv} Symmetrically, in 1922, the sand and chippings were cleared away from the incompletely excavated obelisk at Aswan^{clxxvi} (which, delightfully, Abu Salih believed was to be a bridge)^{clxxvii} – since tourists could now be easily transported to this attraction.^{clxxviii} But the obelisk itself, computed to weigh 1,168 tons, remains where it lies.

Algeria: Promotion of African Marbles

The French in late 1830s Algeria seem to have gone through contorsions to avoid quarrying at Constantine, for they imported blocks from Majorca (!) until this proved too expensive, and they had to open a local quarry.^{clxxix} But as early as 1855 the Exposition Universelle promoted North African marbles. Attempts were again made to commercialise Algerian marbles and other stones, at the Exposition Universelle of 1867.^{clxxx} This was on sound artistic lines, for some of the marbles were the equal for sculpture, it was said, of those from Carrara – and money was already being made from some of the quarries by the 1850s.^{clxxxi} For example, craftsmen from Carrara opened Roman quarries near Philippeville as early as 1854,^{clxxxii} while the Palais Garnier, the Paris Opera House (1857ff) was a showcase for Algerian marbles.^{clxxxiii} Originally, such quarry-opening probably happened in part because the French army, unable to get all the materials it needed by dismantling Roman ruins, had recourse to Roman quarries, using that material for their very substantial needs. They required fortifications, barracks, storehouses, hospitals, and eventually whole towns and housing for the colons,^{clxxxiv} who tended to help themselves to inscriptions and other useful antiquities for their houses.^{clxxxv} This might not always have been the colons' fault, since masons were expensive, and sometimes unwilling to work in the colonies because of entirely accurate accounts of extensive diseases incurred there.^{clxxxvi}

Other quarries in Algeria, however, remained as apparently the Romans had left them, pick-marks, steps and all, as Baudicour saw at Filfila in 1849.^{clxxxvii} By the next decade, however, both stone and marble quarries were open in Algeria,^{clxxxviii} probably reflecting the increasing number of settlers, rather than any lessening of danger for the ancient monuments.

Marble Skills and Re-use

What about marble-working skill levels in our Crescent? Naturally, these would have varied, but guesses have been made for late antiquity, which affect the re-use of materials.³⁸ And by the time we have much solid information, namely in the 19th century, cheaper transport might well skew our perceptions – although some travellers, such as Paton in 1870s Cairo, were quite clear that marble-working skills had declined in comparison with past centuries.^{clxxxix} For example, were shafts for re-use at Tunis for a mosque completed in 1814^{cxc} sent to Italy to be re-polished^{cxc} because the transport was convenient, or through snobbery, or because the technology did not exist locally? It might have been standard practice, as shafts from Utica were also sent for polishing.^{cxcii} According to Leo Africanus, the inhabitants of the Atlas had marble nearby, but could not polish it.^{cxciii} (In Cairo, marble was polished with smooth stones, but not from rough.^{cxciv} This was merely household maintenance.)

Importing Marble: Skill versus Sophistication?

If skills (or materials?) were lacking, then importing was the answer. Meknès/Mequinez supposedly purchased forty shafts from Genoa, paying for them in slaves;^{cxcv} Seville was doing likewise in the 16th century, ordering columns from Genoa,³⁹ as well as obtaining antiquities from Rome.^{cxcvi} Tunis did likewise in the 17th century, as well as doing some local quarrying.^{cxcvii} Tripoli went to Genoa for marble in the early 19th century,^{cxcviii} as did the last Bey of Constantine.^{cxcix} But Ponz also reports a Genoese trying to buy columns in 18th-century Seville, which perhaps came from working quarries.^{cc} Morocco was apparently exchanging Carrara marble for sugar, weight-for-weight, in the later 16th century,^{cci} and quarries at “Pisa”

³⁸ Mannoni 2007, for a discussion of the limited availability of raw materials, skilled and unskilled labour, and communication problems, in late antiquity.

³⁹ Trunk 2003, 9 for the Casa de Pilatos in Seville: in 1528, 30 marble columns and a “portale pro un palacio” plus two large marble fountains were ordered from Genoa!

(presumably Luni/Carrara) were supplying shafts half a century earlier.^{ccii} Algeria was likewise importing marble squares in the 1780s.^{cciii} And for a colonnaded pavillion in 18th-century Tunis, marble once again came from “the land of the Christians.”^{cciv} One visitor to Tunis in 1869 believed that most “important building enterprises” were entrusted to Europeans, not to locals.^{ccv}

Nevertheless, we should bear in mind that it was the Romans who first imported marble on a grand scale, and that this was part of the material's snob-appeal. Although importing was essential if the material was not available locally, does importing during the Middle Ages also bear the stamp of sophistication? After all, the great monuments of Islam were adorned with imported materials – the shrines at both Mecca^{ccvi} and Medina,^{ccvii} and marble columns sometimes replaced wooden ones.^{ccviii} Foreign craftsmen were also imported⁴⁰ – some from Egypt, says Al-Maqrizi.^{ccix} Ibn Battuta describes the effect on the Hidjr^{ccx} and Zam-Zam.^{ccxi} Al-Walid supposedly sent for Greek workmen to build the Umayyad Mosque (a likely source – cf. its mosaics).⁴¹ This was to be the greatest of all buildings – and he threatened destruction of all churches in his lands if he did not get them.^{ccxii}

Does this topos derive from Constantine's stipulation for Jerusalem?^{ccxiii} Did al-Walid really order the enlargement of the mosques in Mecca and Medina as well, using Greek workmen?^{ccxiv} Certainly, Fabri calls the mosaic on the Dome of the Rock “Greek work”^{ccxv} – and one wonders who put the mosaics in the Cairo Citadel, their motifs apparently similar to those in the Umayyad Mosque in Damascus, and later mosaics there.^{ccxvi} And apparently, under Al-Walid churches were not to be allowed to out-shine mosques in the beauty of their coloured marble.^{ccxvii}

It seems likely that the decision whether to quarry or to re-use antiquities was generally an economic or commercial one, of course depending on whether any antiquities were available. The building of the Mezquita in Córdoba occasioned such calculations, if we are to believe the much later account of Al-Makkari, who is quite clear that the marble for the mosque was a mixture of local-quarried and re-used-imported stock, and he gives vague figures to demonstrate that local quarrying scarcely saved any money.^{ccxviii} *He lists*

⁴⁰ Hanna 1984, 33: “Occasionally, a whole marble floor was sold in one lot” – e.g. marble courtyard of al-Madrasa al-Ganamiyya in 1059/1649, bought for transport and re-use in Medina.

⁴¹ Förtsch 1993, on the mosaics, not the architecture.

the sources for the stock^{ccxix} – and it is notable that he lists no re-used material from Andalucía itself. Here, it is conceivable that it was such building activities which occasioned the maintenance of old roads and the building of new ones.⁴² Over the rest of our Crescent, at least in those areas visited by travellers, re-using antiquities seems always to have been more popular than reopening old quarries – except for the gunpowder destruction of quarries at Athens and the widely ridiculed Royal Palace produced from them.

- i Daux_1869_124
- ii Béliard_1854_18
- iii Belon_1588_128
- iv Serra_1835_I_384
- v Maudrell_1853_136
- vi Wittman_1804_317
- vii Fontanier_1829_142
- viii Leo_Africanus_1896_II_269–70
- ix Leo_Africanus_1896_II_280
- x Mocquet_1696_157
- xi Dubois_1908
- xii Le_Mascrier_1735_39
- xiii De_Riedesel_1802_23
- xiv Baudicour_1856_66–124
- xv Guibert_1839_191–2
- xvi Turner_1820_I_351
- xvii Clarke_1818_VI_136–7
- xviii Rozet_&_Carette_1850_27
- xix Kennedy_1846_I_299
- xx Olin_1843_I_200
- xxi Napier_1842_I_380
- xxii Buchon_1843_186–187
- xxiii Neroutsos-Bey_1875_26
- xxiv Blondel_1840_18b
- xxv Walker_1897_74
- xxvi Le_Mascrier_1735_41
- xxvii Sestini_1789_213–214
- xxviii Mas'udi_1863_II_372
- xxix Oxyrhynchus_Papyri_I_CXXIV
- xxx Rauwolff_1738_II_46–7
- xxxi Burton_&_Drake_1882_I_170–2
- xxxii Russell_1756_56
- xxxiii Desvergers_1847_297b
- xxxiv Ibn_Khaldun_1865_II_258
- xxxv Desvergers_1847_41
- xxxvi Reybaud_IV_1844_451
- xxxvii Al-Makkari_1840_I_91
- xxxviii El-Edrisi_1866_256
- xxxix El_Abdery_1844_167
- xl Graham_1902_78
- xli Jackson_1811_70
- xlii Cobham_1908_441
- xliii Baudicour_1856_74–5
- xliv Pococke_1814_180–181
- xlv Savary_1786_I_295–6
- xlvi Andreossy_1822_548
- xlvi Naville_1894_22
- xlvi Volney_1787_II_166
- xlvi Fiacchi_1829_25
- l Naville_1894_25
- li BIFAO_13_1917_175–230
- lii Wansleben_1678_153
- liii Lyons_1908_218
- liv Tozer_1890_303–4
- lv Beulé_1873_I_176
- lvi Stephens_1839_29
- lvii Al-Maqrizi_1900_455
- lviii Black_Sea_Pilot_1920_78–9
- lix Legh_1816_52
- lx Perrot_1864_93–4
- lxi Perrot_1864_54–5
- lxii Stephens_1839_25
- lxiii Lechevallier_1802_I_214
- lxiv Fiedler_1841_II_75
- lxv Arvieux_1735_II_438
- lxvi Leo_Africanus_1896_II_407
- lxvii Newton_1865_I_128
- lxviii De_Tott_1786_II_41
- lxix Khitrowo_1889_I_1_207
- lxx Maurand_1901_182
- lxxi Sandys_1673_21
- lxxii De_la_Motraye_1727_I_472
- lxxiii Broughton_1858_II_204
- lxxiv Michaud_&_Poujoulat_1835_II_170
- lxxv Hasluck_1910_30
- lxxvi Turner_1820_III_414
- lxxvii Evliya_Celebi_1834_I_58
- lxxviii Baldelli_Boni_1827_I_462
- lxxix Baldelli_Boni_1827_I_463
- lxxx Oliver_1801_14
- lxxxi Walpole_1817_87
- lxxxii Le_Strange_1890_491
- lxxxiii De_Riedesel_1802_290
- lxxxiv Boschini_1658_6
- lxxxv Spon_&_Wheler_1679_I_79

⁴² Sillières 1990, 603–604 for the restoration of the road system around Córdoba from 714 to 10thC. 604–606: Caliphs in Córdoba also built new roads and bridges, but they also used animal transport (cf. Roman carts) – hence could cut length of more gradually inclined Roman roads. Hence Roman roads sometimes abandoned.

- lxxxvi Castellan_1820_I_23
 lxxxvii Thévenot_1727_329-30
 lxxxviii Veryard_1701_354
 lxxxix Carron_1859_98-9
 xc Tissot_1885_LXII
 xci Pallas_1805_76-7
 xcii Lyall_1825_I_360-1
 xciii Péchot_1914_I_206
 xciv Pézard_1922_114
 xcv Le_Lasseur_1922_13
 xcvi Le_Lasseur_1922_125
 xcvi SHD\$19_Génie_GRuH910
 xcvi Carrette_1848_IV_357-358
 xcix De_la_Guilletière_1676_I_398-399
 c Dolomieu_1922_68
 ci Cuinet_1894_III_569
 cii Vimercati_1849_7-8
 ciii Chénier_1787_II_345
 civ Münzer_2009_107
 cv Swinburne_1787_I_300-301
 cvi Reinach_1891_103b
 cvii Diehl_1893_140
 cviii Peacham_1906_108
 cix Dorez_1901_157
 cx Omont_1902_I_191-2
 cxi Alberi_1844_II_220
 cxii Maurand_1901_LVI-LVII
 cxiii Stochove_1643_15
 cxiv Belon_1588_181b
 cxv Leake_1835_III_96
 cxvi Temple_1836_I_129
 cxvii Allen_1855_I_47
 cxviii Leycester_1850_29
 cxix Sandwich_1807_102
 cxx Swan_1826_II_60
 cxxi Diehl_1893_137-9b
 cxxii Benoît_1850_619
 cxxiii Morritt_1914_216
 cxxiv Duc_de_Raguse_1837_II_241-2
 cxxv Clarke_1817_VII_248-9
 cxxvi Bustron_1886_17
 cxxvii Mariti_1791_I_62-3
 cxxviii Bustron_1886_31
 cxxix Le_Mascrier_1740_II_136
 cxxx Jomard_1818_II_Appendix_17
 cxxxi Jomard_1818_II_14
 cxxxii Rifaud_1830_236-7
 cxxxiii Rochfort_Scott_1837_II_63
 cxxxiv BICA_1832_168
 cxxxv De_Saulcy_1853_I_16-17
 cxxxvi Gsell_1901_108
 cxxxvii Nassiri_Khosrau_1881_64-5b
 cxxxviii Le_Strange_1890_124
 cxxxix Muqaddasi_1896_53
 cxl Le_Strange_1890_305
 cxli Moudjir-ed-Dyn_1876_213
 cxlii PEF_1873_57
 cxliii Guérin_1880_I_56
 cxliv Bost_1875_153
 cxlv Olin_1860_II_372-3
 cxlvi Sandys_1673_89
 cxlvii Tully_1819_I_17-18
 cxlviii De_Riedesel_1802_263-4
 cxlix Bartholdy_1807_II_106-7
 cl Marcellus_1839_II_327
 cli Smyth_1854_69
 clii Giraudeau_de_Saint-Gervais_1835_382-383
 cliii Walpole_1820_288
 cliv Walpole_1820_48
 clv D'Istria_1863_I_472-473
 clvi Ansted_1863_138-9
 clvii Ansted_1863_197
 clviii Leake_1841_II_108
 clix Leake_1841_II_108-110
 clx Wolcott_Redding_1873_179
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 cxc Temple_1835_I_172
 cxi Temple_1835_I_242
 cxcii Noah_1819_325b
 cxciii Leo_Africanus_1896_I_230-231
 cxci Poole_1844_I_28
 cxcv Meakin_1901_282-3
 cxevi Ponz_IX_1786_190
 cxevii Pagni_1829_21
 cxeviii Mac_Carthy_1819_I_70
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SECTION TWO

RE-USING, DISMANTLING AND DESTROYING THE LANDSCAPE

CHAPTER NINE

TEMPLES, CHURCHES AND MOSQUES

Decaying temples were a constant feature of the mediaeval townscape (or countryside ritual location), just as were over-sized churches and, later, mosques. Such structures were solidly built of strong materials, and often impressively decorated with columns, statues and bas-reliefs, not to mention metal fittings, some of them also decorative, others connecting together the building blocks or various of the architectural elements. The re-use of such antiquities in later buildings does not necessarily demonstrate that they were popular for their style or content. But the fact that they were frequently re-used more than twice, by Christians and Jews as well as (predominantly in our Crescent) by Moslems, is surely testimony to their durability.

Marble and Limestone

In Antiquity itself, for example in Egypt, architectural members were re-used; and rulers commemorated in marble or granite fared better than those who built in limestone, because this material is often fragile, and can be unattractive.ⁱ But it can also be used to make lime, and Jomard in 1818 notes the tell-tale signs at Abydosⁱⁱ and at Ashmounein.ⁱⁱⁱ Indeed, it is important to realise that the majority of Greek temples of the archaic and classical periods surviving for our travellers in an intact (or nearly so) state are NOT of marble, but of limestone or other less attractive stone. The list even of limestone survivals is not a long one: Segesta, Agrigento, Paestum, Athena and Apollo in Syracuse; Bassae, Nemesis at Nemea, Apollo at Corinth, Argos. The stone could be suitably painted, or decorated: Aphaia on Aegina, for example, had gable sculpture and metopes of marble.

Thus most surviving antique monuments are those of no interest to spoliators. At Jerash, the standing colonnades and temples much impressed early 19th-century travellers – but they probably survived because they were limestone. In other words, intact structures have been left alone because there was nothing of interest worth pilfering after any marble adornments had gone – and likewise for other walls, for which spoliators

could not find a use.¹ No wonder our travellers so admired the marble Parthenon: for in spite of the ravages of time and war, its incorporation within a Turkish fortress and its hosting a small mosque surely aided its survival, starting of course with its Christianisation.² And at Leptis Magna, it is the later marble which is interesting, rather than the earlier buildings (and some re-use) in limestone.³

One topic deserving full exploration (but not here) is the seeking of marble for Western churches in the later Middle Ages. By the Renaissance, indeed, marble was a declining resource, especially as Rome began to protect her stocks. Hence in the 15th century Venice forbade the export of ancient marbles from her territory, presumably because they were going for church- and palace-building.^{iv} Other steps against spoliation for church-building were also attempted for Ravenna versus Rimini^v – nearly four hundred years before anything similar happened in our Crescent. Not that this means that Venice, after the marble extravaganza that is S. Marco, and for all her links with the East and with all her opportunities, swept the Mediterranean for figured antiquities.⁴ She certainly had the opportunity, but seems (until the 16th century) to have lacked the inclination. So what price Renaissance?

Survival of the Building Stock

The majority of marble temples either fell down through neglect or earthquake, or their marble elements were pilfered. However, some survived in ruins, with their fittings, into the 1880s, as at Dali on Cyprus.^{vi} The large complexes (sometimes with temenos, colonnades and multiple buildings) were generally left alone as being too big to cope with. For example, those in areas such as Palestine appear to have been left alone during

¹ Konecny 1997 for some splendid Hellenistic masonry in towers, many nearly intact but earthquake damaged.

² Kaldellis 2009, 11–31 for conversions of the Parthenon.

³ Mahler 2006 for Leptis: catalogues limestone and occasionally sandstone material, capitals, bases and friezes. 14–18 some of this material found in re-use, e.g. in later walls.

⁴ Bodon 2005, 153–179: “Per lo studio delle antichità greche nel collezionismo veneto: alcuni riflessioni.” Author notes 154–5 the scarcity of archival references to antiquities, 4th Crusade, the horses, etc. – nevertheless suggesting 162 that legata da un vincolo ancestrale alle terre d'Oriente, Venezia conservò durante tutta la sua storia un rapporto privilegiato con il mondo greco, sul piano politico, economico e culturale – but not, evidently, in solid antiquities.

late antiquity.⁵ Perhaps this is why colonnades survived in 18th-century Alexandria, whether related to a temple, palace, or civic complex.^{vii} And “left alone” is indeed the correct phrase: too big in mediaeval centuries to be dismantled given restricted mechanical resources and expertise generally to hand, there were also few building projects able to profit from their outsized members. Hence they remained where they stood until weakened by lack of maintenance and decrepitude, and finally brought low or finished off by one or more earthquakes, or eventually dismantled for building materials. They were, however, a declining asset, as earthquakes and human intervention reduced the number of standing elements.

But even after various forms of desacralisation⁶ not every temple became a church.⁷ Conversely, not all churches derived from temples. Thus in Spain, a wide range of antiquities was Christianised,⁸ or perhaps negligently re-used in churches,^{viii} just as mosques were Christianised after the Reconquista.⁹ At Assos, the acropolis walls received a cross.¹⁰ Building-stock is usually too precious to be left to rot, and often finds new uses, as happened in late antiquity.¹¹ Rebuilding into other structures (such as in Barcelona, into a house^{ix} and, further south, into a farmhouse)^x might help protect them. Damaged and broken statues survived (to go into

⁵ Bar 2008, 288–9: In Palestine “It appears that locals showed little interest in the former pagan cult sites, and they were not threatened by the remains of temples standing in the midst of their settlements. In many cases, such as Caesarea, generations passed before some use was made of the pagan sites and building materials. Temples, at different stages of collapse, still dominated city skylines and were part of local topography, identity, and consciousness even during the later parts of antiquity.”

⁶ Caseau 2001 for an excellent, careful and detailed piece on desacralisation of pagan sites. Includes a critique of reliability of sources, and sections on motives for destroying temples (79–86) and statues in Christian sources. 98–103 on secularisation and privatisation of temples. 103–107 for Christianisation of temples, quoting one scholar who counted 83 re-uses of the temple cella in Byzantium.

⁷ Ward-Perkins 2003, 286 points out “the many temples that did not become church-sites; and the many churches that were not built over pagan shrines.” 287 suggests it was only late, with first dated case around 500, that churches were placed on pagan sites in the West. The practice was surely much more widespread than he suggests. And cf. Heijmans 2006 for S. Gaul: “ce n’est que depuis la fin du ive s. que ces monuments sont également spoliés ou transformés dans un monde devenu chrétien, où le maintien des parures de la ville classique n’avait plus la priorité. La transformation d’un temple en église est cependant exceptionnelle.”

⁸ Díez Jorge 2001, 244ff.

⁹ Jordano Barbudo 1996 for Córdoba, 10–11 re-use of mosques as churches after reconquest of 1236.

¹⁰ Böhlendorf-Arslan 2008 Hellenistic walls by the Gräberstrasse at Assos (Taf. 24.3).

¹¹ Emmel 2008 for an overview, and underlining confused and irreconcilable literary reports about exactly what happened. Lavan 2007 for a bibliographical essay. Quiroga & Martínez Tejera 2006, 134–138 for re-used materials in early churches.

museums) surely because few wanted to collect them,^{xi} for they were of no use for building, although they sometimes decorated churches, as on Polykandros.^{xii} And at Hierapolis in Phrygia, temple elements were incorporated in a nymphaeum, with differing explanations for this action.¹²

Smaller temples, located as they were in “public” space, were often suitable for conversion into churches or mosques (and some even into houses at Philippeville^{xiii} or Diocaesarea,¹³ or municipal buildings),¹⁴ even if sometimes at several reprises so that their history was club-sandwich-like,^{xiv} as we shall see. One example is Arta, a town rich in antiquities,^{xv} although these seem to have completely escaped Jolliffe.^{xvi} Here not only were antiquities built into both a church and a mosque,^{xvii} but the mosque itself was also built on earlier foundations^{xviii} – although the site had already been plundered when Hobhouse got there in 1810.^{xix}

With the hunt for fine marble, especially to convert into lime, it follows that much information about re-use has been lost, whether pagan-to-Christian or Christian-to-Moslem, as Spratt found on Crete.^{xx} When did such church-building with antiquities come to an end? It was still going in the mid-19th century, when columns were taken from one antique site to adorn a church built near another erstwhile antique site – Parthenith to Chersonesus in the Crimea.^{xxi}

In our Crescent, therefore, the record of survival is much more patchy than that of churches in the West. In early centuries temples were sometimes dismantled to build churches, some of them very splendid, just as mosques or their materials were converted into churches in Spain,¹⁵ while some temples were destroyed to support later rebuildings.¹⁶ As well as in Greece, Asia Minor and Palestine, they also survived in large numbers in

¹² Campagna 2006 – with one opinion that the Apollo structure is 4th/5thC (intended “to hide and mortify the pagan temple”) because of its re-used blocks in the upper sections; alternatively, perhaps, earthquake damage?

¹³ Hild & Hellenkemper 1990, pl. 163.

¹⁴ Letzner 2005, 36–49 for the remaining one of two temples at Pola, making up the capitolium – where now the Municipio (with its antique shafts) sits adjacent to the Temple of Dea Roma & Augustus – i.e. on the very site of the ancient capitol itself. Author underlines the point by illustrating and discussing the three-templed capitol at Sufetula, Tunisia.

¹⁵ Jordano Barbudo 1996 for Córdoba: re-use of Moslem architectural elements in San Pablo (figs 13–15), Capuchinas (88–90, 92), Santa Cruz (96, 97). And cf. 10–22 for La revitalización de edificios islámicos. Arce 2006 suggests that in general such conversions did not occur before the 6th–7th centuries – and temples were neither destroyed nor dismantled.

¹⁶ Bonacasa & Ensoli 2000, 104 for a view of Temple of Apollo, with the column-shafts of the archaic temple laid flat so as to lift the floor-level of the 4thBC reconstruction.

North Africa.¹⁷ Indeed, in certain areas, such as in Tunisia,^{xxii} and parts of Algeria, temples could still be found well-nigh intact in the 19th century, including statues^{xxiii} – perhaps one reason why few appear to have been converted into mosques.¹⁸ One garbled 14th-century account might refer to the wonders once to be found inside such structures – namely statues^{xxiv} – suggesting at least some folk-memory. But although their columns were undoubtedly popular, some temples nevertheless survived into the 19th century in our Crescent, even if in isolated areas. As Clark complains for Bassae, “Of the many hundred temples which the ancient Peloponnese contained, this is the only one remaining of which the plan and dimensions can still be estimated. Indeed, with the exception of the seven at Corinth, there is not another column standing in the whole peninsula.”^{xxv}

Travellers’ Opinions of Re-use

Temples boasted some of the grandest architecture and largest columns in the Roman world, and such similar monuments and squared blocks were markers for the splendour of the Roman civilisation, the more so if travellers recognised any of the columns as being definite imports, as Spratt did at Lyttus in 1865.^{xxvi} Conversely, when they were absent from the landscape, the traveller concluded that nothing antique had existed there, as did Gell at Navarino in 1823.^{xxvii} And where figured images were present, the traveller could be certain that the city was Roman, as was Leo Africanus at Urbs,^{xxviii} or at Constantine,^{xxix} although he was far from the first author alert to such signs: compare Ibn Haukal five centuries earlier.^{xxx}

Given the propensity to re-use local materials in later constructions, there are plentiful stories about recovering sometimes prestigious antiquities for new building, and others where this can be inferred.^{xxxi} Few travellers were disposed to praise mosques or churches which incorporated antiquities (although they could certainly recognise such conversions)^{xxxii} – Moslems were an exception, perhaps because they were more conversant with the practice, as at Tozer in Algeria.^{xxxiii} But some travellers had their eyes

¹⁷ Eingartner 2005 for a typology and a chronology of podium-temples in North Africa. The topic selected because of their good state of preservation. 183–230 for a catalogue.

¹⁸ Pentz 2002, 53–56 for Africa Proconsularis: Temple-church-mosque; reckons 56 that “virtually no churches became mosques.”

and minds open: Scrofani, at Athens in 1801, was lost in wonder at the Little Metropolis.^{xxxiv} And at Eskihisar in 1835, Burgess noted that the main mosque was built into various of the remains of the ancient agora, re-using some of its materials.^{xxxv} In many cases, re-use was viewed by visiting Europeans as exemplifying avarice and indolence on the part of the locals, as Sicard declared in Egypt in 1729.^{xxxvi} But such prejudice exists at least in part because visitors were unaware of similar re-use in the European Middle Ages and later. Indeed, the “club sandwiches” formed by several monuments were often noted by travellers, even if it is clear they did not approve of the dismantling of the classical world that this involved.^{xxxvii}

Examples of the Conversion of Structures or Their Building-Blocks into Churches or Mosques

Travellers could usually tell which mosques had derived from churches, either by a characteristic apse, not necessarily pointing toward Mecca, or by the re-use of columns, sometimes with Christian symbols. Again, they were well aware of the general sources of the re-used elements, for example at Cairo^{xxxviii} or at Sparta.^{xxxix} But it seems likely that they also missed many church conversions from Roman basilicas, because these were often so small, and of course the rubble would not have been cleared. Hence Shaw’s comments about the sparsity of church ruins in parts of N. Africa.^{xl} Conversion into churches or mosques ensured the survival of many smaller temples (big temples were usually simply too big for reduced needs), although this varied from region to region, and temples could equally well be dismantled for re-use, as at Chersonesus.^{xli} Given the smaller populations in the later centuries of Antiquity (a convincing reason, one assumes), churches would fit snugly in only a section of most temples¹⁹ – although it has been argued that mass religious conversions sometimes generated the building of new churches.²⁰ Occasionally, travellers could reconstruct the complexion of a church by taking account of its columns in re-use in the local village, as Rott did in Cappadocia.^{xlii}

¹⁹ Schneider 1999, 115–28 at Elaiussa Sebaste: for the temple, with a small church built within it.

²⁰ Fahd 1989, 41 in the Hauran: la sédentarisation des Arabes nomades dans cette région et leur conversion au christianisme expliquent le développement des villes, déduit de nombreuses constructions d’églises, et le développement progressif du commerce avec l’Arabie centrale.

Late Antiquity

In Egypt, Christian monks built churches (and indeed whole communities),²¹ sometimes within temples. This also occurred at Armont in Greece^{xliii} and, as Langlois believed, at Silifke.^{xliv} Here a completely separate church, built from antique remains, was also to be seen in the early 19th century.^{xlv} At Sudyma, in Lycia, complete doorways for the three west-end entrance were carried from elsewhere to form the Byzantine church.²² Monks were supposedly responsible for much destruction²³ – but their structures were themselves destroyed by later re-use. In Greece, antiquities were a diminishing resource;²⁴ perhaps because they were so enthusiastically re-used in churches, both on the mainland^{xlvi} and on the islands.^{xlvii} Temples were also converted into churches, as at Patras.^{xlviii} In Syria, the temple of el-Kanawat became a church;^{xlix} but generally in Syria it was the temenos not the temple itself which was often re-used.²⁵ In Spain, some temples were transformed into churches.²⁶ In the Crimea,¹ at least one traveller would have preferred the temple at Chersonesus to have been left alone and the church remain unbuilt.^{li}

Christian Decline and More Re-use

The first Christian centuries saw the final spurt of large churches in our Crescent, but these were as always an exception. Plenty of others re-used antiquities, but these were all small-scale.^{lii} In many areas, the Christian population inexorably declined, for example from a high population and concomitant churches in Egypt and N. Africa.^{liii} Inevitably, and compounded by early^{liv} and continuing Moslem rules directed against Christian constructions,^{lv} this left large quantities of often spectacularly large churches to be picked over for their materials, such as S. Victor in Cairo/Fustat in the early 13th century.^{lvi} S. Menas had its columns replaced by pillars in 1164,^{lvii} other materials sold

²¹ Grossmann, Peter, "Städtebauliches aus Ägypten," in Brands & Severin 2003 125–132 – discusses Abu Mina; Madinat Habu and its coptic town in the funerary temple of Ramses III; also the coptic settlement on the island of Philae.

²² Hellenkemper & Hild 2004, pl. 359.

²³ Braake 2008, 91: "we can assume monastic involvement in the demolition of a temple even when there is no 'evidence' for it."

²⁴ TCRA IV, 2005. 1–112 for cult places in Greece, by type (heroon, altar, stoa, temenos, temple, etc.) 52–65 for cult statues. 87–112 for temples – not very many of them.

²⁵ Lassus 1947 245–249 some temples converted into churches (e.g. Baalbek) but, generally, preference for abandoning temple and constructing church perhaps within the same temenos, and re-using some old materials. And wholesale re-use of elements is rare: exception is Qal'at Kalota, where parts of the sanctuary walls, and columns and capitals, are re-used: with this exception, he has found only two re-used capitals in the whole of northern Syria.

²⁶ Quiroga & Martínez Tejera 2006, 138–147 for transformation of temples into churches.

by the priest.^{lviii} Palestine was once similarly rich,²⁷ as was Greece. Churches in Egypt were routinely plundered for building materials in one 13th-century example,^{lix} perhaps because the Christian population had shrunk, or because the whole site was abandoned.^{lx} Abandonment and then later re-use of churches might have been part of a cycle,²⁸ with smaller churches sitting within older, larger ones.^{lxi} At Kasr Ibrim, the church built in part from temple materials was eventually buried, with its column shafts, under an earth floor.²⁹ In Palestine, archaeology has uncovered storage rooms, still containing re-used materials.³⁰ The 17th-century Patriarch of Antioch, however, seems to have had no problem buying marble from decayed buildings in Aleppo.^{lxii} In Algeria, so many abandoned churches were to be seen in the 18th century that one Moslem traveller concluded that they had been surrendered to the Arabs.^{lxiii} Not that Moslem observers in Egypt could necessarily distinguish church from Pharaonic temple, as Lucas relates.^{lxiv}

The usual church format was, after all, a good fit for the Roman basilical layout,³¹ so a church was easily made out of a public building or a temple.³² There were various ways of churching a temple. Sometimes sections of temples and other structures were simply taken over,³³ the church located within the temple walls and its columns re-used, as on Cythera^{lxv} or on Sikinos at Episkopi³⁴ and Aya Marina.^{lxvi} Sometimes occupation occurred only after a little Christian mutilation of appropriated pagan shrines,³⁵ as is found related

²⁷ Kuhnén 1990, 320–327 for the great Christian basilicas.

²⁸ Caraher 2010, 249 for discussion: “There is considerable, if problematic archaeological evidence for the re-use of Early Christian churches as foundations for later Byzantine buildings in Greece. Among the 250 churches around Achaia, over 40 of them have later churches on the same spots.”

²⁹ Adams 1996, 69: Church 287 (“the Taharqa Temple-church”) had a stone altar “made from two large pieces of Aswan pink granite, both of which had been shaped in pagan times into the form of miniature temple pylons. Most likely they were barque stands from the dismantled Meroitic stone temple... A third miniature pylon was laid into the floor to form a flagstone immediately in front of the altar.” (cf. 72, fig. 18). 74 the Cathedral: columns separated nave from aisles “two lines of monolithic granite columns... All but one of the columns had fallen, but they were found lying whole or in pieces on the church floor, as were several of the capitals.” Then buried in earth, and eventually a new earth floor established on top.

³⁰ Michel 2007, 581–606. The diakonion was often a storage room, with marble table tops, small marble reliquaries and the like.

³¹ Hesberg 2005, 130–41 for the development of the basilica, including the church.

³² Caillet 1996 for an overview of public buildings and temples transformed into churches, with plans dealing with (outside Europe) e.g. Madaura, Tipasa, Baalbek, Leptis, Gerash, Philae, Thuburbo Majus, Sbeitla, Djebel Oust and Constantine. Author points out 202 that the earliest churches built elsewhere while the temples are still in use, and conversions generally well dated: 5thC and 7thC, but above all 6thC.

³³ Ristow 2008 for examples from all over the Mediterranean and Western Europe.

³⁴ Hetherington 2001, 204–5 for Episkopi: perhaps a 2ndC–3rdC temple-tomb, converted into a church 7thC–9thC.

³⁵ Frankfurter 2008 on mutilation at Dendera. Tsafirir 2003 283 for fate of statues at Beat Shean, e.g. of perhaps Hermes, smashed to pieces and buried, “most probably by Christians

in some of the *Lives* of saints.³⁶ In other instances, a takeover happened in several steps.³⁷ In one case, presumably exceptional, the temple was fired so that a church could be built on its remains.³⁸ As we shall see from the regional survey below, re-use of the standing structure was also practiced. This protected older remains, as with the church temples at Alexandria;³⁹ at Faqra, in Lebanon;^{lxvii} at Announah, in Algeria;^{lxviii} or at sites in Cilicia⁴⁰ or Elis⁴¹ or Aphrodisias.⁴² There was also a host of temples in Upper Egypt⁴³ – from which mosques were also to be constructed,^{lxix} not to mention house thresholds, as at Syout.^{lxx} Adapting any iconography was no more of a problem than it had been for the Romans when they imported foreign materials and cults to Rome.⁴⁴

Palestine and Egypt: Sometimes churches were built of new materials, as perhaps was the church Olin described near Lake Tiberias^{lxxi} (although there are plenty of re-used materials in the town,⁴⁵ some of them in the synagogue),^{lxxii} or that funded by the generosity of the Caliph Al-Amir at Nahya, near Cairo.^{lxxiii} Again, any churches built from scratch with newly-quarried marble, as late as the 5th century, sometimes presented a quality which must have been attractive to Moslems when they came along in the 7th century.⁴⁶ At Kharbet Kesfa in Palestine, Guérin admired survivals from an old church – or at least those not yet in the adjacent lime-kiln.^{lxxiv} Nor was it only churches that got

in the Byzantine period.” Four other statues damaged before being concealed in a bath-house before 515–516 (plates 110–111) – which for author suggests statues still displayed during the fifth century, the demonic power destroyed by mutilation.

³⁶ Saradi 2008, concludes 133 that in Greece “The few Lives of saints containing episodes related to pagan cult places shed light on some key issues of their transformation into Christian churches: contemporary attitudes, specific historical circumstances, religious symbolism and ceremonial associated with the conversion of temples.”

³⁷ Caseau 2001, 121–123 for chronology of secularisation and destruction into 5thC, after which taste changes, and statues and Roman urbanisation are both less appreciated. Pl IV sketch of steps of conversion from temple to chapel at Sheik Barakat; pl V *ibid.* into church at Qal’at Kalota; pl VI *ibid.* to monastery at Djebel Srir.

³⁸ Sivan 2008, 29 north of Caesarea, at Dor “which Eusebius’ Onomasticon registered as a deserted spot and whose ruins were greatly admired by passing pilgrims. Yet excavations revealed a local temple had been set on fire to make room for a church.”

³⁹ Hahn 2008.

⁴⁰ Elton et al. 2007, 1–24 for Zeus-Olbios at Diocaesarea, 45–60 for Alahan, and 61–73 for Corycos and Cennet ve Cehennem.

⁴¹ Herrmann 1972, Fig 71b for the church at Olympia erected within “Phidias’ Workshop.”

⁴² Chaniotis 2008.

⁴³ Grossmann 2008, figs 1–8 for church constructions within temples.

⁴⁴ Haug 2001, 115.

⁴⁵ Petersen 2001, 299–306 for re-used materials at Tiberias.

⁴⁶ Laronde & Michel 2006: two basilicas built with new materials (328: l’incroyable richesse du matériel liturgique et architectonique en marbre in both basilicas) at end of 5thC or beginning of 6thC; Basilica A fortified, and relics transferred to its baptistery; B abandoned, c. 644, because of the Arab invasions.

built on temples: at Caesarea, Conder thought that a fortress might have been built directly on top of the ruins of a temple.^{lxxv}

In Egypt, where temples were generally large or immense, only certain elements were Christianised,^{lxxvi} but the very size of the structures generated awe.^{lxxvii} Smaller structures were completely dismantled for churches and then mosques,^{lxxviii} with bishops arguably fulfilling the tradition role of public benefactors to their prospering city, as at Alexandria.⁴⁷ Indeed, Coptic Egypt provided a host of churches, most later plundered of their materials.⁴⁸ In many cases, however, as at Ashmounein, it is not known whether the antiquities re-used in the mosque, described by Jomard in 1818,^{lxxix} had previously come from a church, or direct from the adjacent ancient town.

In Palestine, apparently, temples were left alone for decay or eventual re-use of their materials,⁴⁹ especially in churches,⁵⁰ while in Egypt their images were sometimes destroyed.⁵¹ The discovery of treasure served, in several accounts⁵² as an alibi for Ibn Tulun in the building of his huge mosque^{lxxx} – a structure without many columns, supposedly to accommodate the sensitivities of the Copts.^{lxxxi}

Greece: In Greece, building churches directly on top of temples seems to have been a common practice.^{lxxxii} On occasions, the name is a giveaway for ancient remains, as for the church at Palaeopolis, on Corfu.^{lxxxiii} Or, if there were two temples, then two churches, as at Chaeronea, as Buchon reports in 1843,^{lxxxiv} where the incorporated antiquities surely came from the memorial site.^{lxxxv} But in many cases even the church-on-temple was in ruins.^{lxxxvi} Greece was indeed the home of many churches, some of them extensive and splendid, built with and on top of ancient remains.⁵³ Sometimes their materials were apparently carted from afar, as for Monastery of S. Demetrius on Olympus.^{lxxxvii} Sometimes they were built directly on top of temples, as at Delphi,^{lxxxviii}

⁴⁷ Hahn 2008, 360 in Alexandria Bishop Theophilus “provided work and bread for the urban masses through his ceaseless construction of churches. These building projects, financed by the robbery of treasures from the Serapis temple in 392, allowed the Alexandrian bishop to perform in a traditional role: as an Euergetes, as a benefactor. In this way he presented and legitimized himself as the real master of the city, and the new authority in Alexandria.”

⁴⁸ Timm 1984, 1–33 for an introduction to the history of Christian topography of Egypt, and for the important monasteries of Apa Antonius (1287–1331) and Apa Paulus (1359–1373).

⁴⁹ Bar 2008, concludes 288 that in Palestine “In most cases, the temples were left untouched, vulnerable to natural disasters and the passing of time . . . In some rare cases, shrines were reoccupied by churches that were built on the same location, but more common were the cases in which the locations of the former temples, and their materials as well, were used for profane projects.”

⁵⁰ Michel 2001: a typological survey, then an inventory church by church.

⁵¹ Frankfurter 2008, 147 for “the meticulous mutilation of temple reliefs” – as at Philae.

⁵² Langner 1983, 154–8 anecdotes of Ibn Tulun finding treasure; by Ibn Iyas, 868/884.

⁵³ Pallas 1977, cats 1 (Athens), 17 (Delphi), 32 (Nea Anchialos), and 56 (Amphipolis) – some with spectacular capitals and luxury marble decoration.

or in Athens,⁵⁴ one sign being the survival of propylaea, as at a monastery near Yeniga in Thrace.^{lxxxix} In Illyria, the walls of one monastery were extensively decorated from the nearby site of Apollonia, including a figured temple frieze.^{xc} Sometimes, re-use is a mixture of types and sources.⁵⁵ Often, the source of the blocks is unknown – just “hewn stones of more ancient edifices.”^{xc1} Leake reviews the practice, instancing Daphni in 1835.^{xcii} Newton surveys Calymnos in 1865^{xciii} – a site Ross visited thirty years previously, and describes the rebuildings and scatter or remains there.^{xciv} A more scrupulous architect, on late 19th-century Cos, recorded the inscriptions before re-using the blocks.^{xcv} But nothing could save bronze – giving marble a slightly better chance of survival, as Gérard pointed out.^{xcvi}

The practice continued into the 19th century. Newton came across an example of classical ruins serving the construction of a new church at Kalamo in Boeotia.^{xcvii} This was one of many. Ross noted similar re-use at Amorgos^{xcviii} and for church- and fortress-building on Samos.^{xcix} Dodwell gives many examples of such building, as at Orchomenos,^c where plentiful antiquities were still to be seen half a century later.^{ci} At Daphni in 1801, Elgin abstracted columns, now in the British Museum.^{cii} On Castellorizo, churches were still being built from ancient columns in the 1830s,^{ciii} sometimes close to mediaeval fortresses and Hellenistic walls, as Newton relates.^{civ} Elsewhere in Greece, fountains and churches were being newly built from marble ruins in the 1820s,^{cv} some of the churches very probably still being built right on top of ancient temples.^{cvi} By then, fear of the Turks had melted away. Earlier, though, it was conceivably the belief that ruins equated with treasure that left the locals – as on Samos^{cvi} – in fear of Turkish reprisals. Not that this stopped the comprehensive stripping of the Heraion, so that by 1856 the only element Guérin reckoned might be recovered were its foundations and hence plan.^{cvi}

Temple and Church Conversions into Mosques

Moslem indifference to pagan antiquities contrasts with Christian obliteration of pagan images, for example at Dendera, with hammers and very long ladders.⁵⁶ Such antiquities were sometimes hammered by Moslems

⁵⁴ Camp 2001, Fig 97 1750s illus by Stewart & Revett of the Temple on the Ilissos embedded in a Byzantine Chapel (dismantled 1778–9).

⁵⁵ Bowden 2003, for Epirus Vetus: 105–159 for “The Christian town, churches and church building,” including imports from ancient Nicopolis (figs 6.9, 6.10, 6.28, 6.29). 147–151 for “The uses of spolia,” explaining that later robbing out of marble elements from churches muddies the picture. Churches features are H. Theodora, and the Palaiopolis Basilica, the latter built from “at least one temple” (148) by Bishop Jovianus of Kerkyra in the earlier 5thC.

⁵⁶ Sauer 2003, 89–101 for “Destruction at Dendara: a colossal task” – i.e. the pronaos was 17.2m high. A lot of the hacking necessarily involved tall ladders.

when in a religious context, as at Aksehir,^{cxix} as were portrait busts in rock-cut tombs at Korykos.⁵⁷ At Assiut, some defacing was elegantly done, presumably by Christians, but most was very crude.^{cx} An order at the end of the first century of Islam to destroy all idols in Egypt evidently was not executed.^{cxii} In Córdoba, Christian material re-used in the Mezquita was deliberately damaged.⁵⁸ Another cycle of hammering Christian images was initiated in Jerusalem by the Moslems.^{cxiii}

That such conversion from church into mosque was common is perhaps reflected in the story of the dead muezzin and self-mutilated butchers resulting from an attempt to appropriate a church in Alexandria.^{cxiii} But the sorry post-French history of the “Mosque of a Thousand Columns” at Alexandria perhaps indicates that by the 19th century Moslems were no more interested in structures employing re-used antiquities than Westerners.^{cxiv} Adapting a church was easy: hence the building of a mosque within a Christian monastery at Cairo.^{cxv} Altar screens could also be incorporated in mosque decoration, as at Córdoba,⁵⁹ where the architects were required to solve the too-long-or-short column problem.⁶⁰

In some cases marble columns from synagogues were re-used,^{cxvi} as at Doura in Palestine.^{cxvii} This is an indication that synagogues re-used materials just as did churches and mosques^{cxviii} – and also of how “neutral” much synagogue architecture was. Synagogues were easily converted into churches⁶¹ because they shared generic features.⁶² As a (confusing) result, columns bearing Hebrew reliefs were to be found in churches/mosques, as at Gaza.^{cxix} The typological transparency is illustrated by Macoz’ suggestion that the synagogue at Capernaum “was erected by Christians out of the spolia of several ancient Jewish synagogues, imported from other

⁵⁷ Hild & Hellenkemper 1990, pl. 253–254.

⁵⁸ Fernández-Puertas 2009, for the Mezquita, Córdoba: fig 27 for paleochristian sarcophagus front with the Life of Jesus, and with the heads hammered.

⁵⁹ Ibid., fig 31 for two altar chancel-screens, perforated wheels, re-used as gelosias in the mosque oratory.

⁶⁰ Ibid. The builders solved the shaft-length problem by sometimes locating the base under the required floor level, as can be seen from photographs of the interior with the floor up, e.g. 7, 8, 15.

⁶¹ Levine 2005, 615–618. The similarity extends to mosaic floors: 618–623.

⁶² David 2002 for Aleppo, 53 remains of an old synagogue transformed into the Madrasa al-Nasiriya at the al-Hayyat Mosque in the 14thC; includes various pieces in re-use, several Byzantine.

sites, for the purpose of Christian use of it as a pilgrimage site purporting to be the very place in which Jesus had preached.”⁶³

The directional requirement could mean that long churches were converted into broad mosques, but little else changed. Thus travellers could visit (but usually not enter) the Great Mosque at Gaza, displaying shafts from Eudoxia's 5th-century church, of which it was a conversion;^{cxx} and also an erstwhile Christian church at Nablous, now also a mosque,^{cxxi} but the town itself was just about denuded of antiquities.^{cxxii} One curious example of re-use is by Kabyles in mid-19th century Algeria, when they congregated in an “old basilica” and made blood sacrifices.^{cxxiii}

Some of the evidence for temple conversion into churches has inevitably been lost because later conversion of such structures into mosques was common. Some mosques were simply converted basilicas, as at Sufes, in Tunisia;^{cxxiv} or converted churches, as at Hebron^{cxxv} or Ascalon.^{cxxvi} Thus near Sfax in Tunisia, Kennedy noted a likely temple conversion into a church, and then into a fortress.^{cxxvii} At Bosra, temple (or church?) elements made the Great Mosque,⁶⁴ while at Hierapolis two mosques overlay the church.^{cxxviii} Again, natural disasters such as plague also seem to have reduced Christian establishments in Egypt in the Middle Ages, leaving them open for plunder.⁶⁵ And early basilicas (some no doubt Christian) were still being disinterred for conversion into mosques at the beginning of the twentieth century, for example at Djendouba,^{cxxix} and their contents (including a naked statuette) being mislaid or destroyed at the same site.^{cxxx}

Mosques went into decline if a population dropped or moved away, as happened even at Fustat, so close to Cairo. There the Mosque of Amr, in itself supposedly built from the ruins of Memphis,^{cxxxi} lost its mosaics in 997, for an unknown reason,^{cxxxii} and was a wreck (for the second or third time?) by the late 19th century.^{cxxxiii} Even after decline, mosques could survive and be resurrected, except when subjected to attack by the Wahabis, for whom all ornamentation was vain, but who did not disdain either massacre or pillage – and of course it was important and hence richly-endowed shrines which suffered.^{cxxxiv} Such destruction continues

⁶³ Macoz 1999, 146. Is it too big a leap to suggest that synagogue elements were selected to look authentic?

⁶⁴ Meinecke 2005, 55–66.

⁶⁵ Dols 1977, 168 Al-Maqrizi (1365–1442) notes seven monasteries in Wadi Natrun in his lifetime – whereas c.100 existed in the past.

to this day.⁶⁶ In 1833 Burckhardt saw sculptured friezes on the walls of the cathedral at Bosra,^{cxxxv} but these are long gone.

Examples: Just as it was sometimes difficult to distinguish between the architecture of a church and that of a mosque,^{cxxxvi} so some travellers seem in doubt about whether they are viewing converted temples or converted churches,^{cxxxvii} For mosques used antiquities just as freely as churches, as Buckingham observed in Palestine,^{cxxxviii} and Jomard in 1818 at Arsinoe in Egypt.^{cxxxix} This was the cause of Jouvin's confusion on the Haram el-Sharif in 1676.^{cxl} Indeed, there is sometimes osmosis between Christian and Moslem marble objects.^{cxli} Thus at Mérida, Christian sculptured members survive in a Moslem context, but it is not known from what monuments.⁶⁷ Roman tombstones, on the other hand, went into later walls.⁶⁸ What is more, mosques competed with churches in their richness and re-used antiquities, as at Diyarbekir/Amida.^{cxlii} Such conversion perhaps saved the Parthenon, which was fitted out with yet more luxurious marbles.^{cxliii} This is perhaps what Casti saw in 1788, unless he didn't know his marble varieties,^{cxliv} as was the case with Leo Africanus, who seems to have used the term just to mean "stone."^{cxlv} But Clarke certainly did know his marbles, and he bought one example, and shipped it to England.^{cxlvi}

Churches converted into mosques were usually easier to spot, as Evliya Celebi demonstrated at Diyarbekir/Amida.^{cxlvii} Whereas churches were often demolished to build something bigger (or left alone to incorporate something smaller), and were sometimes converted into mosques,⁶⁹ only disused mosques usually got dismantled,⁷⁰ but then thoroughly.⁷¹ Horace Vernet notes that the Koran prescribes simplicity,^{cxlviii} but this injunction was more honoured in the breach. In Tripolitania, Barth was told in 1849 that decorative blocks – fifty camel-loads! – had been carried away from one church for re-use.^{cxlix} Fabri was quite sure in the 1480s that Saladin had not pulled down the Holy Sepulchre because he wanted to re-use the marbles, although he broke

⁶⁶ Howden 2005; and for a catalogue of destructions cf. http://www.sunnah.org/arabic/mawldhouse/Wahabi_desecration_Sh_Rifai.htm.

⁶⁷ Arce 1999, 8: On probably Christian buildings: "The city has produced a considerable number of architectural fragments, most of them finely decorated... between the sixth and seventh centuries... the problem is that we cannot assign them to any specific monument."

⁶⁸ Edmondson 2001, 107–111 for rediscovery of tomb monuments in Mérida in 16thC–19thC.

⁶⁹ Pentz 2002, 97–101 church-mosque in Africa Proconsularis. Korn 2004, 69–71 for churches in the Ayyubid period.

⁷⁰ Levanoni 1995, 158 points that pulling down mosques was against traditional practice, for they were usually just expanded when more space was needed.

⁷¹ Leisten 2003 on Samarra, 35 The Mosque of al-Mutawakkil: "local informants claimed [to Herzfeld] to have seen single marble columns originating from the mosque being re-used as building material in the shrine of the Mahdi."

the bells;^{cl} and indeed only the fixings for the veneer were visible in 1494,^{cli} so perhaps he did take such materials. In Spain, Münzer was solemnly assured that church bells were hung in mosques as war trophies.^{clii} At Saragossa, the mosque (and then the Cathedral – was there an earlier church?) was sited very near a pagan temple,⁷² and perhaps used its materials. Except in those few instances when marble decoration was regarded as unsuitable,⁷³ mosques often re-used columns from churches. These had usually come from ancient temples, as in Upper Egypt, at Keneh,^{cliii} or Akmin;^{cliv} or at Bosra.^{clv} But Moslems also routinely re-used columns from other mosques,^{clvi} with some of the sales documented.⁷⁴ Or, in the case of Al-Mu'ayyad, for his 1416 Cairo mosque, the particular thoroughness of the marble-mad builder was duly noted.^{clvii}

In many cases mosques were probably erected with re-used columns and capitals direct from the ancient site and without the interposition of any church building, as perhaps at Hippo⁷⁵ and almost certainly at Bosra.⁷⁶ Sometimes they went up over ancient buildings, as Mahfoudh suggests for the Zaytouna.⁷⁷ On occasions the antiquities would be cleaned up (and even brought back to plain blocks) before re-use in new structures, especially the exterior.^{clviii} Little is known about the aesthetics of re-use; but choosiness seems to have spelt destruction for some earlier materials, as when an 18th-century mosque at Nicosia on Cyprus discarded decorated blocks from a church, and re-used only plain ones.^{clix}

A fine church could make a splendid mosque. At Ramala, for example, the main mosque^{clx} had blocks bearing the marks of Christian masons (or did they just re-erect the mosque?) and its splendid columns presumably came from the same church,^{clxi} with perhaps some marble veneer or paving-slabs as well.^{clxii} It is not known when or why the church was demolished – but there is a story that the Christians of Ramala did hide columns, so perhaps they saw the fate of their church in advance.^{clxiii} This was perhaps their working stock, for

⁷² Calvo Capilla 2007, 156.

⁷³ Herzfeld 1955, 282 inscription on the Sultaniyya mausoleum at Aleppo, of 1469(?): *soit maudit avec son père et que la malédiction d'Allah le frappe jusqu'au jour de jugement, qui fera à ce mausolee béni un mur de marbre ou des colonnes, sauf s'il les destine au seul profit de la dévotion et du pèlerinage au (tombeau du) fondateur, al-malik al-Zahir Ghazi*. Herzfeld comments on the edict's strangeness, for cela ressemble à une mesure de "conservation des monuments antiques," qui ne permet pas des embellissements.

⁷⁴ Hanna 1984, 22: in 1091/1680 for Mosque of al-Zahir Baybars, the court allowed the sale of lead and iron, and "8 pieces of broken marble columns with their bases were sold. The sale was carried out in the presence of the ahl al-hibra, the experts this time being marble workers and lead workers, familiar with the materials and their market price." Again, in 1181/1767, permission was received to sell 16 marble and granite columns – and these probably went into construction at al-Azhar.

⁷⁵ Delestre 2005, includes 88–9 the 27 or more capitals re-used in the Mosque of Sidi Abū Marwān.

⁷⁶ Meinecke, Michael, et al., for Bosra "Die Grosse Moschee," in Meinecke & Aalund 2005, 55–66, including re-used materials.

⁷⁷ Mahfoudh 2003, 176 for Tunis: "A la Zaytouna, la taille de la pierre, ses dimensions et son harmonie plaident en faveur d'une origine antique."

Ramala was already known as a centre for marble-working in the 11th century.^{clxiv} Near Fallujah, columns re-used at a wellhead perhaps came from a demolished church, for a baptismal font nearby had been carved out of a single block of marble.^{clxv} At Miletus, some churches and the bishop's palace were also supplied with water.⁷⁸

Cohabitation and Dismantling

Throughout this book are examples of Moslems worshipping in the same buildings as Christians,⁷⁹ or they simply took them over. Then again, in 10th-century Tripoli a building was shared between Christians and Moslems,^{clxvi} as was the church at Sebaste in the mid-17th century.^{clxvii} Occasionally, structures went directly from temple to bordj, as at Si-Mrad in Tunisia.^{clxviii} – so unsurprisingly churches were also often stripped of valuable materials to build mosques. (Conversions of mosques back into churches were much rarer.)⁸⁰ For example, at Baalbek,^{clxix} where Moslem admiration of the remains long precedes that of Westerners,^{clxx} the Greeks adopted some tottering ruins for a church,^{clxxi} just as the Moslems used pagan and Christian remains for their mosque.^{clxxii} In our Crescent, indeed, cohabitation with Moslems often had its inconveniences, and documented cases are common in which Christians are allowed to repair churches but not in any way to improve or enhance them – an embargo still complained about in the mid-19th century.^{clxxiii}

Regulations could also prove very useful for getting hold of reusable marble. Naturally, regulations controlling Christian churches varied from place to place, and increased on a whim or when the exchequer was short of funds.^{clxxiv} A flavour of such restrictions is given in the proclamation of an Imam as late as 1808.^{clxxv} Indeed, on occasion local government regulations meant that churches simply fell into disrepair and were abandoned. Money could be useful. Near Monastir in 1826, crossing a palm with silver ensured the Greeks enough ancient marble to build a new church.^{clxxvi}

⁷⁸ Tuttahs 2007, 371–377 for Miletus: water arrangements for the Great Church, S. Michael's church, and the Bishop's Palace. The fort on top of the theatre uses rainwater in cisterns.

⁷⁹ Sivan 2008, 349: "In the Kathisma, an octagonal church constructed in the early fifth century on the road between Jerusalem and Bethlehem, Mary and Mohammed were apparently worshipped side by side. Throughout the partially converted sanctuary new mosaic floors were installed on top of the late Roman layer."

⁸⁰ Miller 1920: "Morosini had converted into churches the mosques of every place that he had taken. At Athens he turned two mosques into catholic churches."

In such re-use, it was perhaps the high quality of church materials and decoration that was attractive. One story relates how Abd al-Malik was dissuaded from taking materials from Gethsemane.^{clxxvii} Another tells how marble columns and mosaics (the latter lost in floods in 815 and replaced by Yemeni “marble” – namely alabaster?) taken from a church at San’aa in the Yemen were transported to adorn the Kaa’ba at Mecca,^{clxxviii} perhaps some of those still to be seen before recent refurbishments.^{clxxix} San’aa boasted several churches, including one for which the Emperor Justinian sent material,^{clxxx} as he did to Jerusalem,⁸¹ and as did a later emperor after Hakim’s destructions there.^{clxxxi} This was but one of what must have been several diplomatic-cum-commercial gifts across cultures, such as when the Genoese (for reasons unknown) sent what must have been antique shafts in the late 11th century to El-Mansour in Algeria.^{clxxxii} Hence (and perhaps on quality grounds) in the 10th century Mas’udi had no difficulty including churches in his list of Wonders of the World,^{clxxxiii} any more than had early Moslems in making legal pacts with Christians about building arrangements for their worship.^{clxxxiv} Perhaps their high quality sometimes led to their being dismantled for re-use in a mosque and other buildings, as at Derna in the Cyrenaica, in the 17th century.^{clxxxv}

Crime and Punishment

Moslems were often predatory (and one may wonder how many churches were used to adorn Al-Azhar).⁸² So although some finely decorated churches could stand safely near mosques, as at Diyarbekir,^{clxxxvi} large numbers had their naves dismantled for the columns, the east end surviving.^{clxxxvii} Some builders were so athirst for materials that the only way to obtain what they needed was to destroy a church accidentally on purpose, as did an-Nasir in 1321, essentially by undermining its foundations near the Nile.^{clxxxviii} Similarly, there is also a 13th-century example from Egypt of a church dismantled because the river was encroaching, and its cross-marked columns built into houses and an inn, perhaps illegally.^{clxxxix} Christians could do much the same: granite monoliths could also be moved, some into a new church, and others be destroyed “for other [unspecified] uses,” as Buchon reports in 1842 from Andravida, not far from Patras.^{cxc}

⁸¹ Sivan 2008, 219–225 Justinian’s Jerusalem.

⁸² Barrucand 2004.

In some cases, however, destruction came as a result of war or unrest, or using as an excuse actual or imagined wrongdoing by the Christian community. Excuses and reprisals made Baybars react in Jaffa in 1268,^{exc1} and also in Damascus, Alexandria and Jerusalem.^{exc2} Invasion also occasioned change^{exc3} as did siege and surrender: in Tunisia, churches destroyed by the Vandals were not always repaired.⁸³ Churches could be taken over as mosques, burned to the ground, dismantled for their materials, or a mixture of these punishments.^{exc4} Unsurprisingly, it tended to be Islamic palaces and especially mosques which reaped the rewards from such destruction – but Baybars' khan outside Jerusalem also benefitted.^{exc5}

Sometimes the fight for marble between the religions was a battle of wits. At Bethlehem, certainly a rich church,⁸⁴ one inventive story has the Christians deliberately breaking the marble floor so that the Moslems would not remove it.^{exc6} At Cana, the Franciscans had their noses out of joint when, having received permission to rebuild on a church-then-mosque site, found some beautiful antiquities, which the Moslems promptly confiscated.^{exc7} Conversely, when the Christian at Odemisch in Lydia received permission to build a church, it was the ancient ruins at nearby Hypaepa which suffered.^{exc8} In Wallachia, and even given the context of semi-acceptance of ex-Christian shafts etc in mosques, the actions of a Voivode there who wanted to build a church with marble surely sailed very close to the wind, even in the 17th century – for he told the Sultan he needed the materials for a mosque.^{exc9}

Moslems were seldom more than restrictive in their attitude to churches except as already outlined, their attitude in a conquered Jerusalem being particularly noteworthy,^{cc} although naturally they cleaned off Christian accretions from the Dome of the Rock.^{cc1} But there is one exception, namely the reign of the mad Sultan Hakim, whose destructions in Egypt had almost the force of earthquakes for the Christians,^{cc2} with Old Cairo – Babylon in Egypt – offering some tempting churches for would-be mosque-builders.^{cc3} Here S. Sergius nevertheless survived,^{cc4} and Al Mu'allakah lost some decoration.^{cc5} Hakim's excesses extended as far as Upper Egypt, whether in destruction^{cc6} or conversion.^{cc7} After all, several temples had long been in re-use as churches.⁸⁵ In Cairo, the Moslems cheekily used an earthquake as an excuse

⁸³ Abed Ben Khader et al. 2003, 145: destruction by Vandals of Christian monuments, and only partial restoration.

⁸⁴ Pringle 1993, Cat 61 Bethlehem Church of the Nativity fully described.

⁸⁵ Hahn 2008.

for demolishing a church and turning the land into a garden.⁸⁶ At Ascalon, a riot demolished a church, and permission to rebuild was refused.⁸⁷ Occasionally we find written protests about such activities (as opposed to the usual travellers' accounts), as in a formal protest to the Sublime Porte regarding an attempt to plunder the church at Bethlehem,^{ccviii} which in spite of official disapproval may have been in part successful.^{ccix} To what extent it really was "ruined" in 1512 when Thénaud saw it is difficult to determine,^{ccx} although it is possible that references are to another church there.^{ccxi} A pre-emptive grab for some of its columns had been defeated before Ludolph of Suchem's visit in 1350.^{ccxii} The interior wall veneer had gone when Arvieux saw the tell-tale signs in the mid-17th century,^{ccxiii} as did Quaresimus;^{ccxiv} and indeed by 1421, the date of Poloner's visit.^{ccxv} Such protests would have been necessary because we frequently find Moslem authors admiring the marble and contents of churches^{ccxvi} – and abstracting materials, as in Jerusalem.^{ccxvii} Some churches nevertheless retained such veneer into the 17th century, as Thévenot reported on Naxos.^{ccxviii}

Recycling from Churches: Moslem Revenge or Triumphalism?

In the shifting military and political situation of the Crusades, churches could become mosques and then revert to churches^{ccxix} – just as remains could be so mixed up that it was difficult to determine whether one was looking at a temple, a church or a khan.^{ccxx} For Baratti in 1831, each religion spoliated the previous one.^{ccxxi} A good example of this is the story that the Great Mosque at Tripoli was supported on columns taken from a Christian ship (date unspecified) – if, true, presumably the vessel had been seized following an antiquities-looting expedition.^{ccxxii} But perhaps they simply came from a church – although this does not negate the possibility that they arrived by ship.^{ccxxiii} And at Ramala, there is certainly a triumphalist inscription, but it is not clear that a church was demolished expressly to provide columns for the Great Mosque.^{ccxxiv} Conversely, the famous raid on Santiago da Compostella provided architectural plunder for re-use.^{ccxxv} Here, as elsewhere in Spain, triumphalism mingles

⁸⁶ Guidoboni & Comastri (p. 433), earthquakes, Cat 048 year 1111 in Lower Egypt: at Cairo, following the night of the earthquake, "a group of workmen... who had built the gardens of ar-Rudah, demolished the church of St. Michael to release space for the vizier's garden, and the latter subsequently maintained that the destruction of the church had been brought about by the earthquake."

⁸⁷ Pringle 1993, Cat 15 Ascalon, church, formerly Green Mosque, destroyed by Moslem and Jewish mob in 939, "when the columns fell," writes a contemporary Christian chronicler; and appeals to the Caliph in Baghdad did not allow its restoration.

with political prestige⁸⁸ – all the more likely since so many conversions from churches were early.⁸⁹ Given the suspiciously few surviving Islamic remains there,⁹⁰ we might suspect that the Christians took their revenge by obliterating most survivals, especially in towns, after the Reconquista.

Is such re-use mere opportunism, or is it triumphalism? Certainly Moslem conquest, for example at Mérida, accounted for both booty and conversion,^{ccxxvi} some of it including inscribing columns.^{ccxxvii} Opportunism is always more likely, because more practical, as at Córdoba.⁹¹ And triumphalism can be secular as well as religious. It is probably to be identified in the source of the materials for the palace of Medinet al-Zahra, some of which supposedly came as a present from the Byzantine Emperor.^{ccxxviii} Most, of course, presumably came from disaffected or seized churches.⁹² Triumphalism perhaps occasioned some mosque-building as well, especially near to the Holy Sepulchre^{ccxxix} – Muqaddasi being explicit on the Al-Aqsa as a riposte.^{ccxxx} And triumphalism probably helped keep Hagia Sophia intact and useful, as a mosque then a museum.^{ccxxxi} Díez Jorge sees this as a reason for the retention of the Mezquita and the Alhambra.⁹³ The famous portal from Acre, re-used in Cairo in the Madrasa of Sultan al-Nasir Muhammed, was doctored with other re-used materials before its re-erection,⁹⁴ perhaps bought on the open market.⁹⁵ Nevertheless, the original typology of the doorway, which is not Islamic, might have suggested “trophy” to the Moslems.⁹⁶ Celebi tells the story of a porphyry slab

⁸⁸ Calvo Capilla 2007, 143: Por razones de prestigio religioso y de legitimidad política, los autores insisten... en la destrucción de iglesias para levantar mezquitas sobre ellas.

⁸⁹ Calvo Capilla 2007, 159–165.

⁹⁰ Ewert 1997 on Islamic monuments in Spain: of the 134 plates, 29 dedicated to the Mezquita, and 16 to Madinet al-Zahra, plus 32 to N. Africa!

⁹¹ Fernández-Puertas 2009 for the Mezquita, Córdoba: 409 concludes it likely that the area of the mosque had a complex of religious buildings in Paleochristian and Visigothic times.

⁹² Niewöhner 2007: some Byzantine capitals to be found in the Alaeddin mosque in Konya (cats 443, 462) and Ankara (397–400; Arslahane 403), but not known when they got there. Presumably from Byzantine churches already in the vicinity? Cf. note 954.

⁹³ Díez Jorge 2001, 336–337.

⁹⁴ Mayer 2007, 95–105 for the reworking of this Christian monument into an Islamic setting and conventions. See 97: the octagonal columns did not come from Acre, but were recycled from columns split down the middle and reworked.

⁹⁵ Hanna 1984, 33: “Columns that were broken were not sold cheaply, which seems to indicate that different uses could be made of them, perhaps they were moulded into smaller columns, or cut up and used in small pieces.”

⁹⁶ Pringle 1998, Cat 188 Ramala parish church now Great Mosque. West door (fig CX) like the Acre one – was this seen as typical of Christian buildings and therefore suitable as a trophy?

in the Suleymaniye from which a cross had been nearly erased (the lid or front of an imperial sarcophagus?) which the Christians perfidiously tried to destroy by gunfire.^{ccxxxii} So for this Moslem at least, the slab was surely a trophy of some kind – a treasure in view of the skill and time lavished on trying to erase the cross. Some surviving capitals and shafts in North Africa come from Moslem monuments in Andalucía, and perhaps their re-use is triumphalist.⁹⁷ There might have been a good supply, judging from capitals re-used in Mozarabic churches in Spain.⁹⁸ In other cases, however, solidity or decoration seem to be the reason for re-use. In Mauretania, Tissot found mosques with antiquities built into their minarets,^{ccxxxiii} as did Marçais at Tlemcen,^{ccxxxiv} or as still survive at Tozeur.⁹⁹ Fabri observed inbuilt antiquities at Jerusalem,^{ccxxxv} where Clermont-Ganneau goes into detail about re-used capitals on the Haram.^{ccxxxvi}

Mecca and Jerusalem

Nassiri-Khosrau was told that many of the materials for Mecca came from Syria, some no doubt from churches^{ccxxxvii} (but for which re-building of the sanctuary?). Certainly, the marble richness of the shrine at Mecca (this is before any later “refurbishments”) much impressed Ali Bey in 1814.^{ccxxxviii} Of course, the early adornments of Mecca do not survive, some of them being carried away (minus those sullied by blood) on fifty camels in 929.^{ccxxxix} Divine intervention sometimes helped, sometimes not: an attempt to take a mimber from Medina in 670, provoked an eclipse of the sun, so the mimber was returned;^{ccxi} but Nicephorus apparently did not suffer by stabling his horses in the mosque at Tarsus.^{ccxli}

The materials for the Moslem shrines in Jerusalem came in part from churches,^{ccxlii} as did the richness of Mecca. An early grab for Jerusalem as the correct focus for pilgrimage^{ccxliii} did not last, but presumably the beautification of the sanctuaries that this surely involved was to the detriment of churches there; but some materials for Jerusalem were sought from far and wide.^{ccxliv} Here as elsewhere, some splendid mosques, built with antiquities, lost their embellishments, whether from earthquake,

⁹⁷ Cressier & Cantero Sosa 1995, 161 three documented cases of Almoravid re-use, namely palace of Ali ibn Yusuf at Marrakech, in the Great Mosque (c. 1117?), and in the Qarawiyyin at Fez, both in the mihrab and in the funerary chapel.

⁹⁸ Noack-Haley 1991 for Mozarabic capitals: entries 37.1–40 for re-used capitals, 30 in all. 101–103 Kriterien der Typen- und Spolienversetzung. Deals with 10 churches in all, 7 of which are nearly complete.

⁹⁹ Mahfoudh 2003 fig 43b base of Tozeur minaret, with large re-used blocks.

flood, or rebuilding whim. Thus the Al-Aqsa Mosque was much more splendid in the 11th century^{ccxlv} than it was by the 15th century,^{ccxlvii} with a much greater number of columns,^{ccxlviii} some of the degradation possibly because of the Crusaders.^{ccxlviii} A few mosques were intended to be so spectacular in their display of luxurious materials that churches could probably not supply the requirements, as at Acre.^{ccxlix}

Mosques with Christian Symbols

When mosques were built including Christian elements (such as columns with crosses on them, as at Lampsascus,^{ccl} Apamea,^{ccli} or Bounarbashi),^{cclii} this may well have been seen as triumphalist. However, at Gaza it appears that the Moslems tried to erase crosses on the pillars of the church-then-mosque successor to the Eudoxiana,^{ccliii} but did not get rid of the holes for holding crucifixes.^{ccliv} And in the mosque at Kerak, "Christian symbols" were chiselled out.^{cclv} The practice was probably common in ordinary "stone refurbishment," as at Tripolizza.^{cclvi} The Sieur du Loir saw materials with crosses on them at Alexandria Troas in 1654,^{cclvii} though whether these were eschewed by Moslems for any more than the fact that better stock was available, cannot be determined. Certainly, Byzantine villages occupied by Moslems, such as Rafid on the Golan, from the 13th century, displayed plenty of crosses, which survive.¹⁰⁰ And a kiosk by the Sea of Marmara, erected on arcades, had columns with crosses on them, clearly from a church.^{cclviii}

Yet if triumphalism was the norm, then it is curious that the plentiful surviving mosque inscriptions never seem to mention the source of the materials, falling back on stock phrases such as "imposing" and a "masterpiece,"^{cclvix} or "founded on piety."^{cclx} Again, we may expect mediaeval Moslems to know what a baptismal font looked like; so was there also triumphalism in re-using such a font in Aleppo, or was the reason that it was conveniently shaped?¹⁰¹ In Anatolia, not surprisingly, Niewöhner discerns no consistent attitude to the display of Christian symbols in Moslem structures.¹⁰²

¹⁰⁰ Urman 2006, 15–16, and illustrations *passim*.

¹⁰¹ David 2002 for Aleppo, 50: photo of 6thC basalt baptismal font, re-used as the base of a porch to what is now the Madrasa Halawiyya [perhaps for its Syriac inscriptions?]

¹⁰² Niewöhner 2007, cat 348: vessel with Christogram-medallion, hammered out and used as a water basin at Çömlekçi. Cat 423, Ambo podium slab as splashback to a fountain at Demirli in Phrygia, with the Christogram left. Cat 430 Cruciform (internal) and

But surely it is *prima facie* surprising that a religion with a requirement of aniconism should in so many cases have left Christian sculpture, and even crosses, alone and unmutilated, and even displayed them in their mosques.^{cclxi} At Tripolizza Leake^{cclxii} in 1830 witnesses columns from ancient Tegea^{cclxiii} (which had already furnished a local mosque)^{cclxiv} being unearthed, cut down, and then re-used,^{cclxv} presumably in the church Buchon described in 1840,^{cclxvi} or indeed to supply Tripolizza,^{cclxvii} as Ross affirms in 1841 happened to the structures at a fountain on the site.^{cclxviii} This was resurrection to destruction in a short period, because the Turks obliterated inscriptions and reliefs in the process^{cclxix} – and, in any case, the new town was already fallen into ruins by 1825,^{cclxx} perhaps helped by one of the frequent earthquakes. A church at the same location told a similar story.^{cclxxi} But a disused mosque seems to have had no spiritual hangover, as it were: one in Galilee, erected in a church (with an erased cross on the entrance tympanum) was a stable by 1880, in Guérin's day.^{cclxxii}

Mosaics and Coloured Marbles

There are even cases where nobody bothered to whitewash figured mosaics, and others where Christian relief sculpture was deliberately incorporated into the structure of mosques, though whether for decorative or apotropaic purposes cannot be known. In Haghia Sophia, the earthquake of 1509 revealed the enormous figures of the Evangelists when the covering lime mortar was shaken off.^{cclxxiii} Although samples were presented to the French Ambassador in the 1780s,^{cclxxiv} the same structure retained enough mosaics into the 1830s for handfuls of tessera to be sold to tourists,^{cclxxv} perhaps because some side rooms also had mosaics,^{cclxxvi} but also through storm damage.^{cclxxvii} The church within the Parthenon at Athens also once had mosaics, but their tesserae went to make buckles, writes Chandler in 1776.^{cclxxviii} Buildings for a similar congregational (and “directional”) purpose we might expect effortlessly to interest themselves in the same kinds of construction materials; and it is the case that the columnar materials and marble veneer (as well sometimes as the mosaic tesserae) used in churches also get used in mosques – indeed, many of the column-sets (or, more usually, disparate elements) used in mosques come

tetraconch (external) font, now used as mosque ablution fountain at Santabaris/Bardakci in Phrygia – no Christian signs visible on the photograph.

originally from temples, but often no doubt via a sojourn of a century or two in a Christian church.

Coloured marbles and mosaic tesserae seem also to have been used by the Byzantine Emperor to buy off a continuing invasion from further east,^{cclxxix} but these must have been exceptional, since we do not find the common run of Roman mosaic pavements (as at Assos)^{cclxxx} robbed out, as was common with marble column-sets and the rest – although one account of a third-century miracle suggests some re-use of tesserae.¹⁰³ That Moslems appreciated coloured marble there is no doubt: Mas'udi cites a temple at Carthage clearly known in fact or by hearsay in his own day,^{cclxxxi} Nassiri-Khosrau the decoration of the interior of the Ka'aba at Mecca^{cclxxxii} and, before him, al-Baladhuri recounts the sumptuous silks and then marbles used in that sanctuary.^{cclxxxiii} Sometimes accounts seem garbled, which makes one doubt whether – for example – Ibn Batuta really did go to Ayasoluk, where he mistakes the Great Mosque for S. John,^{cclxxxiv} let alone the actual ruins of Ephesus. At Alexandria, the contrast between the glory of the antiquities and the base use to which they were newly put was too much for some.^{cclxxxv} Over-sensitive souls also bemoaned the use of coloured marbles in the should-be-austere mosques of Constantinople,^{cclxxxvi} while others were attracted by the re-used and often coloured marbles in the Sultan Ahmet.^{cclxxxvii} By 1886, coloured marbles found when digging the foundations for the new War Office were left on-site for some months.^{cclxxxviii}

Recycling from Classical Monuments: Haghia Sophia and Ottoman Mosques

It is a truism that many of the great Ottoman mosques are original variations on Haghia Sophia. In their re-use of prestigious Roman materials (materials sometimes coming from as far afield as Cairo),¹⁰⁴ they often imitate the Great Church, which supposedly got its stones from Athens as well as Cyprus, Syria and Ephesus.^{cclxxxix} And at the Conquest itself, Mehmet supposedly stopped his soldiery destroying marbles therein.^{ccxc} Many Ottoman mosques re-use material, as in Sinan's mosque at Gebze/

¹⁰³ Hall 2004, 238, of Beirut: in the Life of S. Eutychius a mosaicist badly damaged his hand while removing a pagan mosaic (of the "obscene Aphrodite") – but the saint healed it, i.e. during conversion of a house in Amaseia to Christian worship. So was he going to re-use the tesserae?

¹⁰⁴ Hanna 1984, 35 in mid-16th century stone columns and marble ordered from Cairo for the construction of the Suleymaniye in Constantinople.

Gebize on the Sea of Marmora, opposite Yalova – the materials coming from Egypt, not from quarries at Proconnesus.^{ccxc} We may suspect that any comparison made by travellers with prestigious temples and churches was indeed sought by mosque-builders, hence the greater the delight when the Suleymaniye was preferred even by Christians to Haghia Sophia.^{ccxcii}

In Constantinople, Celebi believed some of its materials for the Suleymaniye came from Egypt (he was probably correct),^{ccxciii} and he describes the engineering effort involved. Given the enormous quantities of materials required, one imagines the searchers¹⁰⁵ did not mind whether the materials came from temple, church or cityscape. But certainly such a rich collection of column-shafts was surely intended to declare the Mosque's superiority over Haghia Sophia^{ccxciv} – for the Ottomans were indeed interested in the ancient church's history, especially laced with myths.¹⁰⁶ Most of its masons on the Suleymaniye were Christians¹⁰⁷ – did they have something of a monopoly on marble-working? If so, because of the scant evidence for fresh-quarrying, this must have been because they were more adept at re-using antiquities. Another argument is that, the bigger mosques got, the less susceptible they were to accommodate re-used elements, which were in increasingly short supply. Exactly the same point can be made of the Palacio de los Leones in the Alhambra – which displays 1576 capitals.¹⁰⁸

It is to rival such megalomaniac designs that some of the great temples and baths of the Roman world were part-dismantled, and transported by land and sea to Constantinople. The same desire to link with the past also affected Mehmet Ali's mosque in the Citadel in Cairo, aptly described as "a huge vulgar drawing room."^{ccxcv} Curzon was equally damning, bemoaning the destruction of the famous diwan to make way for it.^{ccxcvi} Was there also, perhaps, an element of Christian triumphalism in the misleading story that Ali Bey heard in 1815 in Córdoba from some locals, that the Mezquita had been a Roman market, rather than a mosque?^{ccxcvii} Western

¹⁰⁵ Morkoç 2008, 46: "many architects were sent all over the empire to collect ancient marbles. They were responsible for locating and marking (nivan) suitable marbles and preparing detailed catalogues with stone samples (nümune), quantities, dimensions, and transportation costs."

¹⁰⁶ Yerasimos 1990, 99–159 for the building of Haghia Sophia.

¹⁰⁷ Lufti Barkan 1963, see author's tables for the numbers employed on the Suleymaniye: average of about 400 stonecutters, over 800 masons, who were overwhelmingly Christian (83% against 17%), unlike the stonecutters, largely Moslems (89% against 11%) – indeed, among all workers, slight preponderance of Christians (51%).

¹⁰⁸ Marinetto Sánchez 1996 for the Palacio de los Leones in the Alhambra.

authors were quite clear about the source of its materials^{ccxcviii} – but is this deliberate disparagement?

Antiquities Re-used in Churches: Convenience or Meaning?

Just like the placing of the dead in antique structures,¹⁰⁹ one aspect of church-building which attracted travellers was the evident re-use of antiquities in Greek churches, as Clarke notes in 1817,^{ccxcix} or Evans in Illyria in the 1880s.^{ccc} Today's scholars have also homed in on such structures, because to many such re-use would seem to indicate intention.¹¹⁰ That is, it entails some kind of engagement with the past, perhaps for reasons of prestige, tradition, or superstition but (so the argument goes) certainly with some meaning. And it is indeed true that there were large quantities of churches in our Crescent partly constructed with or displaying antiquities – far more in our travellers' reports than survive today, such as on Melos^{ccci} or Cyprus,^{cccii} or in the Caucasus.^{ccciii} The dearth is because, in 19thC Greece, "Byzantium represented a past which had no place in the national narrative" – hence the destruction of Byzantine churches, not to mention the Frankish palace at the Propylaea. Athanassopoulos estimates that 75 churches were destroyed in Athens alone, and that "the last phase of destruction of medieval monuments" dates only from the 1880s, when Greek archaeology began to lose its exclusively classical focus – too late for a lot of monuments.¹¹¹

As we have already seen, churches also exist which have been reconstructed using antiquities, although not originally built with them.^{ccciv} In Spain, for example, there is evidence of villages scrabbling among ruins to find marble with which to decorate their parish church^{cccv} – intention, no less. But propinquity usually helped: at Tarragona, a church nestled in the Roman theatre.^{cccv} Hence it might not have been unusual to find antiquities when delving into the foundations of churches there, as happened at Utrera.^{cccvii} But how can we deduce intention from location alone?

¹⁰⁹ Bell 2005 on the re-use of Roman structures in England. 152 concludes that "The evidence suggests that the placement of the dead within a Roman building, and the building of a church on [a] Roman site, was in most cases a purposeful and significant act that demonstrates more than a simple coincidence, or the re-use of neglected space."

¹¹⁰ Caraher 2010, 250: "Byzantine buildings established positive ideological links between the pagan past and the Christian present."

¹¹¹ Athanassopoulos 2008, 16.

But perhaps Leake is wise to be generally restrained, for what might these sightings prove, beyond the certainty that ancient marbles do appear to have been collected in churches, and the likelihood that the church stood on top of or very near an ancient temple? After all, there are plentiful examples of churches standing on ancient ruins, and harbouring antiquities within their walls, as Gillieron notes in the Monastery of Apollonia.^{cccviii} This was also the practice in the Crimea, in the 1840s.^{cccix} For the same facts can be argued several ways. Yes, sometimes churches carry the remains of ancient settlements long disappeared, as on Cerigo in the Ionian Islands;^{cccx} but there travellers witnessed many antique inscriptions being broken up precisely for use in building churches, as Reinach related in the early 1890s.^{cccxi} Equally, if incorporation into churches has a meaning, then why were similar antiquities to be found re-used in both churches and fortresses? This happened at Kertsch, on the Crimean peninsula,^{cccxii} at Khopi in Abkhasia.^{cccxiii}

Nevertheless, it is just possible that antiquities were brought intentionally within the purlieu of churches to protect them, with one late-19th-century traveller arguing that sacred space offered a demarcation that Moslems respected.^{cccxiv} But where is the evidence that, except for the usual ferreting for building materials, and disfiguring of human representations,¹¹² Moslems did not respect antiquities outside church boundaries? What should we make of the lavish incorporation of antiquities (perhaps directly from a temple) into a mosque near Amastris?^{cccxv} And what about re-use which is apparently neutral, rather than with some programmatic intention? It is easy, for example, to demonstrate that not just churches, but even sheep-pens, were built of antiquities, as at Paphos.^{cccxvi}

Indeed, “meaning” in antiquities-rich churches induces a further pressing and teasing question: how are we to square “intention” with the well-documented re-use of similar pieces in mosques, of which this book offers many examples? Could there be a joint explanation of triumphalism as well as pride in the past, such as has been posited for Lesbos¹¹³ or for the urban complex of Caesarea?¹¹⁴ At Bounar-Bachi, near Myrina, for instance

¹¹² Tsafir 2008, 130–2 for defacement of statues in Palestine, either by Christian iconoclasts or by Moslems. E.g. fig 8 for a defaced Dionysius from Beat Shean.

¹¹³ Kaldellis 2008 discusses churches built on top of pagan sanctuaries, and suggests both triumph over paganism, and civic pride, played a part in this act.

¹¹⁴ Sivan 2008, 28 “A walk through the streets of Caesarea meant a passage paved with reminiscences of paganism. City centres, streets, squares, public buildings and temples... solemnly attested local pride and civic spirit.”

Choiseul-Gouffier believed that the antiquities decorating the mosque were brought from a certain distance.^{cccxvii} But then, this consecration-through-effort is no real argument, since antiquities were often brought to a village even to build houses. As seen in Turkey at Bayralar or Selge,¹¹⁵ this was usually just for foundations and corner-stones, the effort no doubt depending on the terrain, and the transport and manpower available.

Examples and further questions: If a church in Greece, as well as gathering marble antiquities for ornament, uses a Roman tile as an altar table,^{cccxviii} should we believe some kind of antiquarian inclination? What should we deduce from a priest who wants to get rid of his porphyry and marble columns in favour of wooden ones?^{cccxcix} From a church the wall of which displays a surely unsuitable pagan funerary inscription?^{cccx} About a 19th-century hero who dismantles a theatre to build a church?^{cccxxi} About a traveller who finds a marble statue in a pile of rubbish outside a church?^{cccxxii} About a church that brings ancient columns from afar?^{cccxxiii} Or of another that re-uses an inscription as a doorstep?^{cccxxiv} Or when, a farmhouse being adjacent to a church, both are built from re-used marble?^{cccxxv} What should we deduce from a church that displays Roman statues, even headless and without limbs?^{cccxxvi} Wordsworth, indeed, notices the same interest, and names the result “simple museums,”^{cccxxvii} as does Choisy when he comes across a wall to a Turkish cemetery near Seidler built of pagan and Christian remains,^{cccxxviii} or Hamilton describing the walls the Citadel at Ankara.^{cccxxix} Are we “indebted” to such church-builders for the survival of antiquities, as Leycester^{cccx} suggests? Or, as one might suggest for Kerch,^{cccxci} was the church perhaps the only solidly-built structure? Again at Ankara, does the one surviving church within the Temple of Augustus indicate anything but convenience?¹¹⁶

Certainly, such survivals were plentiful, as Walpole noted in 1817 at Vitulo, searching for the remains of ancient Oetylus.^{cccxiii} In Thessaly, and other parts of Northern Greece, Leake also treats the churches as being definite collection points for antique remains, as at Skimatari,^{cccxiii} or at Paleokastro, the very name a giveaway for an ancient site, as already noted.^{cccxiv} (Buchon believes this also happened at Sparta.)^{cccxv} Other churches were adorned with fine antiquities, as at Kirtzini^{cccxvi} or Kardhitza.^{cccxvii} Elsewhere, Leake comes to the same conclusion, but without speculating on any reason,^{cccxviii} although at Oropo he states that an inscription was brought from Tanagra specifically for the Greeks to preserve it.^{cccxix} Hogarth, on Cyprus, also noted that the Archbishop rescued an inscription from the attention of villagers quarrying the ancient site of Iastrika.^{cccxl} At a lower level, it seems certain that building

¹¹⁵ Hellenkemper & Hild 2004, pls. 85, 334, 335.

¹¹⁶ Foss 1977, 60–68 for buildings and archaeology of Ankara: only one early Christian church survives, in the partial rebuilding of the Temple of Augustus.

antiquities into permanent structures such as church preserved them, as at Tarragona – while other perhaps equally interesting pieces melted away like snow.^{cccxi}

Churches as Collection-Points for Antiquities

Arguments from either end of the spectrum can suggest intention, or none. On the one hand, “If every church did it, then re-use must mean something – or perhaps with so many they cancel each other out, so re-use means nothing;” and on the other, “If select churches did it, then it must have some special meaning.” But “select” how? Or perhaps the Greeks simply liked marble columns and big blocks,^{cccxlii} as did Moslems. Certainly, churches sometimes seem to have been used as collection points for antiquities, as Bent found on Ios (Nio) in 1885.^{cccxlili} Spon & Wheler were told that an inscription at Delphi they wished to take (and did take) belonged to the church, and that to take it was sacrilege.^{cccxliv} And at Djebeil in Syria in 1862, Louet found antiquities displayed on the church façade.^{cccxlv}

But are such examples any more than strong and gleaming building materials, conveniently unearthed on-site? The art-historical imagination is further exercised when churches are described as displaying what must be Greek grave stelai. These are highly prized today, but was this the case in earlier centuries? There is no evidence. Thus Lechevallier, travelling in 1785 and 1786, describes a church in the village of Yeni Cheher, with such a stele^{cccxlvi} – but what did it mean to the church-builders? We might extend the focus to the Moslem re-use of columns as bases, by inverting them; but this surely has no ulterior meaning. The practice was both common and structurally sound, and thus suited people uninterested in the classical Orders of Architecture and their correct arrangement. At Aezani, for example, the mosque had wooden columns (in the midst of so much marble), and upturned capitals as bases^{cccxlvi} – and that in spite of the example of Christian transformations of the classical environment.¹¹⁷

Select Re-use, Total Re-use?

In spite of such intriguing sitings, none of the arguments in favour of “meaning” stands up because they avoid acknowledging a main characteristic

¹¹⁷ Rheidt 1999, for Aezanoi, including transformations into Christian in the Byzantine period.

of the mediaeval landscape, namely that ordinary people often lived in wooden structures. Hence all over our Crescent churches, just like mosques, were frequently the only solidly-constructed building in their community, the House of God deserving the best available materials. So why not start with good foundations, and build them on top of classical remains, as Dodwell illustrates at Troezen,^{cccxlvi} and as archaeology, for example in Jordan, can demonstrate.¹¹⁸ In any case, the frequent use of antiquities in the construction of ordinary houses – wood was in some areas a material scarcer and more precious than stone or marble – neutralises much of the argument that churches and mosques were somehow special antiquities-wise.

The “meaning” argument naturally focuses on the few churches standing today which display or contain antiquities. But this could mislead, for the very fact that there were once many more churches built of and displaying antiquities negates any notion of some kind of special selection, of some targeted and meaningful engagement with the antique. Indeed, many now small communities once had several churches, as in Dhesiani, a village in Thessaly where Leake counted “four ancient churches” in 1835.^{cccxlix} What is more, there are plenty of instances of digging foundations for a new building only to find suitable antique blocks during the excavation, which then are naturally re-used. Foundations are necessarily under the ground, and so are many antiquities, but lucky finds (and re-use) do not equate to intention, or to searching out antiquities for some specific reason.

Christian Revenge or Triumphalism?

As we have seen above, Moslem triumphalism was almost certainly a fact, underlined by contemporary documentation. Sometimes whole buildings were thought of as triumphalist, as when Muqaddasi (writing in 985) was reproved by his uncle for suggesting that the monies spent on the Dome of the Rock should have gone to road- and fortress-building.^{cccl} But this sentiment seems lacking for earlier church-(re-)building. Indeed, while there are isolated but late (i.e. post-Renaissance) examples of triumphalism/

¹¹⁸ Michel 2001, on Byzantine and Umayyad-period churches in Jordan, XI–XII: “These churches are numerous, at least 150 have been sufficiently preserved for study, most being concentrated in more or less important towns or villages. It is not rare for a given locality to count ten to fifteen churches... blocks from older buildings are frequently re-used... Columns supporting arches (more than architraves that are due to the re-using of stones) are frequent where pillars are usual elsewhere.”

spoliation in the Roman military manner,^{cccli} most re-use is so separated by time from the source materials it re-uses that triumphalism seems unlikely. Dubois de Montpéroux in 1839, however, would very much like this to be true of Pitzounda.^{ccclii} Sauer suggests triumphalism at the White Monastery,¹¹⁹ and closer concatenations do indeed give pause for thought. It seems likely, for example, that even as late as the 16th century mosques were stripped by Christians and their antiquities removed – as was said to have happened after Don Juan's capture of Tunis.^{cccliii} There seems to be little detailed narrative evidence that this happened – but then there are so few mosques surviving in Spain that it does seem likely. If this is so, then we might even assume that taking erstwhile-Moslem marbles was opportunism shading into triumphalism – and suspect that they had come from Roman ruins (and perhaps Christian churches) in Spain in the first place. This is likely, since Andalucía was rich in Roman monuments, as for example at Alicante^{cccliv} or Málaga, where one mosque, converted into the Episcopal Palace, boasted 113 columns.^{ccclv} This was even the case (but two centuries ago) with Gibraltar,^{ccclvi} which also imported Roman remains from across the bay.^{ccclvii} Perhaps Cádiz, where the Great Mosque had 70 columns,^{ccclviii} did likewise – or imported from North Africa. Is this where Almería got her eighty-plus shafts?^{ccclix}

But re-use of Moslem elements by the 18th century can scarcely be triumphalism (surely few people could recognise Moslem constructions by then?). In Málaga materials were vanishing from the Alcazar in the 1770s,^{ccclx} and were probably very fine;^{ccclxi} but where Laborde found plenty to interest him forty years later^{ccclxii} and Valencia, where they were subject to modernisation projects,^{ccclxiii} which caused great damage to her antiquities in the 19th century.¹²⁰ Utilitarianism not triumphalism probably sealed the fate of the arms of the Emperor Charles V in his fort at La Goulette, which were sawn into three by the Moslems, and re-used as steps.^{ccclxiv} Of course, the re-use of large marble columns for triumphalist purposes interested Westerners as well – hence the large shaft at Mothoni erected by the Venetians with the Lion of St. Mark on top, known to the locals as “The Sacred Dog.”^{ccclxv} De la Guilletière suggests that a cunning

¹¹⁹ Sauer 2003, 102–105 for Destruction and Re-use in Egypt and Palestine – Abbot Shenoute at the White Monastery, re-using slabs face-up, author suggests to propagate Christian victory, although not enough on display to be certain. Then writes of the Marnion at Gaza.

¹²⁰ Berlanga Palomo 2005 for Málaga: 15–51 for overview, including 15–18 development of protective regulations in 1844ff. 141–153 the Monuments Commission for Málaga, 1844–1900 – characterised, writes author (141) by discontinuity.

vizir at Sparta actually protected the antiquities by explaining to an ambitious builder that his new building would shine the more when seen near to such earlier structures!^{ccclxvi}

Triumphalism on a lesser scale might have been Western-Christian as well, if the Venetians really did take two marble slabs from Pola in 1380 and inscribe them appropriately.^{ccclxvii}

Re-use from temples and other ancient buildings into churches and mosques is frequent and, rather than being always meaningful (for we lack documentation) displays a concern for the solidity of important new buildings, and for their embellishment with fine materials such as marbles white and coloured. Religious buildings, indeed, could have luxury lavished upon them, sometimes in the form of antiquities – whereas domestic buildings got only the scraps because, unless they were prestige palaces, they were not considered important. Given such a large incidence of re-use, it is difficult to see how it was more than occasionally significant. Indeed, a useful and (I imagine) elegantly short PhD thesis might well be written cataloguing churches and mosques (and tombs?) built before 1800 or even 1900 in our Crescent which use only freshly-quarried materials. That is the direction in which investigations of meaning, and probably painful cost-accounting, should be targeted.

- i Naville_1894_10
- ii Jomard_1818_II_12
- iii Jomard_1818_II_12b
- iv Pasolini_1874_228
- v Pasolini_1874_227–8
- vi Colonna-Ceccaldi_1882_37
- vii Le_Mascrier_1735_140
- viii Caro_1883_93
- ix Laborde_1809_I_34–5
- x Carter_1777_I_98–9
- xi Ross_1840_28
- xii Fiedler_1841_II_149–150
- xiii Marcotte_de_Quivières_1855_71–2
- xiv Buchon_1843_335
- xv Leake_1835_I_208
- xvi Jolliffe_1827_24
- xvii Broughton_1858_I_32
- xviii Spencer_1851_II_198–9
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- xx Spratt_1865_II_94
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CHAPTER TEN

ANCIENT MONUMENTS: SUPERSTITION, PRESERVATION, DEGRADATION & DESTRUCTION

Pagan antiquities had various afterlives. Statues could be viewed as “idols” with apotropaic properties, shunned for this very reason, or broken open to get at the treasure they surely contained. Any antiquities could become popular if they were thought to be medically efficacious – and this without distinction of religion. The characters on inscriptions (which could not be read) were sometimes seen as offering directions to the location of buried treasure. It was foreigners, generally conceived to have built the same antiquities, who held the key, and had returned to reclaim their wealth. Treasure-hunting and the destruction of antiquities thought to contain them was therefore rife, probably in all centuries. Nevertheless, more antiquities were probably defaced and destroyed by visiting Western tourists than by such local superstitions.

Antiquities as Powerful Talismans

Until well into the 19th century, most locals in our Crescent remained uninterested in antiquities per se, and could not conceive that Europeans wished to collect them simply for their beauty, or antique associations, or lettering.¹ This is not by any means to say that they ignored them, for one theme which runs throughout our Crescent is the belief that antiquities possess various kinds of power, sometimes to heal, sometimes to bring wealth, sometimes to destroy,¹ and it connects with a broad literature on marvels,² in which there is much commonality between Christian and Moslem beliefs (cf. the *Chansons de Geste*). Frequently this power is bound up with the search for, and discovery of treasure which, so the story

¹ Frankfurter 2008, 135–6 for late antique Egypt: “I am less interested in documentation of particular historical figures than in the range of iconoclastic acts remembered as meaningful in Egyptian Christian tradition.” 137–8 for a list of caveats in the use of hagiography.

² Ducène 2006 is useful for its introduction on mediaeval Islamic marvels-literature, and for the notes on the places al-Gharnati (1080–1168) visited in Egypt – Alexandria, Cairo, Abusir, Heliopolis.

goes, had been buried in olden timesⁱⁱ and the discovery of which was a common explanation when people got unaccountably rich, perhaps from discovering a hoard of the Fatimid Caliphs.ⁱⁱⁱ Myths abound about rich and mysterious cities, such as the City of Bronze, perhaps relaying reports about distant ancient cities and fabulous remains.³ What is certain is that many antiquities must have been destroyed in such searches, as Maqrizi recounts for Cairo, and the destruction of an idol.^{iv} While there was naturally more rhetoric than reality in early disquisitions on pagan statues,⁴ such tales were still current in late 19th century Constantinople.^v For the Egyptians, Norden reported that they could not conceive that Europeans visited Egypt to dig for scholarly purposes: treasure and magic must be involved^{vi} – perhaps an idea derived from ancient Egyptian folklore.⁵ For such perverse reasons, Hester Stanhope outrageously had a colossal statue at Ascalon broken to pieces.^{vii} Such beliefs continued into the 20th century, not least because digging did indeed reveal treasures.⁶

Antiquities and Treasure

Casual destruction of antiquities often occurred because of long-standing traditions that they marked the location of treasure. Nor was the general opinion necessarily wrong, because temples and churches did indeed often contain treasuries and treasures.⁷ This supposedly lost the world the Lion of Chaeronea in the mid-19th century,^{viii} and probably a large number of funerary antiquities.^{ix} Similarly, casual discoveries of treasure indicated the possible rewards of knocking down old walls,^x even if only squared blocks were unearthed.^{xi} There must have been many more discoveries than recent fortuitous finds suggest.⁸ For degradation is a constant, as people plunder ruins for building materials, and search dili-

³ Genequand 1992: supposedly in the Sahara, Morocco, or Andalucía.

⁴ Perry 2008, for more rhetoric than reality. NB Libanius was a pagan.

⁵ Ghallab 1929, 263–283 for magic in Egyptian folklore; based largely on Maspero and the 1001 Nights.

⁶ Salama 2002, 1962–1966 for Moslem legends; 1969–1999 for inventory of 89 treasures found, mostly in the 19th- and 20th centuries.

⁷ Metzger 1996 on Byzantine treasures, and 35–41 for e.g. the treasure found in Lycia in 1963, now Antalya/Dumbarton Oaks.

⁸ Gelichi 2004: see especially, 18–45, with maps of find-locations at pp. 44 & 45. Only two are shown in N Africa, two in Egypt, and one in Syria – none in Turkey. Does this reflect archaeological activity, interest, or have so many treasures been abstracted from these lands?

gently for treasure. Thus in the late 12th or early 13th century Abd Al-Latif, describing in detail the structure and decorations of the “green chamber” at Memphis, wonders at its intricacy, size and beauty, and deplores the damage done to it by treasure hunters.^{xii}

One way of neutralising any would-be maleficence on the part of antique materials was perhaps to place them incorrectly – a neat explanation for those who want to find meaning in re-use. In at least one case, when Newton attempted to turn a column shaft the right way up so as to copy the inscription, he was abused by the locals, and was sure they had inverted it for some reason.^{xiii} In another, a woman held an inscription in her house, maintaining it guarded against evil spirits – though this might have been simply a ploy to extract more money from the copyist.^{xiv} But in some instances, even when the shafts in question were well out of the town, superstition could prevent their removal even for big money.^{xv} Sarcophagi were also thought to house treasure, and a freshly-unearthed vessel could draw a crowd eager to see the contents, as happened at Assos in 1787.^{xvi}

The easiest way to get hold of antiquities was to go into partnership with a treasure-seeking local, who would let the foreigner have the antiquities, but go halves on the treasure found, as happened in early 19th-century Janina.^{xvii} In an incident at Palmyra, a local sheik was asked to pay if a statue was broken and yielded no treasure; but he refused the wager, and let Burckhardt go with the antiquity;^{xviii} while in Athens in the early 19th century the Vaivode was sure foreigners came to Greece with secret knowledge of treasure.^{xix} Even when a statue was reburied to protect it, it could be dug up and broken.^{xx}

To discover treasure, then, antiquities had to be destroyed – unless marble was the treasure to be discovered, as it was in a well-known topos of Procopius, concerning Jerusalem.^{xxi} Accounts of destruction were retailed to travellers, the locals maintaining that books were available indicating buried treasure,^{xxii} an important one being held (it was averred) in Constantinople.^{xxiii} Such books often recommended breaking marble to get to the treasure^{xxiv} – but mosques along with churches (noted for their marble) were also targeted,^{xxv} so perhaps the author was evenhandedly destructive. The locals also told tall stories on the subject as well:^{xxvi} one of the best, in the Hauran, was that foreigners could make monuments disappear.^{xxvii} The easiest if most destructive way of demolishing for treasure was to blow the building up, as happened at Dendera in 1798.^{xxviii} The Lion of Chaeronea may – or may not – have suffered the same fate at the hands of a modern, uncunning Odysseus.^{xxix} At Pompey’s Pillar, which Le Mascrier in the 1690s feared the locals would bring down through burrowing for treasure,^{xxx} a similar gunpowder plot at the end of the century came to naught through incompetence,^{xxxi} yielding only a hieroglyph-covered

stone^{xxxii} – and there was probably more than one unsuccessful attempt.^{xxxiii} For the Black Stone of Susa, a block of marble bearing inscriptions in the tomb of Daniel, the attempt succeeded, the crime being blamed on foreigners.^{xxxiv} Both these blow-ups were in the early 19th century.

Foreigners Equipped with Secret Knowledge

An extension of the natural interest in treasure – and perhaps an argument why so many antiquities were *not* blown up or otherwise destroyed – was the local conviction that Europeans possessed hermetic knowledge about such treasures, and that any professed interest (in inscriptions, or statues) was just a cover. Equally long-lasting was the conviction that such inscription-hunters were agents of the government.^{xxxv} Hence another theme helping destruction is that foreigners have arrived to take away treasures, for only they can know where they are hidden, and that by reading ancient inscriptions. A variation on this was to be found at Karahissar, where the treasure contained in an ancient head disappeared once it was broken open.^{xxxvi} Large Egyptian statues at Aswan are said to have suffered for the same reason.^{xxxvii}

In fact, what surely happened in some cases was that the travellers prized antiquities highly for their own sake, whereas the locals considered them valueless except as building materials; so offering a high price would make a local suspect treasure hidden inside.^{xxxviii} Rifaud in the 1820s was fascinated by how his excavating labourers interpreted every innocent gesture as full of meaning: taking off the hat to enter a tomb, as a sign of respect or worship; wetting statues with the tongue to identify the stone, as kissing them^{xxxix} – a religious gesture that any Moslem might associate with Mecca.^{xl}

Some Christians also harboured strange ideas about Mahomet and the Haj (i.e. that it was for commerce), again the result of ignorance.^{xli} Sometimes both Christians and Moslems thought that only a European could move an antiquity without disastrous consequences.^{xlii} Part of the problem seems to have been vagueness on the part of some locals about the past: Buchon, for example, reports that for the Greeks he encountered the Hellenes were semi-mythical, and their own history began with the recent revolution.^{xliii} For Byzantine Greeks, however, the destruction of one statue from near the walls of Constantinople, broken up for the lime kiln in the 10th century, was the cause of an outbreak of disease.^{xliv}

Special Marbles

Old marbles could be special for a wide variety of reasons. Some sheets of marble had “images” implanted in them, and were therefore highly prized from mediaeval times onward,⁹ one such being displayed in a convent in Granada.^{xlv} A marble column with the image of Christ on it shed tears every Friday, venerated by all religions;^{xlvi} not to be outdone, an ancient shaft in an Egyptian mosque shed water every Friday.^{xlvii} One in a mosque in Damietta had medicinal properties,^{xlviii} as did two shafts in the Mosque of Qalawun in Cairo (against jaundice), plus the threshold (against coughs).^{xlix} At Jaffa, a column was shown to which S. Peter moored his fishing boat.¹ Two prestigious shafts stood in the Holy Apostles, at Constantinople, associated with Christ and S. Peter.^{li} Cautionary tales exist in abundance about the results of trying to steal columns for churches, as for example when the attempt to deprive Bethlehem of her shafts and wall veneers for a palace in Cairo brought forth an immense serpent, as retailed in a story of 1506;^{lii} Poloner was told almost the same story in 1421.^{liii} However, a man stealing columns in 16th-century Cairo was simply caught.¹⁰ And when antique statues were believed to contain treasure, they could disappear almost from under the very noses of Westerners, never to be seen again, as Michaud & Poujalat found at Izmir in 1834.^{liv}

Treasures and Magic

Monuments could of course be a marker for treasure-finding, as hoards have been found underneath them.¹¹ Some treasures were beneficent if elusive, as in the 14th-century story of the gold discovered to help complete the building of Haghia Sophia.^{lv} Sometimes, to find them, a visit to the dead (who knew about such things) was required.¹² Sometimes the antiquities opened of their own accord, to spew forth gold, as happened in an undated Arabic legend at the Tombeau de la Chrétienne.^{lvi} But treasures could also be under sometimes malign influence, once again when

⁹ Julie 2006, 31–37 for images implanted in the marble.

¹⁰ Hanna 1984, 33–4: in 980/1572, a man caught with two columns stolen from the mihrab of the Mosque of Zar’ al-Nawa, which he was carrying on a camel.

¹¹ Foss 1975, 737 at Sardis “traces of destruction are not evident. At the temple, for example, a hoard of 216 copper coins, the latest of 615, was hidden in a sack under a block of marble and never recovered.”

¹² Schoeller 2004, II 116: a common motif in stories about visiting the graves of the deceased is that they would have knowledge of things hidden, such as treasure.

trying to penetrate the Tombeau de la Chrétienne.^{lvii} In a tenth-century account an over-enthusiastic assistant in the opening of an Egyptian tomb suffered the full Indiana Jones panoply of fiendish devices,^{lviii} some no doubt inspired by a continuing tradition of automata.¹³ Much later, one seeker at Baalbek in 1831 retorted that he would protect himself by making the sign of the cross.^{lix}

But who put the treasures there in the first place? Leo Africanus has a whole section on “Of such as search for treasures in Fez,” reporting on the belief that the Romans hid much treasure before vacating the country.^{lx} In local tradition, indeed, Fez was founded on Roman ruins, when its new town had been founded in 1276.^{lxi} This happened following one of those amazing coincidences – in this case an old book revealed to an imam – so common in tall stories.^{lxii} Treasure Baedekers might also have been popular: one has survived from Egypt (10th century?), which eggs on its readers to destroy antiquities and recover the treasures underneath them.^{lxiii}

Examples: Some buildings and talismans (these latter often antiquities of some kind) were too powerful to be destroyed, because they were magical. This was the case with the Pillars of Hercules, which Mas'udi asserts still existed in his day.^{lxiv} Again, Evliya Celebi gives an account of no fewer than seventeen talismans in Constantinople – an account notable for its late date. This perhaps explains why similar beliefs survived in the countryside of the Ottoman Empire well into the 19th century.^{lxv} At Kairouan, an inscription cursed with blindness anyone who counted the columns in the prayer-hall, though presumably this was poetic hyperbole,^{lxvi} unlike the closely-spaced columns between which only believers could pass.^{lxvii} Nearby, at Sabra, were the famous Bloody Columns, with various legends attached, extremely precious columns being something of a topos.^{lxviii} But these Berbrugger found to be simple red granite.^{lxix} Near Tunis, two porphyry columns remained by the roadside in the 1830s, because of an unstated superstition.^{lxx} Rome, naturally, as the spiritual source of much of the marble architecture associated with talismans, also had them,^{lxxi} and it was a saint who commanded a demon, in a coals-to-Newcastle exercise, to transport a choice block of Carrara from Rome to Hieropolis, near Synnada.^{lxxii} Monks at Ramala also displayed an “errant column”^{lxxiii} – and Moslems had several which wandered because they were magical. Indeed, some columns had minds of their own, and could take action

¹³ Duggan 2009, 232 automata: “These sculptural devices, works of wonder, were continued, modified and further developed in the Islamic world from a knowledge of Hellenistic, later Alexandrian, East Roman (Byzantine) and probably Sassanid moving statuary, as well as, from the third/ninth century onwards, with perhaps some knowledge of the Chinese examples.”

against transgressors,^{lxxiv} or even warn of a forthcoming disaster, as on Rhodes in 1522.^{lxxv} In Greece, one church contained a marble slab that could cure fever.^{lxxvi}

There is nothing exclusively Christian about such legends. Important sanctuaries, such as the Haram-al-Sharif, generated a host of them, many to do with the antiquities the site contained,^{lxxvii} and the approaching end of the world.^{lxxviii} For example, Moslem pilgrims in the Al Aqsa slipped between two columns to ensure their place in paradise.^{lxxix} This was also the case with the antiquities-rich supporting walls, one of the column-shafts of which, as we have seen, was to play a rôle in the Last Judgment.^{lxxx} Insects in the Moslem world are sometimes associated with marble columns, being talismen against getting bitten – as in Mas'udi's story of a brass insect being found in a brass box when a marble column was broken.^{lxxxi} The Holy Sepulchre also supposedly contain talismans against reptiles.^{lxxxii} Treasure-hunting occasionally had other beneficial effects, as when old books were reputedly found by Murad Bey in the 1780s in the Mosque of Amr at Cairo while ferretting for treasure.^{lxxxiii}

Giants, Djinns and Ancient Monarchs

One indication of the admiration felt for monuments of the past, and of the impossibility of imitating such feats, was the mythology surrounding who built them – a preoccupation of the mediaeval West as well. And in Moslem historical writing, the past was a powerful influence on later attitudes.¹⁴ Several questions were posed and embroidered answers provided. The first surrounded the origins of classical architecture: just how did mere men get large columns into place? The answer comes with information about who did the building: giants and djinns, who erected marvellous buildings. And who commanded the building? Generally it is Solomon, helped by djinns; Joseph is another – both figures from a historical tradition mythologised and provided with magical powers. Finally, Moslems were quite clear that the ancient monuments had been put up not by their own ancestors, but by those of the foreigners who kept visiting and attempting to filch hidden treasures – this element will be discussed later in this chapter. So the messages about just who (outside legend) did the erecting were conflicting and confusing, especially in

¹⁴ Meri 2002, on Syria: 39 “Memories of the sacred distant past and its great monuments were pervasive in Moslem historical writings.” Cf. 204–209 for talismanic objects, including figures, pillars, animal designs – but relates no traditions associated with classical monuments in themselves.

various prestigious structures such as the Haram and the Dome of the Rock, where Solomon again comes into the story.

How Were Such Monuments Erected?

One answer, provided in Alexandria in 1735, and no doubt from a much older tradition, was that men of old were giants, and could take a column under each arm.^{lxxxiv} Thus the Prince who built the Great Pyramid was a giant, and had giants to serve him, who carried the stones under each arm.^{lxxxv} Nonsense, writes Ibn Khaldun, for the recipe for smaller blocks was manpower,^{lxxxvi} and for larger loads was mechanics.^{lxxxvii} Nevertheless, one account tells us that Mehmet the Conqueror believed that there was djinn involvement in erecting the monuments of Constantinople.¹⁵ Giants could also be very kind: in Circassia they constructed large monuments (presumably chamber tombs) to keep a smaller race of men out of the rain.^{lxxxviii} Yet even giants could stumble if the load was large – hence the damage to Pompey's Pillar;^{lxxxix} although they managed to erect Alexandria's obelisks, and left an inscription proclaiming the fact.^{xc}

The djinns did not just build big – they produced marvels. At Alexandria, the columned hall near to Pompey's Pillar had shafts polished like mirrors – and built by the djinns.^{xc} Statues and mirrors were perhaps a way of explaining the mysteries of ancient sculpture, as Al-Maqrizi did for Egypt, where he says a Coptic king buried five hundred treasures.^{xcii} Or possibly Alexander was the magician there – for the marble was so dazzling that it was possible to thread a needle there at night.^{xciii} Again, so wonderful were the buildings of Damascus, that their construction was ascribed to the djinns as well.^{xciv} Mas'udi describes the origin of Damascus, and alludes to the many marble columns in the area – but makes it clear that these antedate the Islamic period;^{xcv} and he is equally explicit elsewhere that the marble at (for example) Carthage is Roman. Clearly, mis-believers mistook Roman architecture for Solomonic, presumably primed with confidence through reading the Bible. Yet even mid-19th-century Westerners did likewise, without believing in the helping djinns.^{xcvi} Locals could also use famous names to ward off despoilers. Abu Salih, writing in the early 13th century, tells of how the plunderers seeking building stone at the partly-ruined city of Al-Farama, on the Nile, were dissuaded when the locals recited the famous names with which the gate they wished to dismantle was associated;^{xcvii} by the 1830s, the city they wished to build – Tinnis – was itself but a ruin-field.^{xcviii}

¹⁵ Yerasimos 1990, 5: Mehmet contempla tant de bâtiments merveilleux qu'il en fut étonné et conclut qu'ils ne paraissaient pas faits de main d'homme. His wise men told him that it was Solomon who was responsible, helped by giants and fairies.

Solomon and the Djinn

Confronted with enormous buildings, the normal reaction was to look back to the age of King Solomon, himself a famous builder, and responsible for large and important structures such as Baalbek, related by Muqaddasi^{xcix} and still going strong centuries later.^c He also built “the palace” in Alexandria,^{ci} an elaborate table in Spain,^{cii} the mosque at Hebron,^{ciii} the Al-Aqsa (this while leaning on his staff, and indeed dying during the task^{civ}), and other remnants on the Haram.^{cv} His constructions included (according to Mas’udi) Persepolis, which was his mosque,^{cvi} and he left a message in Greek (we are not told what it said) in the courtyard of the Umayyad Mosque in Damascus;^{cvi} Hagia Sophia, by repute, had something similar.^{cvi} In his building endeavours, of course, he had the help of djinns (a common Islamic theme)¹⁶ as in Jerusalem^{cix} and at Palmyra.^{cx} Early travellers were not aware that the marbles used in “Solomonic” buildings in Palestine were imported: Affagart, for example, in 1533, points to a (limestone) quarry that he believed supplied both Solomon and Saint Helena.^{cx} No wonder, therefore, that the Moslems do not bring the Roman Empire into the picture.

Even in the 1830s, Armenians asserted that the great blocks at the Baalbek quarries were moved by Solomon’s genies or djinns.^{cxii} The notion goes back past the later Middle Ages¹⁷ at least to Ibn Haukal in the 10th century,^{cxiii} although at the same period Mas’udi notes that scholars had de-bunked the idea of giants in olden times,^{cxiv} if not necessarily of djinns. Nevertheless, the Koran gives chapter and verse on their actions, and Al-Tabari uses them as an explanation for the great blocks of the substructures of the Temple in Jerusalem, and the great monolithic columns in the Temple itself.^{cxv} But Ibn Khaldun, as we have seen, describes large monuments as the works of men, suggesting that the greatest were probably spread over several reigns.^{cxvi}

Other Famous Builders

In some cases, it is perhaps the size or splendour of the remaining monuments that cements a connection with well-known figures, as at Babylon^{cxvii} – or further East, where Alexander the Great was the builder, in Georgia^{cxviii} Traditionally, the only sheets of coloured marble in the Umayyad Mosque came from the throne of the Queen of Sheba.^{cxix} Volney reports that all important structures in Syria (including Baalbek) were attributed to Solomon.^{cxx} Abraham was himself credited with fine building by mediaeval Islam, imagined anachronistically as a rival to Mecca itself;^{cxxi} and Samarra was whimsically attributed to the son of Noah.^{cxxii} In Cairo, Vetromile appears seriously to suggest in 1871 that the Great Diwan could indeed have been constructed by the

¹⁶ Duggan 2009, *passim* for djinns.

¹⁷ Langner 1983, 150–1 anecdote: for the columns of the new mosque of al-Malik an-Nasir Muhammad b. Qalawun, taken from the temple at al-Asmunain, which are the work of devils etc.; by Ibn ad-Dawadari, Sept. 1334.

Patriarch Joseph,^{cxxiii} so such myths were obviously catching. The Genoese, on the Crusades, brought back the famous “Emerald” cup as an antiquity, presented to Solomon by the Queen of Sheba. It was later shown to be glass.^{cxxiv}

Connecting famous names to buildings, it has been argued, can connect the past to the present. This was attempted when a “Solomonic” inscription was discovered when building the Great Mosque at Damascus,¹⁸ of which Mas’udi gives a full account,^{cxxv} or when another inscription presenting the fabled city of Scheddad.^{cxxvi} These ideas are both old and long-lived. We cannot know whether the imam of the Mosque of Omar was making such a connection when in 1865 he informed a Christian visitor (now allowed inside) that here was where David had his workroom, and wrote the Psalms.^{cxxvii} In Morocco, the site called Kasr Faraun was, according to the locals in 1886, built by foreigners – by Christians.^{cxxviii} In Spain, Münzer was told that Charlemagne built Santiago da Compostella.^{cxxix} In any case, and in spite of the various stories just related, even the earliest Moslem authors, admiring the coloured marbles of their monuments, were well aware that the Romans were in the Crescent well before the Arabs.^{xxx} And, of course, Greeks took some of their imagined sources for architecture from literature, since Alexandria Troas was connected with King Priam.^{xxxi} In more general terms, perhaps it was inevitable that sets of ruins be inevitably connected with the great men of the past.^{xxxii}

Christians, Moslems, and the Buildings of Jerusalem

Christians seem sometimes to have accepted without question that the Haram’s monuments did indeed have connections with Solomon,^{xxxiii} and De Saulcy even insisted on identifying the plentiful mosaic tesserae he found there as Solomonic.^{xxxiv} Indeed, the general notion of such a link with the biblical past is perfectly consonant with French claims that the invasion of Algeria was but a continuation of the Crusades, themselves the heritage of ancient Rome.^{xxxv}

But there was perhaps for the Moslems an overarching rationale to the invoking of Solomon’s name and building deeds. Solomon represented authenticity, and righteous possession, as the Bible asserted; and one scholar has argued that this bolstered Moslem claims to an imperial-like succession.¹⁹ The Prophet Jesus also held an important place in Islamic

¹⁸ Meri 2002, 30 “Sacred space is defined by a series of events and memories initially transmitted orally and later preserved in written form” – and he instances 31 the finding of an unreadable inscription found while building the Mosque of Damascus, and eventually discovered (they found a Greek who could read it) to be written in the reign of King Solomon.

¹⁹ Picard 1996, 113: curiosity for architectural beauty, and admiration for squared and well-jointed blocks merge effortlessly with figures from biblical history such as Solomon,

belief; so that it is explicable in a culture that places so much emphasis on the written word that a superstition existed that Jesus would take to Paradise all those who had written their name on the minaret in Damascus – the most ingenious/disingenuous excuse for graffiti yet known.^{cxxxvi} Yet since Christian pilgrims were being told in the later 15th century that the Haram and its religious buildings stood on the very site of Solomon's temple, it is little wonder that the Moslems claimed the succession.^{cxxxvii} They could certainly see antiquity, if so inclined, in the re-used marble paving slabs of the area, perhaps including inscriptions.^{cxxxviii}

Equally likely, although not definite, is that some of the Dome of the Rock's elements came from the Holy Sepulchre and other Christian sites.^{cxxxix} In popular belief, however, perhaps as an index of rareness and difficulty, the materials came from far afield,^{cxl} while its structure is similar to that of a (reconstructed drawing of a) church at Caesarea.²⁰ Its columns and bases are very varied.^{cxli} The Crusaders were still looking for marble in Jerusalem, but were clear that the Dome, possibly as a rebuild, was nevertheless a much later construction.^{cxlii} Henniker, at Sinai in 1822, rehearses a list of stones which link the present to the past via superstitious belief, from the Golden Calf to the footprint of Mohammed's camel.^{cxliii}

Christians and the Magical Past

In spite of a decline in statue-making,²¹ could the Christians also have sought to link themselves to the past by their re-use of its remains? At Delphi, in 1865, Foucart reports the belief of the local Christians that their altar-table was once an altar to Bacchus.^{cxliv} In much the same way, an ancient pagan altar at Metellin had candles lit before it by Christians at Kadikeuy in 1835.^{cxlv} And at Mount Sinai the Tables of the Law were still waiting to be found, reports Robinson in 1856^{cxlvi} – perhaps among the antiquities of the church and mosque built from remains of Helena's grand church.^{cxlvii} In Constantinople, Porter was shown a splendid marble column that wept for its departed brethren, taken to build Haghia

114: De même, la filiation entre les époques biblique, antique et musulmane, permet de rappeler le bien-fondé de la conquête de l'Espagne par les musulmans et leur légitimité en quelque sorte naturelle, puisqu'emanant de la volonté divine, sur ce territoire.

²⁰ Bar 2008, fig 2. for a reconstruction of the Christian octagon atop the temple platform at Caesarea.

²¹ Bauer 1996, 339–362 *Das Ende der statuarischen Ausstattung*, with Abb. 86 a graph of declining production of statues of emperors.

Sophia.^{cxlviii} In North Africa, in the Algerian Sahara, it was believed by locals in 1844 living near an area of cut stone blocks that the Christians (read: Romans?) were still there – but lived underground.^{cxlix} If this is local “knowledge” about buried monuments, then it is also seen at Constantinople, which Agapius, the 10th-century Bishop of Menbidj, assures us sank into the ground.^{cl} In Palestine, Holum sees the re-erection of then-old statues as pride in the past, the “urbis decus inherited from antiquity” – and hence not considered as demons.²²

Of course, we can rarely know how and for what reason antiquities were damaged. Thus a large broken column at Nazareth (one of many in this ruin-rich town^{cli}), suspended in the air, was considered a miracle,^{clii} a notion condemned by the traveller who has just relayed the tale,^{cliii} but relayed without comment by others.^{cliv} The Dome of the Rock, forbidden to Christians, supposedly contained a similar miraculous stone.^{clv} Were its fractures indeed a result of treasure-hunting, or perhaps of earthquake damage?^{clvi} No matter, for Nazareth in 1842 also boasted malady-curing columns visited by Christians and Moslems alike.^{clvii} And we should remember that marble shafts were indeed marvelous, for some were also used as reliquaries, as reported on Sinai^{clviii} in 1480/3.

But magic works both ways, and dismantling churches can be urged by divinely inspired Moslems. Thus in two cases in Cairo a fakir and a madman, evidently divinely inspired according to some, urged the destruction of churches, much to the benefit of that building enthusiast Sultan Qalawun, whose agent provocateurs cynics may believe them to have been.^{clix}

Statues and Magic

Many statues were believed to have various kinds of power, foretelling events,^{clx} performing miracles,²³ and perhaps even scaring worshippers,^{clxi} or presiding over fountains.²⁴ Logically these – including cult statues – must have survived in good numbers;²⁵ but, equally logically, they were of no interest for recycling, except perhaps into lime. The “statue habit” –

²² Holum 2008, 558, writing on Caesarea: “there is no reason to assume that for most contemporaries in the sixth century demons were still thought to infest the ancient stones. Frequently, statues were appreciated just for their beauty.” But he thinks there might be examples elsewhere of reinstalled statues, as at Caesarea.

²³ Ellen 2008, 441ff for divine statues and miracles.

²⁴ Letzner 1989, 258–62 for decorative statues on fountains and nymphaea.

²⁵ Eingartner 2005, 57–64 for cult statues in North Africa.

that is, the production of portrait statues as part of the urban and cultural landscape – began to peter out during late antiquity. Although some works were still displayed during that period,²⁶ the practice was dying out. This happened in Palestine,²⁷ probably by the early Moslem period,²⁸ but not necessarily among the Moslems at the time of the Crusades.²⁹ New but smaller works at Aphrodisias have a different and perhaps declining status.³⁰ In a Moslem religious context, representations of animate beings were anathema, and frequently proclaimed as such.³¹ Perhaps all these are reasons why many later superstitions centred on figured statues, fixed as they were in the past. Occasionally these were believed to be humans turned to stone because of misdeeds, as at Constantine, according to Leo Africanus^{clxii} Perhaps because of such magical connotations, large numbers of Roman statues have survived.

Added to a general indifference to statues was a diffidence on the part of religious Turks to deal in “idols” against the express interdiction of the Koran.^{clxiii} In some cases they did indeed deliberately destroy them, although Westerners could interpret their going to the kilns as religiously inspired, as for example at Sardis by 1873.^{clxiv} In other instances, antiquities would be mutilated because the locals saw a Westerner taking an interest in them, as happened to the inscription on an altar at Cyrene in 1856.^{clxv} This did not of course mean that ancient “idols” were not admired, as for example in Abd Al-Latif’s description of a colossal statue

²⁶ Kristensen 2010B.

²⁷ Bauer & Witschel 2007 1–24 for overview of the “statue habit” in late antiquity. Tsafirir 2008, 125: little production of statues in Palestine from the 4thC.

²⁸ Tsafirir 2008, 141 in spite of statue-making at Khirbat al-Mafjar, this was an end, for “it is clear that Palestine did not participate in the revival of statue production that was so typical of medieval and Renaissance Europe. Being under Moslem rule, the country was stripped of any freestanding sculpture until the modern period.” – i.e. by the Moslems? Evidence?

²⁹ Duggan 2009, 267: “there can be no doubt, when these astonishing works of Islamic sculpture are placed in the balance, that at the time of the Crusades the art of sculpture in the Islamic Near East was far in advance of Western concepts of sculpture — so far in advance that these sculptures were referred to as ‘idols that moved and spoke’ by the few Latin Franks who came in contact with them or obtained reports about them.”

³⁰ Smith 1999 160: “The late-period statues were smaller, fewer, and set up in front of old monuments, not as part of them. They stood on re-used bases with unprofessionally cut inscriptions that transcribe verse epigrams of elevated, allusive style and give few and vague details of the subject’s identity, career, or deeds. There is usually not even a patronymic.”

³¹ Herzfeld 1955, 362 Aleppo, Mausoleum of the mother of al-Malik al-Afdal, son of Saladin: *Maudit soit qui s’occupe d’images représentant des êtres animés près de cette Mosquée, ou qui érige la statue d’un être animé pour que les gens s’assemblent devant elle, ou qui l’expose pour être vendue.* – this is the sunni hadith, but the inscription is undated.

at Memphis,^{clxvi} or indeed a minatory Roman statue in Spain instructing the Moors to proceed no further, described in the early 14th century.^{clxvii} Mas'udi notes the interest an Indian statue in bronze aroused in Baghdad in 896;^{clxviii} similarly, a classical statue discovered during the building of the Umayyad Mosque is mentioned by several chroniclers.^{clxix}

Examples: Many statues appear to have been left strictly alone in earlier centuries,³² some suffering mutilation, others being admired for their beauty³³ – others perhaps imitated as mechanical automata, themselves magical.³⁴ For example, on Santorini, antique busts, albeit headless, were lying around in 1850,^{clxx} and statues were still to be seen on the ground at Cyrene in the 1880s.^{clxxi} In Algeria, a figured pilaster discovered in the 16th century was associated with pagan idols, perhaps because of the “monsters” decorating it.^{clxxii} At Orléansville, we may suspect that the French destroyed many during their fortress construction, since the place was locally known as “the idols.”^{clxxiii} Such superstitions were long-lasting, beginning with the deliberate mutilation of statues in late antiquity.³⁵ One, dug up outside Fez, had an inscription pointing to the erstwhile existence of a bath on the spot.^{clxxiv} At least some of them were re-used in various ways.³⁶ But it is important to remember how the most prestigious, in bronze or occasionally with gold, have rarely been spared,³⁷ and how the mediaeval lack of interest saw many works ignored or fragmented,³⁸ although some “idols” bore

³² E.g. Bonacasa & Ensoli 2000, 187–213 for the sculpture found at Cyrene, of various periods from the archaic onwards.

³³ Caseau 2001, 107–121 on the fate of statues, including their secularisation; 110–112 for their beauty, and 112–116 for burying and mutilation of statues. 117–121 for violence against statues.

³⁴ Duggan 2009, 266: “the Islamic world had a widespread and longstanding tradition of figural sculpture, often of life-size figures, some made of stucco and painted in lifelike colours. But there were also other more valued and valuable sculptures, sculptures that moved and sometimes spoke, in a sculptural tradition that extended over the course of more than 500 years, and which, like East Roman sculpture and sculptural automata, was built in part upon earlier models and technology, modified and improved upon.”

³⁵ Tsafir, Yoram, “The classical heritage in late antique Palestine: the fate of freestanding statues,” in Eliav et al. 2008, 117–142. Several examples of statues used as building materials, in walls, etc.

³⁶ Wiegartz 2004, 177–242 for re-use of antique statues (all examples are from the West).

³⁷ Højte 2005, 14 gold and bronze statues have disappeared: “The scrap value of marble statues was much lower, and thus they stood a larger chance of survival, although lime kilns have taken their share of these too.” But he believes 45 that there are so many only because they survived better than bronze ones, which probably were more frequent in some areas.

³⁸ Boschung 2008.

powerful legends,³⁹ as we learn from what happened to the Serapeum at Alexandria,^{clxxv} and even fathered toponyms.^{clxxvi} But even negligent re-use, as in later walls at Pergamon, could spare some.⁴⁰ The fact of survival is seen all over the Roman world, where unwanted statues have been left alone (some to be worshipped by Moslems, according to a Christian misconception,^{clxxvii} others spurned because they would not fetch much if sold to foreigners),^{clxxviii} but useful columns carried away, as at Leptis Magna.⁴¹ Pagan statues were still called “idols” in at least one part of early 16th-century Spain.^{clxxix}

As a result of such stories, statues which people wished to collect were not in short supply until the later 19th century. As one English tourist remarked in 1634, “they may be had for digging and carrying.”^{clxxx} Certainly, in 1829 Busière easily found a statue in a quarry up the Nile, the Arabs believing it was a man changed to stone by God as a punishment.^{clxxxi} This is but one of the legends woven around the antiquities of Upper Egypt, of which Al-Maqrizi retails several.^{clxxxii} However, we have already noted the decidedly strange Lady Hester Stanhope actually destroying statues in the early 19th century to meet the prejudices of her workmen.^{clxxxiii} Pococke, on Crete in the 1730s, rescued only the foot of a statue, broken up because it was thought to contain treasure.^{clxxxiv} Wood attributes the same belief to the ongoing destruction of statues in Asia Minor, although mitigated by the ability to sell them to Westerners.^{clxxxv} Perhaps, indeed, it was the figured reliefs that gave the arch in Tripoli a legend, recounted in 1817, about what would happen were attempts made to destroy it.^{clxxxvi} Whether the desire to destroy power was a greater motivation to destruction than the desire to find treasure inside, cannot often be known.^{clxxxvii} But we have already seen that it was a common belief that masons and architects hid treasure in buildings, for the French in Cairo during their occupation supposedly put several of them to the torture, and found a lot of treasure as a result.^{clxxxviii} The Archbishop of Samos relays traditions regarding ruins and treasure in 1678, emphasising how the Turks played on the credulity of the local Greeks^{clxxxix} – and they might not have needed much encouragement, if the machinations of a Coptic bishop, a believer in statues-and-magic, were anything to go by.^{cxc} Nor was he alone, for a Bishop in Thesaly apparently believed that ancient inscriptions (which he could not read) contained directions to hidden treasure.^{cxc} What is more, in 1881, the villagers were stoning excavated figured antiquities at Assos.^{cxcii} And unless Sterrett is exaggerating, the destruction of antiquities in the hunt for treasure continued into the 20th century.^{cxciii} In one counter-case demonstrated by the above examples to be unusual, a statue of a priest was left entire, as a kind of tutelary deity for the village, and an attempt to purchase it was in vain.^{cxciv}

³⁹ Juberías 1996, 68–107 for El idolo de Cádiz.

⁴⁰ Radt 2001, 52–3 the Byzantine fort at Pergamon, probably 7thC, used many of the relief sculptures of the Altar in its construction; there were later Byz fortifications as well, never finished.

⁴¹ Caputo & Traversari 1976, 78 distinct sculptures have been recovered (catalogue 21–101), many of them whole or nearly so.

Moslems, Christians and Magic

Beliefs such as those given above are to be found not only among Moslems, but among Christians as well. Indeed, superstitions flowed as if by osmosis between Moslems and Christians, perhaps aided because in some places Christians were allowed to pray and light lamps in mosques,^{cxv} as indeed were Moslems in churches. Antiquities were imbued with ritual and curative properties; some were perhaps tainted by association with the dead; and legends in the 19th century concerning Christians show that their magic had not been forgotten. In a legend extant in the 1830s Hagha Sophia still harboured a bishop, who one day would say mass at the high altar.^{cxvi} At the other end of the Christian story, as it were, there are instances where magic was practised to destroy pagan buildings for churches.⁴² We find one Turk wary of an inscribed stone because it was certainly by an infidel, and might have had something to do with a church;^{cxvii} or there a marble column (rather than a statue) which cured sterility, so popular that it had to be bricked up.^{cxviii}

Antiquities with curative properties: On Cos, Clarke was unable to turn a large marble block in search of an inscription, because on it the bodies of the dead were washed.^{cxix} At Hierapolis, barrenness was cured by contact with the nose of an antique statue.^{cc} Near Beirut, a Turk's pains were assuaged by having his back rolled with a fragment of column-shaft.^{cci} Again, monks at Eleusis in 1818 were particularly wary of losing a particular statue, which they said had curative properties.^{ccii} Nor were they after money, for the monks remained fearful even when a valid firman was produced^{cciii} – sometimes a tricky document, as detractors of Elgin have attempted to argue.⁴³ At Thebes, a church built on top of a temple contained a marble tomb: dust-like scratchings from this marble, taken in water, would cure fever.^{cciv} In other cases this might have been viewed either as a ploy to extract money, or fear that the governor's wrath would fall heavily on any abstraction of antiquities.

Medicine and saints, plus magic, also worked wonders for sufferers. Thus a sarcophagus associated with a saint could have medicinal qualities.^{ccv} The Turks at Philadelphia assured Elliott in 1838 that the ruins of a church there were haunted by Christian martyrs (only on Saturdays); and what saved the structure might have been that it was considered to offer a remedy against toothache if candles were lit inside.^{ccvi} Similarly, Sultan Orcan used to re-visit his marble turbe at Bursa every Friday, to tell his beads.^{ccvii} At Assos, when

⁴² Sivan 2008, 23: magic used to place a church on the Hadrianeum at Tiberias.

⁴³ Williams 2009 for background to firmans and the context of Elgin's document.

a block crushed a workman's foot, this was regarded as clear evidence of a saint's displeasure.^{ccviii} At Thorium, the locals refused to dig up antiquities on Ascension Day,^{ccix} and a brief tutorial on the differences between pagan and Christian antiquities went for nothing when a snake was found underneath the first slab unearthed.^{ccx} The converse could also apply, as when the defenders of Constantinople in 1204 attributed their misfortune to antique reliefs.^{ccxi}

Death and sanctity: In one instance, antique blocks from Volubilis, destined for Meknès (many of which must already have arrived),^{ccxii} and simply dumped by the roadside when Mouley Ismael died in 1727, had somehow picked up sanctity: "Elles sont devenues saintes: les voyageurs déposent dévotement sur ces autels l'offrande d'un caillou" – though whether for their antique associations, or those with Moulay Ismael, is not known.^{ccxiii} In 1886 Stutfield saw what might be a different group of columns (these supposedly imported from Italy), dumped near the palace gate.^{ccxiv} David offers a different explanation for leaving building materials associated with somebody now dead.^{ccxv} Yet magic was not always the reason for leaving antiquities: at Aezani in 1850, we find a column-shaft which could easily be tumbled and the marble re-used being left standing – because there was a stork's nest on top of it.^{ccxvi}

Who Built the Antiquities?

Superstition gets confused with fact when deciding who actually built the antiquities in our Crescent, the travellers of course producing a different explanation from the locals. For the people of the Middle Ages, who built those ancient monuments in marble, if not Solomon? One answer was that it was indeed the Franks (an indiscriminate name for any Westerners), and that their churches were in ruin because of refusing Mohammed a piece of bread, relayed by Henniker in Egypt in 1822.^{ccxvii} Three Arabs affirmed this as late as 1862, at Feriana, saying "These," pointing to the ruins, "are the remains of your progenitors, and the faithful trample upon them. Indudlah, if it please Allah, we shall, ere long, tread upon all unbelievers as we do upon the dust of the earth. / O, mighty One! grant that we may soon behold the complete ruin of the infidel nations, as we now view the shattered remains of their habitations!"^{ccxviii} Further north, some ruins were also considered to be originally built by Christians, who must have the key to getting at the treasures hidden therein.^{ccxix}

Other monuments, however, in Cilicia, were said to be built by the ancestors of the nomads who in 1890 camped in them – and they pointed to their kindness in writing inscriptions indicating where treasure was

buried.^{ccxx} Nor was it only nomads, for displaced populations were occupying ancient ruins in late-19th-century Syria,^{ccxxi} and Palestine. Occasionally Westerners tried to lord it over Moslem locals, pointing to the re-used blocks in mosques and other monuments, and affirming that these proved that they, the Westerners, were on the site long before the Moslems.^{ccxxii} The jibe probably missed its mark, since one North African variant on Solomon-the-Builder was Pharaoh (that is, not a Frank) – who built the ruins the Westerners thought to be Roman.^{ccxxiii} Some Moslem traditions, however, such as one written down in 1599, placed their building 300 years before the Flood.^{ccxxiv}

There was another element in reclaiming the past in the 19th century, namely the archaeology of Christian monuments, which perhaps reflected a desire to demonstrate physically that Christianity had been a widespread force long before the arrival of Islam. The fact that its monuments were often much more substantial both in ancient materials and size can only have helped the image, and increased the pressure to channel funds toward uncovering churches rather than just Roman remains. The tension here, reports Poujoulat in Algeria in 1847, was between the military engineers who tried to ignore as much as they could, because it got in the way of their building projects; and others who discovered and apparently took care of some of what they found, as at Cherchell in the 1830s and 1840s.^{ccxxv} Yet others became over-enthusiastic, seeing churches in every ruin they encountered, through the eyes of faith rather than of knowledge.^{ccxxvi}

Tumuli

Tumuli were a prominent part of some landscapes, and it was clear that they were human constructions because they were dug and plundered. Some were so large that they fitted easily into the magic-and-djinns explanation. They could also be associated with dreams – a natural way of learning about treasure, and repeated dreams more so. Hence when a Greek from Constantinople dreamed, perhaps in the 1840s, of treasure in a tumulus at Philippi, this might make us think that such tumuli had indeed been opened and treasure found. And in the story related by Spencer in 1851, the tomb was indeed, Beowulf-like, opened with the help of an engineer; and great treasure was found – but then an earthquake closed up the tomb again and buried them both.^{ccxxvii} This story is reminiscent of similar tales from mediaeval Egypt, perhaps equally dependent on traditions of

actual tombs yielding treasure – and perhaps also collapsing and burying careless explorers. A variation on this, as we might guess from the above pages, is that tumuli did indeed sometimes contain treasure, guarded of course by demons. It appears that, in some cases, these were recognised as “desanctified” pagan gods,⁴⁴ and destroyed for that reason in Egypt.⁴⁵ Whatever the complex of beliefs, this sometimes stopped the local earning money: so that Spencer in 1839 could persuade nobody to help him excavate a tumulus in Circassia.^{ccxxviii} Of course, plenty of non-magical tumuli were also opened, as for example in the Crimea, where soldiers stole what they considered of value, destroyed the rest (such as terracotta vases), and sent the gold to St. Petersburg.^{ccxxix}

The Defacing and Degradation of Antiquities

Destruction: Scholars Lead the Charge, Tourists Follow

As the following paragraphs will demonstrate, it was Westerners who were responsible for the degradation of large quantities of antiquities.^{ccxxx} Whether the overall damage was greater than that caused by locals is difficult to determine; for lime kilns aside, both groups wrenched antiquities out of their original (or in-re-use) context, the locals building them into new structures, the foreigners extracting the choicest specimens for display and admiration back home. And as can be inferred from the earlier sections of this chapter, the popularity of legends, superstitions and superstitious practices reveals that many physical remains survived Antiquity as the targets of such beliefs.

The filching and dismemberment of monuments during the 19th century by scholars as well as mere tourists were scandalous.^{ccxxxi} This was the more so since the arguments employed were often little more than humbug, of which Hogarth, and Renier, deploy an entertaining line.^{ccxxxii} Irony of ironies, monuments left to the tender mercies of “savages” and “barbarians” stood largely intact until Western civilisation waded in, bribing, destroying and carrying off antiquities, whether as souvenirs or to stand in some of their great museums, or indeed to decorate the chimneypiece of

⁴⁴ Braake 2008, 101 relays stories which “suggest that temples retained their identities as privileged locations for human interaction with the pagan gods, now understood to be demons.”

⁴⁵ Emmel 2008 on the destruction of temples in Egypt, 161–189 includes the destruction of “demonic” images.

Elgin's mother-in-law.^{ccxxxiii} Westerners sometimes issued embarrassing diktats about who was barbarous and who was civilised,^{ccxxxiv} occasionally bolstered by the notion, expressed in 1871, that Islam did not permit civilisation.^{ccxxxv} Even great cities such as Lambaesus were in great danger from French – not local – attention, as Renier explained in 1851.^{ccxxxvi} And what constituted a good specimen? Travellers in Egypt as early as 1834, schooled by scholars, certainly knew, destroying – for example – many mummified animals to find one good enough to take home.^{ccxxxvii}

Target Practice and Gunpowder

Target practice from the Acropolis into the Theatre of Dionysos amused one man in 1876,^{ccxxxviii} but this was far from an isolated occurrence. Perhaps all the pilfering examples which follow are comparatively modest, in comparison with violence deliberately done. Hence the apparent fate of some of the columns of the Temple of Hera on Samos, destroyed in gunnery practice by the Turkish navy^{ccxxxix} – or so the story goes, for a similar story is relayed by the (of course) blameless French of the British at Cape Sounion.^{ccxl} However, the horrors visited upon a statue at Alexandria, including mutilation and gunpowder, were performed by the French during their Napoleonic occupation, with the laudable aim of keeping it out of the hands of the British.^{ccxli}

Hammer and Chisel

As early as 1600 indiscriminate souvenir-collecting, helped by a hammer (and backed up by the mores of earlier, yet more unscrupulous religious pilgrims), seems to have been normal.^{ccxlii} William Lithgow, who visited Tyre in 1612, was impressed by the antiquities scattered around, but chose to dispute the fact that a column he was shown was one carried by Samson himself. Nevertheless, he hacked off a chunk of it as a present for the King.^{ccxliii} This kind of behaviour continued into the 19th century, when pilgrims were still chipping at column-shafts in Jerusalem,^{ccxliv} as well as Egyptian walls.^{ccxlv} It was apparently British travellers who defaced the Choragic Monument of Lysicrates in Athens by trying to prize off its fine reliefs.^{ccxlvi} It was a British naval officer who chopped off the nose of a caryatid on the Erechtheum.^{ccxlvii} Buckingham, for example, noting some splendid porphyry in 1825, then sought to break some off to take home.^{ccxlviii} Nor was the pen mightier than the chisel, for reports by scholars such as Champollion which attracted tourists to sites in Egypt, and which then in their turn degraded quickly^{ccxlix} – so quickly that by 1912 more was being destroyed than rebuilt or refurbished.^{cc} In the fashion of Pompeii

(cutting small “pictures” out of immoveable walls), this scholar was one who, by the ravages he caused in tombs at Thebes, began a trend continued enthusiastically by tourists.^{ccli} Tourists wanted genuine antiquities – but one wonders whether, in the 1880s, a room in the Egyptian Museum in Cairo selling them (even in a praiseworthy attempt to stop tourists robbing tombs and encouraging fellahs to do likewise) was really a sensible move.^{cclii}

Wilkinson, in 1843, was convinced that some travellers even left their home countries with tools for inscribing their names on the antiquities they would meet,^{ccliii} and certainly the practice was widespread enough to be comprehensively ridiculed as early as the 1820s.^{ccliv} British midshipmen behaved badly at Athens in the 1820s, knocking pieces off antiquities as souvenirs,^{cclv} as indeed did British officers at Carthage in the 1850s.^{cclvi} And as warships got bigger, with larger crews, this increase worked both for and against the ancient monuments. For it would seem that the talents of the Royal Navy, admirable for carrying off antiquities, and sometimes for antiquarian-directed topographical mapping,^{cclvii} could occasionally be employed simply in toppling columns for pleasure. This supposedly happened on Corfu,^{cclviii} where Buondelmonti in the 15thC had surely seen more antiquities than survived into the 18th,^{cclvix} let alone into the 19th.^{cclx} Conversely, would-be collectors with cannon could wreak vengeance on antiquities too large for them to carry off, as apparently happened to the great doorway of the Temple of Bacchus on Naxos, destroyed by Russian gunfire in the later 18th century.^{cclxi} This doorway, and parts of the temple, were standing when Galland saw it in 1672–3.^{cclxii} Nor were Pompey’s Pillar or the Temple of Bacchus the only targets. Indeed, poor Lusieri had a fit when he saw a British vessel with another load of marauding midshipmen arrive at Piraeus.^{cclxiii} Again, an early example of American cultural imperialism via sledge-hammer is recorded up the Bosphorus before 1816,^{cclxiv} once very rich in antiquities.^{cclxv}

All this is in the dreadful spirit of British soldiers and sailors who, immediately after chasing Napoleon out of Egypt, took hammers to the sarcophagus in the Great Pyramid, in order to carry chips of it home.^{cclxvi} Equally bad were British antics in Alexandria, where Pompey’s Pillar suffered indignities,^{cclxvii} both to the pedestal and to a volute, brought down to earth thanks to “a prank of some English captain” in the 1770s.^{cclxviii} Even the underside of the great lintel at Mycenae, then with a convenient mound of earth beneath it, was covered in graffiti by the early 1830s.^{cclxix} The monument was cleared, writes Hughes in 1820, with the help of a Turk whom he believed was merely treasure-hunting.^{cclxx} And at Carthage, mosaic pavements suffered at the hands of British naval officers in the 1850s armed with pickaxes.^{cclxxi} At Jerusalem, tourists were still destroying antiquities in the 1870s.^{cclxxii} At Karnak, long after one of the great obelisks had been broken,^{cclxxiii} the Americans got into the act, breaking off a nose – but this was less havoc than that caused by the

Prussian scholar Lepsius in the 1840s, who had no qualms about breaking off handy pieces of antiquity small enough to be sent home.^{cclxxiv} Since the Bey was removing large quantities of antiquities to re-work for the Bardo in the same period,^{cclxxv} and in the 1830s for the Manouba,^{cclxxvi} such small removals were generally viewed as less than peccadilloes. And in 1854, Rolland seems to disapprove of the French villa at Constantinople – precisely because it had used stone from Malta rather than marble to be found on the spot^{cclxxvii} – presumably recycled material?

The Cutting-Up Trade

Items in re-use were, for the above reasons, likely to receive even shorter shrift, as at Byrsa, where a church was found: “Towards the north-east, where the side wall was wanting, we found two pedestals of red marble, from which it appeared that the columns which they supported must have measured three feet in diameter. I presented these pedestals to Mr. Wood, our Consul, who had them cut into slabs and polished. They were greatly admired,”^{cclxxiii} writes Davis in 1861.

Filching antiquities was rife. In 1715 the French Consul in Cairo sent a piece of porphyry to France – to make a table.^{cclxxix} Le Bruyn, writing in 1725, avers that he took a piece of the Delian Apollo as a souvenir, and that others had done likewise.^{cclxxx} Chateaubriand in 1811 explains what he took from Athens, and gives other examples.^{cclxxxi} In 1832 a British warship, *HMS Belvidera*, carried off a marble “book” inscribed “Temple of Minerva.” Although there is no proof the marble came from the Parthenon – plenty of other travellers did indeed obtain souvenirs from the Acropolis.⁴⁶

But more damage than that caused by tourists with hammers was done by entrepreneurs cutting and refashioning antiquities for re-sale. At Beirut in 1850, Henri Guys recounts how a mosaic floor was destroyed, so that “tableaux d’un art exquis” might be recovered from it.^{cclxxxii} These would have been “pictures” hacked out of the floor, as they had been from the frescoed walls of Pompeii and Herculaneum a century earlier. Davis in 1861 had a table made from marble at Carthage, with the crass inscription, “Delenda est Carthago.” This was either (unintentionally?) ironic, or a bad joke made worse because the workman did not copy accurately.^{cclxxxiii} A usual excuse for such extraction was that the locals were in any case destroying the monument, as De Saulcy reports of a basilica near Beirut

⁴⁶ Gill & Gill 2010, 208–209.

in 1853 – but foreigners digging up a mosaic must be after treasure, so the local bureaucracy intervened.^{cclxxxiv}

Graffiti: Making One's Mark

Much more shocking in that age of classical enlightenment and before is the treatment sometimes meted out by Western travellers to the remains, which was as brazenly reckless as had been that of mediaeval pilgrims to the sacred sites, whether at Jerusalem^{cclxxxv} or Bethlehem,^{cclxxxvi} for antiquities as talismans fitted well with the tradition of relics. As early as the 15th century, nobles were scratching their names on the marble of Jerusalem^{cclxxxvii} – evidently a common occurrence, since a sermon warned pilgrims against such acts,^{cclxxxviii} and such pilgrimage tours had regulations against defacing the holy sites.^{cclxxxix} Indeed, one index of the esteem in which antiquities are held is the respect with which they are treated – or, in many places in our Crescent, how they are simply ignored by itinerant and even sedentary locals. In Tunisia, Westerners gained entrance to the courtyard at Kairouan and the minaret (not the prayer hall) – and covered its interior with graffiti.^{cxxc} And as Pouqueville remarks tongue-in-cheek of Athens in 1826, “Les noms d’une multitude de voyageurs, gravés sur les colonnes du Parthénon, du temple de Thésée, de l’Olympion ou Panthéon d’Hadrien, au monument de Philopappus, annoncent à l’étranger qu’il a été prévenu dans la carrière des découvertes scientifiques.”^{cxcci} Of course, an on-the-spot retort required more daubing: Wordsworth, at Karnak in 1837, records that “Some modern traveller, in a spirit of less refined sympathy for its former greatness, has daubed in uncial letters on the shaft of one of the columns of its temple the words “Hommage des Siècles présents aux Siècles passés. 1818.”^{cxccii}

Of course, there is a counter-argument to the trail of destruction chronicled below. Tourists and midshipmen were not the only destroyers. The softer the target, the greater the number of inscriptions, as on the famous Cedars of Lebanon.⁴⁷ Nor did the practice cease as the age of archaeology developed. In Palestine in 1853, de Saulcy (an excavating archaeologist, no less) and his companion were annoyed to get to what he thought a pristine ruin only to find an English name engraved upon it; honour was regained by carving their own name above that of the Englishman.^{cxcciii}

⁴⁷ Hepper 2004.

Vanity, writes Horace Vernet in 1844 of all such degradations.^{ccciv} One traveller in 1809 was left with a warm feeling when he saw the inscribed names of fellow-countrymen^{ccxcv} – but the same traveller bridled at seeing too many inscriptions by one person.^{ccxcvi} If the Acropolis was sometimes out-of-bounds in the earlier 19th century, the Theseum was open, and it was inscribed by visitors. “All along its walls and columns are inscribed the names of Englishmen, and I was happy to recognize some old friends,” writes Turner in 1820.^{ccxcvii} He then rails against the barbarity of the Venetians in throwing down part of the Propylaea – but happily inscribes his name on them, and footnotes some verse on the matter. Nor did Delos escape daubing attention.^{ccxcviii}

British sailors wrote the name of their ship in black paint on Pompey’s Pillar in Alexandria;^{cccix} the same monument narrowly escaped the imposition of a long inscription by Napoleon.^{ccc} By the 1840s, the art was evidently to shin high enough to write one’s inscription so that it to be out of the reach of cleaners and other would-be and lower-level inscribers.^{ccci} At least one British account expresses pain and an underlying national pride at the same time for the indignities meted out to this monument.^{cccii} The temple at Cape Sounion also suffered. This monument, where today’s visitors are shown Byron’s defacement (and this is not the only place his scratched name is found),^{ccciii} was covered in graffiti by 1817^{ccciv} – perhaps different ones from those Chandler saw in 1776.^{cccv} But it was not the doing of the British, protests Allen in 1855 – rather the modern Greeks,^{cccv} including imported Royalty.^{cccvii} The prize for size might go to an Austrian vessel, the inscription by which, “Bellona Austriaca, 1824,” could be seen miles out to sea.^{cccvi}

Perversely, it was Turkish shot during the war which, by collapsing the Erectheum – but only part of it – from the tender attentions of travellers,^{cccix} some of them glad to find thereon the names of fellow Englishmen.^{ccc} Disingenuously, a very defensive storm raged in the earlier 19th century over Turkish attitudes to classical Athens, but this was a somewhat artificial *casus belli* for those defending Elgin’s extractions, although they could point in Athens itself to monuments there almost totally destroyed within one lifetime.^{cccxi} Although on occasions the Turks certainly did mutilate figured statues and reliefs, the great majority of antiquities were left alone, unless they were needed for building materials or lime.^{cccxi}

Souvenirs and Archaeology

The Austrians, as well as advertising their ships on visible ancient monuments, as we have seen,^{cccxi} used their ships to take antiquities home. As successors to the Republic of Venice from 1797, they took some remains of Sounion back to Venice for storage and study.^{ccciv} Some had mistaken the appellation of the temple, thought it dedicated to Venus, and so inscribed their girlfriends’ names thereon.^{ccc} Indeed, it seems possible that both Austrians and British had abstracted columns from Sounion,^{cccvi} for

some drums are now to be found at Chatsworth.⁴⁸ Or perhaps a less popular nationality always got blamed (much as in nicknames for the pox), Chandler reporting in 1776 that a Turk had demolished the columns to get at their metal.^{cccxvii} Or, at Baalbek, as a Frenchman notes, his nation carried off as many souvenirs as the British,^{cccxviii} who had long been well-informed about the ruins^{cccix} – and everyone seems to have left their name on a wall or a column.^{cccxx} And to hear the French tell it, by the mid-19th century British tourists in Athens needed a guardian apiece to stop them filching antiquities^{cccxxi} – sour grapes, of course, due to the “excesses” of Elgin, to whom we shall come in due course. In 1918 Flinders Petrie condemned such filching as “vicious”^{cccxxii} – but then applauded the lifting by Australians of a mosaic at Beersheba (now in Canberra), which they had saved “from destruction.”^{cccxxiii}

In Algeria the military, predisposed by their education to interest themselves in the past, could also maintain that archaeological excavation could bear political as well as scientific fruit, by demonstrating the right of the colonials to the land they occupied by force, as Chatelain maintains for Morocco in 1918.^{cccxxiv} Purchasing monuments to take abroad, or offering to fund local museums, did not always work, leaving Wyse in 1861 to bemoan such dog-in-the-manger local attitudes, “hiding what ought to be made the common possession of Europe.”^{cccxxv} We should not forget that historical sensitivity to the past – an interest in ruins, and early “archaeology” – coincided with periods of destruction of antiquities, as surely happened during the Italian Renaissance.⁴⁹

Which caused the greater damage over time – the locals, tourism or scholarship? This is a problem difficult to solve, since archaeology needs tourism, as suggested at the start of this book. In Egypt, by the middle of the 19th century Castlereagh was bemoaning the damage caused to the monuments by tourism and scholarly enthusiasm,^{cccxxvi} and this leads him to muse on the ambiguity of some defacements, especially one protesting at the defacements of others!^{cccxxvii} He could certainly find plenty of examples of tourists collecting souvenirs from every monument in sight.^{cccxxviii} To be fair, scholarship did sometimes rescue antiquities, even in one case

⁴⁸ Spawforth 2006, 146: Sounion: 8 columns (drums) survive; “local brittle marble”. “At Chatsworth . . . an open-air bust of the 6th Duke of Devonshire rests on four column-drums from the temple, obligingly removed by the British fleet in the 1820s.”

⁴⁹ Forero-Mendoza 2002, 57–74 *Naissance de l'archéologie*. viz Dondi, Bracciolini, Biondo. *Ibid.*, 91ff *L'imaginaire archéologique* – viz. Mantegna, Giuliano da Sangallo, *Hypnerotomachia*, Maarten van Heemskerck.

where the splendour of marble occasioned their destruction. Curzon tells of a monastery north of Kavalla, where the only way the monks could keep their feet warm during the divine offices was to rest them on old manuscripts, some of them apparently very valuable. The presentation of some footstools secured the handing-over of the manuscripts.^{cccxxix}

The moral of this chapter is that popularity almost inevitably entails destruction. The more visitors, the greater the destruction. And we can discount (as do some of our travellers) the murmurings about “barbarian Turks” and “fanatical Moslems” destroying monuments because of their hatred of Christianity, or cutting into or blowing up antiquities to discover treasure. This did happen, as did the destruction of some pagan monuments during the early centuries of Christianity. But the great destroyers were the pressure of population growth during the 19th century, and the incursions of Westerners as they transmuted from travellers to tourists, sometimes equipped with hammers to knock off – literally – antiquities. Scholarship and archaeology also enter into the equation, with the rush to extract the best antiquities for museums back in Europe.

- i Tancoigne_1819_215–216
- ii Carette_1848_V_255
- iii Taghri_Birdi_II_161
- iv Al-Maqrizi_1900_352
- v Carnoy_&_Nicolaïdes_1894_179–82
- vi Norden_1755_I_42
- vii Stanhope_1846_III_165
- viii Sterrett_1889_9
- ix Clarke_1818_VII_405
- x Moufazzal_Ibn_Abil-Fazail_1919_526
- xi ‘Abd_El_Basel_1896_204–5
- xii Abd_Allatif_1810_185–7
- xiii Newton_1865_I_124
- xiv Clarke_1818_VI_104
- xv Temple_1835_I_206
- xvi Choiseul-Gouffier_1842_II_148–9
- xvii Gell_1823_364–5
- xviii Turner_1820_III_485
- xix Hughes_1820_I_232–3
- xx Gell_1823_57–8
- xxi Procopius_Buildings_1940_V_vi_1–26
- xxii Campbell_1739_255
- xxiii Livre_des_perles_enfouies_1907_II_iii–iv
- xxiv Livre_des_perles_enfouies_1907_II_8
- xxv Livre_des_perles_enfouies_1907_II_51
- xxvi Campbell_1739_278
- xxvii Ewing_1895_182
- xxviii Browne_1799_130
- xxix Mure_1842_I_219
- xxx Le_Mascrier_1735_319
- xxxi Sonnini_1807_121
- xxxii Breton_1814_II_167
- xxxiii Norden_1755_I_12
- xxxiv Loftus_1857_416–18
- xxxv Ramsay_1897_4–5
- xxxvi Choisy_1876_195–6
- xxxvii Gemelli_Careri_1699_I_87–88
- xxxviii Broughton_1858_I_336–7
- xxxix Rifaud_1830_116–17
- xl Maqdisi_1916_V_57
- xli Teonge_1825_126
- xlii Urquhart_1838_II_106–107
- xliii Buchon_1843_378
- xliv Schlumberger_1890_150–1
- xlvi Inglis_1831_II_236
- xlvi Davis_1862_317
- xlvi Wilkinson_1843_II_41
- xlvi Brown_1799_322
- xlvi St_John_1834_II_341
- l Martoni_1895_625
- li Khitrowo_1889_I_1_123
- lii Ellis_1851_36
- liii Poloner_1894_20
- liv Michaud_&_Poujoulat_1834_III_345–6
- lv Lethaby_&_Swainson_1894_128–43
- lvi Péchot_1914_I_112–113
- lvii Péchot_1914_I_113
- lviii Mas’udi_1863_II_416–417
- lix Aucher-Eloy_1843_44
- lx Leo_Africanus_1896_II_468–9
- lxi Ibn_Khaldun_1854_IV_83–4
- lxii Mouléras_1902_117–18
- lxiii Livre_des_perles_enfouies_1907_II_67
- lxiv Mas’udi_1896_101–2

- lxxv Evliya_Celebi_1834_ I_16ff
 lxxvi Boddy_1885_176
 lxxvii Kennedy_1846_II_132
 lxxviii Evliya_Celebi_1850_ II_135
 lxxix Berbrugger_1857_ 195-6b
 lxxx Temple_1835_I_206b
 lxxxi Mas'udi_1865_IV_94
 lxxxii Sterrett_1889_14-15
 lxxxiii Guérin_1868_I_36-7
 lxxxiv Langlois_1869_II_99
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CHAPTER ELEVEN

TOWN AND FORTRESS WALLS, PROJECTILES AND CANNON

Lower population levels after Antiquity meant that any ancient towns still occupied were over-large for their current inhabitants. Yet increasing insecurity prompted the building of town walls or fortresses, the former usually from antiquities and leaving large areas of the erstwhile town outside the defended circuit, the latter with antiquities often to refurbish or upgrade earlier structures. Of particular use were column shafts, employed to strengthen walls, and chopped up to provide projectiles, first for mechanical throwing weapons, and then for gunpowder cannon – and in enormous quantities.

It should come as no surprise that defence and offence were both hard on the survival-rate of antiquities. If some materials survived by being incorporated into fortresses (as in Byzantine North Africa, in Greece, or throughout Turkey), there is little evidence that this was done in any way to present the antiquities themselves as prestige items, rather than simply to re-use the marble blocks as sturdy bulwarks against attack. There are exceptions from the mediaeval period, such as the town walls of Konya, and the odd classical relief, examples of which appear throughout this book. But there is no evidence that military men on either side of the Crusades took any artistic interest in the materials they re-used, or even that walls displaying superabundant quantities of antiquities – such as the town and citadel walls of Ankara – did so for artistic or apotropaic reasons, any more than did the late antique walls in the West or in North Africa. The reliefs in the castle at Bodrum (placed there during the 15th century) are the exception that seems to prove the rule. For the mediaeval period, the only semi-artistic use of antiquities, as we have seen, was when column-shafts migrated from being structural necessities to become decorative additions. But these are never accompanied by extensive bas-reliefs either in Christian or (more understandably) in Moslem fortifications.

Unfortunately, town walls were to suffer mightily during the 19th century, as notions of fresh air and modernisation combined with projected transport facilities to make them a badge of all that was old-fashioned and restrictive of expansion – which every good town of course wished to do. But if in France or Italy we are hampered in our investigations of re-use

because so many have been demolished in the face of modern development, in our Crescent matters are somewhat better.

Town Walls as Town Status Symbols

In the Middle Ages as in many earlier periods, walls were a badge of rank and prestige to a city, providing necessary security as well. It was not unusual for towns to have several sets of walls as the population expanded, but it only seems to have been in late antiquity that shrinking populations caused walls to be built within earlier and larger sets, and generally using antiquities from the more prosperous and monumental days, as can be seen at Miletus.¹ In Europe the 19th century saw light and sanitation campaigns that dismantled many sets of walls (Langres, Bordeaux). There is irony in the French building of antiquities-rich walls in Algeria from the 1830s, convinced as they were that they needed to make their installations secure against European artillery. But then defence brooked no opposition, so that the Byzantine wall at Limyra cuts right through the Ptolemaion, arguably helping to preserve that monument.²

In the West we have in mediaeval manuscript illustrations plenty of supporting evidence for the prestige in which decorated walls were held, and in spite of mass dismantlings during the 19th century (such as part of the walls of Talavera)³ several sets, with their built-in antiquities, have survived to today, as in Spain,⁴ as have Islamic walls and gates simply re-used by the Christians.⁵ Such manuscripts frequently give emphasis to the importance of ramparts, of triumphal gateways, and of urban splendour.⁵

Town walls are important for our theme since they so often incorporate earlier antiquities, and sometimes use these as decoration. Some late

¹ Tuttahs 2007, figs 391–2 for Miletus: plans of the Justinianic wall, which encompasses the North Market and the Palaestra, but not the harbour. Fig 477 the harbour becomes a narrow canal leading to the Maeander: the ancient Lion Harbour was 100m wide.

² Hellenkemper & Hild 2004, pl.221.

³ Arias Vilas 1972 for the walls of Lugo, with 17–23 for a history of their study. 63–78 for the materials re-used, and 79–93 for a comparison with other late antique walls (table on 82), plus appendix 93–97 for a list of such walls in Spain, including notes on material re-used in them.

⁴ Díez Jorge 2001, 203ff.

⁵ Touzet 1977: when the buildings inside city are represented, 18, ils sont d'ailleurs de caractère également antique, munis de frontons, de colonnades et de toits à larges tuiles, until the 10th century.

antique ones may have been built deliberately to look old,⁶ unless this is just a wishful explanation for the re-use of materials; and a few appear to have been deliberately built to give the impression of strength. For the traveller, therefore, walls are the first visible status symbol of a town or city after extramural cemeteries, and many survive in part or in whole in our Crescent, although few have been properly surveyed.⁷ Often, town walls were an amalgam of Roman foundations and later re-use, sometimes even decorated, as on the West Bank at Wadi El-Khidr, though at what date is unknown.ⁱⁱ Town walls could also become “storehouses” for antiquities, probably with no hint of deliberate display, as with re-use in the mediaeval walls of Avila, built by Alfonso VI after 1090.⁸ Were such walls intended as displays of magnificence, as for example Ponz takes the walls of Carmona to have been?ⁱⁱⁱ

For discerning travellers who had something to compare them with, walls they encountered in our Crescent could often be identified as Roman, even if there were no inscriptions to help. We need their testimony since many town walls have disappeared in the past two centuries, such as Salamis,^{iv} or the Roman fort at Nicopolis, near Alexandria, together with its military cemetery.^v Luckily early travellers, such as El-Edrisi, could recognise walls built with Roman antiquities,^{vi} or indeed because they were made with cut stone blocks.^{vii} Leo Africanus made a similar deduction at Gafsa^{viii} and many other sites – although marble walls he also sometimes associates with African (as opposed to Roman) settlements.^{ix} The extent to which his assessments are formulaic, following earlier assessments,^x is difficult to determine; Ibn Haukal, for instance, in the later 10th century, was alert to building materials, also using them to “classify” the towns he visited.^{xi} When such antiquities-filled walls as these existed alongside later and much flimsier constructions, as at Beirut,^{xii} the contrast was obvious. At Thessaloniki, where antiquities were visible in abundance in the town walls, Clarke admired and wrote about them.^{xiii}

⁶ De Staeble 2008, 318: the new wall at Aphrodisias “served its purpose primarily by projecting an aura of strength, prosperity, and a long history . . . At some point a decision was made to take blocks from monumental tombs and relay them in a historicizing masonry style, a decision which illustrates the fine balance between tradition, practicality, and the power of the central government, in a still-vibrant late-antique provincial capital.”

⁷ Mancini 2001 on the Aurelian walls of Rome is a model for what could and should be done with other walls; author has chapters on its building and major restorations, but also 37–53 on its history 8th–9thC, 55–7 for 10th & 11thC, then 59–68 for period of mediaeval senate, and so on, all sections appropriately illustrated.

⁸ Hernando Sobrino 2005 catalogues 120 inscriptions from Avila itself: altars (5, 96–100, 102), stelai (11–14, 21–25, 56–68, 70–75, 77–87 – many fragmentary), as well as plenty from the area of the old Alcazar (e.g. 10, 16–17, 20, 26, 29, 34, 40) plus others from various convents and houses.

Many town walls survive from Antiquity, and these include some walls strengthened and beautified by dismantling churches. This happened at Constantinople,^{xiv} and the walls once had more sculptured elements than now remain. Many more in East and West have been lost, not just to modernisation (for which they would be ripped down), but also for building purposes elsewhere. Indeed, there are instances where wall circuits have disappeared completely, for building elsewhere – with only the foundation trenches marking the spot, as at Metropolis in Thessaly.^{xv} In our Crescent, town walls in living communities remained important for protection until toward the end of the 19th century, when moderate population expansion, sanitation and modernisation, and the march of modern artillery made them obsolete. Although some such walls survive in North Africa Others, such as Carthage, supposedly of marble, have gone.^{xvi} Parts of the Antalya walls survive, but many antiquities from them have disappeared.^{xvii} Many survive in Alaeddin's mosque in Konya, and his love of antiquities was also to be seen in his mosque at Nigde, part-built from Christian remains.^{xviii}

Antique Gates and Marble Display

Judging by the Golden Gate at Constantinople⁹ or Hadrian's Arch at Antalya, not to mention Tetrarchical structures,¹⁰ many decorated gates may well have existed in Turkey.¹¹ Perhaps they were imitated by the Knights, whose castle at Bodrum¹² had Mausoleum reliefs flanking at least one gate^{xix} for, conceivably, the Mausoleum finally collapsed only in the late 15thC, thereby freeing up such materials.¹³ We would know more had not another possible arch in Constantinople's walls, in Mrs Walker's phrase of 1886, "passed away in ignominious utility,"^{xx} just as many of the antiquities near the Seraglio were to be lost.^{xxi} Again, the new railway was partly to blame.¹⁴

In Athens, for example, the Acropolis became a fortress, and was on-and-off difficult to enter, as the Sieur du Loir discovered in 1654.^{xxii} Slade

⁹ Millas 2005, 174–175 for aerial view of Yedikule, with the Golden Gate.

¹⁰ Thiel 2002 – of c. 300 and later, suggested as propagandistic monuments to glorify the Tetrarchy.

¹¹ Gabriel 1940, 133ff. for the likelihood that the Karphut Gate at Diyarbakir is actually antique (hence the elegant arches and columns: his fig. 101).

¹² Millas 2005, 77 for aerial view of Bodrum Castle of S. Peter.

¹³ Guidoboni & Comastri (p. 433), Cat 376 in October 1493: centred on Cos, and believed by Luttrell (but not the authors here) to be that causing the final collapse of the Mausoleum.

¹⁴ Mamboury & Wiegand 1934 pl 5 for plan showing how the railway lines cut right through the façade of the Bukoleon Palace. Pl X for photo showing one of the cuttings made by the line. Some photos not dated, but all 1918 and after.

contemplates how much more of its treasures would have remained intact – including both the Parthenon and other temples – without the building of strong walls, and without the site being attacked with cannon.^{xxiii} Given the various accretions over time, the way the Parthenon looked even 150 years ago is not how it looks today.^{xxiv} Also in Athens, the Krystalliotissa Gate which probably replaces an earlier one in the north flank of the post-Herulian Wall, dating to the period of Justinian,¹⁵ was richly decorated, from the plentiful available materials. Similarly, the “castle” of the Acropolis at Athens was in a sense decorated, since it incorporated the Propylaea,¹⁶ and it is not clear from early accounts by travelers whether they realised the fact, or believed them to be constructed as part of the castle itself. Certainly the fortress itself impressed – and Frederick II would no doubt have been delighted to hear the Propylaea compared to his fortress at Capua.^{xxv} But then, he had worked hard appropriating marble from elsewhere.^{xxvi} Reworking with antiquities could indeed be confusing: the propylaea at Baalbek, for example, included the Roman flanking towers with some Arabic cladding, and the Temple of Bacchus became a lofty donjon.¹⁷

Fortresses

Antiquities Piled on Antiquities

Four characteristics allow us to trace the parentage to the ancient world of mediaeval and later fortresses on our territory. The first is drafted masonry, the second bossing, the third the use of old column shafts as tie-bars, and the fourth is re-used decorative material. All these elements are arguably the result of aesthetic appreciation of earlier fortresses, although the use of bossing and column shafts might have been also (instead?) for defensive and structural reasons.

One of several parallels to the preservation of antiquities in town walls is their incorporation into fortresses, in those many cases where the contemporary population could neither maintain or defend old walls because they were too few. (We should also note, in the merry-go-round of re-use,

¹⁵ Frantz 1974, 140; the Hypapanti Gate in the west flank of the walls uses similar jambs, and is therefore also thought to be a Justinianic repair: *ibid.*, 139.

¹⁶ Tanoulis 1987, with plentiful illustrations.

¹⁷ Kohl 1925, fig 7 p. 41. The SW tower has a building inscription of 1219. Earliest work on making a fortress reckoned to be 11thC and 12thC (60).

how antique structures became fortresses, and fortresses sometimes reverted to villages.)^{xxvii} In Egypt, Pharaonic antiquities went into the walls at Faras (Nubia), as indeed they did at Cairo.^{xxviii} In Syria, Arabic forts went on top of Roman ones^{xxix} or, as at Bosra, enclosed the ancient theatre.¹⁸ At Chastel Pélerin they built on Phoenician ruins; at Gabala (French Zibel), the Roman theatre became a fortress, still standing in the mid-18th century, but stripped of its marble, perhaps to adorn nearby Islamic monuments.^{xxx} The fortress at “Scamandria” on the Bosphorus is described by Belon in the 1540s, incorporating not just the usual columns and blocks, but figured reliefs as well.^{xxxi} At Cos, the splendid relief Clarke saw in the fortress near Stanchio might have been put there by the Genoese.^{xxxii}

At least in the more populated parts of our Crescent, few Roman fortresses survived in their original form and were still in use or re-use. Nevertheless, such Byzantine walls were still usable in the 19th century against modestly-equipped opponents, as the French discovered in Algeria.^{xxxiii} And elsewhere there are plenty of late forts that are of interest because they were constructed partly from antique materials. This is in part because such structures tended to be built on the same site down the centuries, a commanding site being equally commanding for Romans, Byzantines or Moslems. Their builders could find materials for re-working in the structures they dismantled, as William of Tyre remarks,^{xxxiv} and as our travellers observed, for example at Argos,^{xxxv} or at Cydonia, on Crete.^{xxxvi} Indeed, such re-use is often easily distinguishable from earlier courses of masonry.¹⁹ And at Manyas, a Byzantine or later fortress is the only remaining sign of a pre-existing ancient settlement.^{xxxvii}

But how were antiquities dismantled for fortress-building? In the Middle Ages, presumably by skilled masons. Thus at Darum, south of Gaza, William of Tyre (XX.19) writes that the fortress was made from old buildings,^{xxxviii} and mentions that Jabneh (French Ibelin) was also built from ruins, and other constructions as well.^{xxxix} This is entirely convincing, given that the nearby amphitheatre was still being ripped up in the 18th century, using gunpowder as necessary, to build a nearby mosque.^{xl} For if gunpowder was a weapon in demolishing fortresses, it was also an

¹⁸ Dentzer-Feydy 2007, 179–188 for the Citadel at Bosra; 189–204 for its Museum, including several antique sculptures re-used in the construction of the fortress.

¹⁹ Dangles 2004, 191 for re-use of antique blocks: “les blocs en oeuvre portent fréquemment la trace de bossages antiques bûchés lors de leur remise en oeuvre dans les ouvrages médiévaux. Le liseré d’origine dressé au ciseau se distingue parfaitement de la bosse détaillé au pic.”

aid in obtaining building materials. The trio of temples at Sbeitla, presumably fortified by the Byzantines, was partly blown up in the 19th century to extract the materials.^{xli} The same happened at Itálica in the earlier 19th century,^{xlii} a site providing a harvest of building materials for several centuries.²⁰ Athlit/Château Pélerin was also part-blown up about 1838 to provide materials for the fortifications at Acre.^{xliii} In countries frequently at war, it is little surprise that antiquities were blasted where necessary.^{xliv}

New Forts from Antiquities

We generally lack specific contemporary or even later accounts of the destruction of antiquities for fortress-building, but an exception is the dismantling in 1522 of sections of the Mausoleum (at Bodrum, and largely in ruins) to re-use the materials for refurbishing the Castle of S. Peter not a kilometre distant. The castle's builders evidently admired what they found, and described its beauties; but "Ce qu'ayans admiré de prime face, et après avoir estimé en leur fantasie la singularité de l'ouvrage, enfin ils défirent, brisèrent et rompirent, pour s'en servir comme ils avoyent fauct du demeurant."^{xlv} Since the castle had been building since 1402, it seems likely that the tomb chamber was discovered as the Knights quarried deeper and deeper for building materials. However, they did preserve some of the Mausoleum reliefs, and used them to decorate their castle. In this case, then, the building of a new fortress (helped by earthquakes?) did throw up antiquities that could be collected and used for building and/or decoration. It seems that various antiquities may have been collected from the site of the Mausoleum for the Grand Master's garden on Rhodes, about which Sabba da Castiglione writes to Isabella d'Este in 1505–1507.^{xlvi} ²¹ Two other antiquities, a bas-relief and a marble vase, were said by the same correspondant to have been found on the site.^{xlvii}

It follows that armies usually contained substantial numbers of stonemasons, probably to dismantle or to help mine besieged fortifications, rather than to build them.²² French soldiers also caused great chaos to

²⁰ Ahrens 2005, 22–24 for extracting various Itálica materials from re-use, some in Seville.

²¹ Bodon 2005, 155 for the Berlin Adorante, taken from Rhodes in the early 16thC; 167–8 for a fragment from the Mausoleum; and 166 for a bellissimo vaso di terra antiquissimo giunto dalla Grecia, appartenente a Zaccaria Barbaro e da questi inviato nel 1491 a Lorenzo il Magnifico.

²² Lufti Barkan 1963, 1098: in the army that left Istanbul against Persia in 1596 there were 84 masons & carpenters, 40 blacksmiths, 100 sappers and 10 sawyers.

the monuments of Cairo in the process of building forts to encircle the city,^{xlvi} and in looting houses.^{xlvi} Boulaq, location of many palaces and foreigners' houses, was destroyed.^l A disused mosque in Alexandria (with antiquities) suffered similarly to make a park for the French artillery.^{li} All this from Napoleon, a man devoted to antiquities – and who sent a 200-man detachment to the Pyramids to protect “les curieux” who had not yet seen them.^{lii} Not that the disused mosque was in good condition. This was the Mosque of a Thousand Columns, dated by Dolomieu to the 8th or 9th century, and the degraded state of whose columns, capitals and bases he describes at length.^{liii}

Foreign occupation accompanied by fortress construction could be devastating, as in the Russian takeover of Danubian provinces in 1853 (resulting in the Crimean War, 1853–6). The Russians had already taken over Adrianople, adapting Turkish marbled architecture to their own needs, as Keppel described in 1831.^{liv} And as late as 1885, the Turks uncovered some important figured reliefs at Limenas, on Thasos, while building a fortress – these were saved, but promptly disappeared, Reinach at least being certain that they had not been sent to the lime kilns.^{lv}

Some new fortresses, as at Kertch, also re-used antiquities, as did the church inside it.^{lvi} Sardis had plenty to spare for the fort on the acropolis^{lvii} and, indeed, boasted marbled churches in the 1630s.^{lviii} At Xanthus, Fellows found little left of the Roman town – except in its late walls.^{lix} At Barca, Hamilton was sniffy about the late date of the antiquities built into the fortress.^{lx} In Syria, swords were beaten into breviaries as Roman forts were converted into Byzantine monasteries.^{lxi} North Africa offers the largest number of almost-untouched Byzantine forts,²³ one, at Zana, even made from a triumphal arch,^{lxii} At Aïn Tounga, a temple as well as inscriptions and building blocks went into the Byzantine fort.²⁴

Until the French arrived, the Byzantine forts in Algeria were unused except by nomads. But a few others scattered around the Mediterranean were still working military installations entry into which (as to the Acropolis at Athens)

²³ Pringle 2002: very well illustrated. Forts dateable usually by inscriptions, or references to other forts, or to Procopius' account.

²⁴ Ben Hassen 2006: occupied by Moslems, but no building there, only coins and ceramics. 147–151 for Byzantine citadel and its re-used blocks. 120–132 for the Baths, with an oil press in palaestra P2. Baths, like amphitheatre and theatre, stripped back to bare walls. 100–101 NE tower of Byzantine fortress seems to include many blocks from a small temple. Pentz 2002, 103–137 fortifications in Africa Proconsularis: no vandal forts, plenty of Byzantine ones, then ribats. 131 remarks on non-use of old materials in ribats, but forgets Sousse.

could be a problem. At Cos, as Clarke relates in 1817, the entrance was decorated with antiquities,^{lxiii} as well as the sea walls^{lxiv} – but he was not allowed inside. Another was Bodrum/Halicarnassus, where the Castle of S. Peter was still a military installation in the 19th century, and therefore difficult of access, as Firmin-Didot discovered in 1821.^{lxv} Such permissions (just like entries into mosques) fluctuated: in the mid-17th century Thévenot got in, and described bas reliefs and lions.^{lxvi}

Fortifications on the site of ancient cities sometimes helped preserve antiquities, which were used for building their walls, as at Xanthus^{lxvii} or near Nicopolis^{lxviii} and even, in part, at Saguntum/Murviedro in eastern Spain,^{lxix} where there were antiquities throughout the town.^{lxx} Again, in time of war fortresses were frequently dismantled – perhaps sometimes revealing antiquities built into them – so as not to afford protection to the enemy. Thus Saladin, in the Galilee in 1183, not only got supplies from a fort he dismantled, but marble from ruined buildings round about.^{lxxi} Along the coast of North Africa, fortified Moslem monasteries frequently re-used the antique materials they found nearby, sometimes for decoration.²⁵

Constantinople

Throughout this book frequent reference is made to the walls of Konya, built by the Seljuks, rich in antiquities, and a mine of inscriptions for the 19th century, by which time they were in a ruinous condition and about to be pulled down. Conceivably the walls of Konya were marble-rich at least in part because, like those of Nicaea, they attempted to rival those of Constantinople (as well, perhaps, of plentiful other antiquities-rich walls, which assuredly existed, but of which we have no knowledge). In these two smaller towns, the marble splendour was concentrated around the main arrival roads. In Constantinople, on the other hand, no matter how grand the Land Walls, it was the Sea Walls in their various rebuildings – still a fine sight toward the end of the 19th century^{lxxii} – which provided the marble magnificence.²⁶ This was no doubt because important visitors arrived this way, and also because the main monuments of the City, and especially the Great Palace, would have been visible behind them, and contributed to the glittering effect. These could still be admired in all their splendour in the 1840s.^{lxxiii} Much earlier, William of Tyre was considerably impressed by the marbles he saw there, and the grand state

²⁵ Hassen 2001, 149 for Qasr Ibn al-Ja'd, 500m from the ribat at Monastir, built on top of ancient remains, and with 3rdC figurative mosaics at entry level. 148: Qasr al-Madfun, on the Gulf of Hammamet, now a ruin, has column shafts on-site.

²⁶ Bardill 2006, 26–28.

they encouraged.^{lxxiv} Pietro della Valle also noticed the great size of two shafts, which he measured.^{lxxv} For Baratti in 1831, the idea of the walls was to give an idea of the great splendour of ancient Byzantium, helped by “many hundreds” of marble column shafts set into them.^{lxxvi} Indeed, re-use seems to have been much practised in Byzantium,²⁷ and we would know more about it in Constantinople had so much not been demolished to allow the laying of railway tracks following the line of the Sea Walls to Sirkeci Station.

Thessaloniki

The “built-in-a-rush” argument for late antique walls is not yet dead, the speed of marauding Arab cavalry²⁸ being paraded to explain what are perceived as badly-built walls in North Africa, with violence done to bas-reliefs. Yet surely it is obvious that these would be used face-inwards so as to present a smooth surface to the outside, with practicalities winning over aesthetics, and providing a better grip for the mortar. As always, applying a different aesthetic viewpoint changes the nature of the argument. Thus at Thessaloniki, J.M. Spieser sees the walls as 249–250AD at the latest, and “les remplois, provenant en grande partie des monuments funéraires, indiquent une reconstruction hâtive.”²⁹ But his Plates XII & XIII show redan 86, with beautiful marble blocks in careful re-use, and scarcely *hâtive*. His Plate IX shows redan 97, south face, with hippodrome seats in re-use (they go as far south as Odos Egnatia). Since the hippodrome was located in the *south* corner of the walls, *east*-facing, we should ask why it is therefore that enormous quantities of its seats are re-used in the *west* walls, to a consistent height, and (by Odos Eirinis) carefully stepping down the hill so much so that the walls (partly dug out to their probable ground level) gleam white with marble? Surely because (by analogy with Nicaea and Constantinople), they flank the main gate – the Porta Aurea, and hence provide decoration in the most prestigiously classical manner possible. Similarly, the fort of the Heptapyrgion uses large quantities of column shafts, proud of the wall and angled, in careful courses alternating with tile. And at Odos Klavdianos, on the main west road, marble slabs, some of them fourteen feet in length, decorate the remaining complete bastion – another imitation or echo, perhaps, of the Golden

²⁷ Sodini 2002 for the re-use of materials in Byzantium.

²⁸ Ravegnani 1983, 55.

²⁹ Spieser 1984, 64; and *ibid.* 1974 for the chronology.

Gate at Constantinople, and very splendid. Other walls near Thessaloniki, such as Kara Bornou, were also built from antiquities,^{lxxvii} of which large quantities survived into the 18th century.^{lxxviii}

Column Shafts in Fortifications

Turning from the antique exemplars to their impact we find a peculiarly Eastern manifestation of the desire to beautify as well as strengthen fortresses: the widespread re-use of column shafts in fortification walls. Some commentators believe that the technique, as well as especially favoured by the Moslems, was actually invented by them.³⁰ However, it is more likely that the techniques were learned from the Byzantines, many of whose fortresses use the same device^{lxxix} – just as it seems the Moslems learned the use of lead in joints from the same source.^{lxxx} In any case, the technique appears to be eastern, and not known to the Romans.^{lxxxi} It may also have something to do with the use of inferior materials: in some cases perhaps the marble was intended to strengthen degradable stones, as Ainsworth suggests in Asia Minor in 1839.^{lxxxii} There are three main reasons for using column-shafts in walls. The first is to use them in foundations, as some protection against sapping by troops or by the sea. The second is their use as tie-bars to add strength to walls in earthquake-prone areas. The third is their use (often as mere stumps, not whole columns) as wall-decorations, which sometimes bear motifs or inscriptions. All these will be illustrated in the ensuing paragraphs.

The origin of all such uses is to be found in a superfluity of shafts (damaged? inferior? simply not needed?) for non-military construction projects. For example, so many shafts were supposedly used at Aleppo to anchor the glacis of the Citadel that it was believed the hill harboured no fewer than two thousand columns which supported it.^{lxxxiii} In fact, the hill is solid rock, so the columns come from classical buildings elsewhere. Another legend says there were eight thousand columns, and Scott-Stevenson notes in 1881 that many of the slabs of the glacis had already gone into local housing.^{lxxxiv} The slabs, in other words, were ashlar providing a revêtement, and many column-ends are visible today because the covering was removed.

Constantinople may well have provided the initial model for the use of column shafts, as it surely did for the beautification of the

³⁰ Lloyd & Storm Rice 1958, 14–15 for the lines of classical column-drums in (the early 13thC) Kizil Kule, and footnote.

Constantinople-facing walls of Nicaea, in the adorning of such city walls with marble. Certainly, the practice is at least as old as repairs (date unclear) to the Sea Walls³¹ and Land Walls of Constantinople,³² and possibly in repairs to the Golden Gate.^{lxxxv} At Mamure Kalesi, rebuilt by Keykubad in the 13th century, there is no sign of column shafts to landward; but the seaward south-east corner tower does have a line of shafts in the foundations (but are these Byzantine, Armenian, or Seljuk?). By analogy, columns may have been used as underwater defences to stop ships approaching shore, as antiquities were frequently used for the building of harbours^{lxxxvi} – columns at Alexandria, unspecified “stones” at Salé,³³ and altars as anti-ship devices at Thessaloniki. In neither case is there any reason to believe the usage numinous since, for example at Seljuk and Nicaea, we find shafts and long marble baulks used as header ties, whilst at Nyssa square baulks were set into the wall, but perhaps not column shafts (none are currently visible).

Although it is frequently the case, then, that columns with structural importance are also decorative, in some structures, the column shafts must only be decorative. The Red Tower at Alanya, already mentioned, was built by Alaeddin Keykubad (he of the walls of Konya): this has its shafts widely spaced, conceivably as internal floor supports, but certainly not against ramming. This is consistent with other spolia displayed rather nonchalantly in its walls: inside, architectural fragments are set in the internal walls, including a Roman entablature block, and a tomb door. Why such concern? Because Keykubad had competition in wall-building from the fine Hellenistic walls visible as the lower line of fortification up the hill from the Red Tower – which Keykubad himself made good by bringing them up to their original height.

But if according to the sources they begin in the foundations, where they can do most good, they quickly creep up the building to heights well beyond

³¹ Mamboury & Wiegand 1934. Column shafts in Plate XII, west Sea Palace; Plate XIV, Bukoleon Palace; Plate XV, later spolia wall at the Western Sea Palace, with entablatures as well. cf. Plate XX, for the use of column shafts to preserve foundations against the sea (with up to three courses of spolia shafts in places).

³² Van Millingen 1899, 78ff for the Gate of Rhegium, or the Porta Rhousiou (of the Red Faction). Van Millingen only gives one illustration, but notes that there are “seven shafts employed to form the lintel, posts and sill of the gateway are covered with red wash, as though to mark the entrance with the colour of the Red Faction.”

³³ Abulfeda (written 1316–1321) 1840 II, 183 at Salé relaying Edrisi, à l'embouchure de la rivière, se trouvent des pierres et autres obstacles qui mettraient les vaisseaux en pièces.

sapping, and become decorative. This is well seen in the gates of Cairo (Bâb al-Futûh, Bâb al-Nasr, and in the angle towers such as Burg al-Zafar and Burg al-Mahrûq), or the chateau of Sheizar, on the Orontes, where the shafts are decoratively disposed, presumably abstracted from some nearby ancient city.^{lxxxvii} Deschamps gives a longer list (including Askalon, Tyre, Caesarea, Jerusalem, Bosra, Damascus, Salamiye, Sheizar and Aleppo; and in the towers and gates of the fortresses of Giblet, Latakia and Djebele), and affirms that the technique is a Moslem one taken over by the Crusaders, and suggests that “On en tirait un parte décoratif en faisant saillir les extrémités sur le nu de la muraille ou elles s’ordonnaient sur plusieurs rangées et à distances égales.”^{lxxxviii} It is not coincidental, of course, that structures displaying this technique, such as Giblet, are very close to antique remains.^{lxxxix} Conceivably protruding shafts were intended (playfully) to represent cannon, which is how the Abbé de la Porte saw them at Alexandria in 1765,^{xc} and Salverte at Lattakia in 1861.^{xci}

Very long lists^{xcii} could be constructed of the use of columns as structural members and as decoration, and their enthusiastic use – conspicuous display in the extreme – constituted a heavy drain on finite supplies. Hence towns like Ayas now display very few columns, for so many have gone into building the fort.^{xciii} We should bear in mind that shafts are used in churches and mosques as well as in fortresses, so what may have begun as structural assuredly becomes decorative. Thus a classic example of column shafts used in a Byzantine wall is by the “Queen’s Garden” at the very top of Pergamon, where stood the Temple of Faustina.³⁴ Even given the convenient nearby temple, the manner in which the material has been laid is regular and aesthetically pleasing. Similarly, granite columns are used as ties in the Byzantine wall by the small church on At Meydani, Constantinople. A succession of marble columns is used as floor supports both in the Red Tower at Alanya, and in the outermost square tower of the peninsular fortifications, both sets protruding as bossed decoration. Also in the east tower of the south gate of the lower wall at Ankara; or in the east tower of the Gate of Persecutions at Seljuk; and columns form a floor in the mediaeval fortress-cum-house (and still occupied as a house) as Syedra, east of Antalya. Columns are used both as decoration and as tie-bars in the Byzantine wall near to the theatre at Side, and in the Byzantine citadel at Bursa, where there are other antique remains in the later Turkish walls.³⁵ Exactly the same setup applies at Theveste, in North Africa. Columns can also be simple infill, as for example both under the arches of the theatre of Side (that is, on the line of the new late walls), in the towers south-east of the theatre, decoratively laid in courses about 3.5m from the ground (conceivably against ramming) and also, once again in regular courses, in the tower by the Baths (now museum).

³⁴ Conze 1913, 306 & pl. 62.2.

³⁵ Gabriel 1958, 23ff & plate X.5; and cf. 28 note 4 for spolia in Turkish gates and walls (now destroyed) such as Saltanat Kapisi, plate X.4.

When the Arabic writer Watwat (d. 1318) writes that “Gafsa est une ville bâtie sur des colonnes de marbre”,³⁶ he is presumably referring to just such a use of column shafts which he saw in the city walls, or in any of the outlying Byzantine forts which surrounded the oasis. In what may be an adaptation of the use of wooden piles, they were generally employed not so much to hold walls together as, it is suggested, to protect foundations and footings against sapping. It is equally possible that they were used as levelling courses; and they also appear in patterns which are clearly decorative – a feature of fortresses such as Caesarea³⁷ and Aleppo,^{xciv} with the Crusaders certainly using the technique, although they were certainly not the first to do so.³⁸ As for the efficacy of columns or marble baulks against saps: the account of the 1097 assault on Nicaea describes a breach made with ignited logs being very quickly repaired^{xcv} But even marble shafts do not seem to have been much protection against violent earthquakes.³⁹ In several instances, this anti-sapping device continued in use into post-mediaeval times.^{xcvi} Indeed, such tie-bars are ubiquitous in the Middle East, for example at Aleppo, Gibelet (Lebanon), at Bethanot in Palestine,^{xcvii} and even up the Nile.^{xcviii} Again, for Jean-Claude Voisin they are a response to the likelihood and experience of terrible earthquakes,^{xcix} which of course can be yet more devastating than siege machines.⁴⁰

Projectiles and Cannon

Projectiles Pre-gunpowder

The Hellenistic Greeks and the Romans both used huge siege machines, sometimes to the detriment of the ancient monuments,⁴¹ but it was

³⁶ Fagnan 1924, 52; cf. Bodereau 1907, 195ff for the military history of the city and its five forts.

³⁷ Marino 1987, 25, note 20: Maqrisi recounts that Baybars could not take Caesarea because Louis IX had fortified it so well, usando per le murature colonne di granito, da rendere praticamente inutile ogni lavoro di mina.

³⁸ Raban 1989, figs III 119, pp. 124–5, 129–30. The discussion of the Crusader Wall and Square Tower (pp. 181ff) makes it clear they believe the Crusaders did indeed use this technique. Also Levine & Netzer 1986, 178ff for The archaeological finds and their relationship to the history of the city.

³⁹ Chehab 1979, II 2 for damage to the walls of Tyre in 1157 (as well as the citadel at Aleppo, and Acre and Tripoli) and again in 1170.

⁴⁰ Pringle 1995, 87 for through-columns at Ascalon & Tyre; 96 author asserts use of through-columns for solidity against siege engines and earthquakes; Beirut and Sidon used metal clamps for the same purpose.

⁴¹ Camp 2001, 185: during Sulla's siege in 86BC, the Athenians burned the Odeion of Pericles so that its roof timbers could not be used by Sulla for building siege machines (Appian, Mithridatic Wars 38).

perhaps the Byzantines who first re-used antiquities as projectiles. If walls were frequently built of antiquities, then it is at least symmetrical that other antiquities were often cut to use as projectiles in order to batter them down. Strange and counter-intuitive as it might at first seem, one activity which consumed enormous quantities of classical antiquities, principally column-shafts and entablature blocks, both marble and granite, was the cutting of projectiles (and to accurate dimensions, unlike the statue-pieces thrown down from the Mausoleum of Hadrian).^c Columns were to be preferred, since the Romans usually manufactured them to standard dimensions. Hence standard-weight balls could be made from them, since for devices non-gunpowder and gunpowder repeated accuracy (needed to batter down walls) could be obtained only if the projectile was of a known and consistent weight, as well as the counterweight (or later, powder charge).

Before the gunpowder age, this was done for mangonels and trebuchets, which were the WMD of their day.⁴² Maundrell reports seeing one in the fortress at Damascus in 1697,^{ci} and yet more arms at Beer on the Euphrates.^{cii} Long sieges required enormous quantities of ammunition, 140,000 balls (some of them iron) being expended in 75 days during the siege of Famagusta in 1571.^{ciii} Even short sieges could be destructive, as with the taking of Constantinople: and Maurand, travelling in 1544, reports seeing a good selection of large-bore cannon in the city.^{civ}

Some of the elements of this re-use of classical materials have been dealt with elsewhere,⁴³ but suffice it to underline here that accurate cutting was just as necessary for pre-gunpowder throwing machines as it was to fit the bores of cannon (which were routinely bulked out with rope to make them semi-gas-tight. The type of stone used was also important, and we learn of Richard I's collecting of suitable material from Messina (from ruins?) – a sample of which was shown to Saladin in Jerusalem, who wished to know what could cause such destruction.^{cv} Perhaps local (lime-)stone was unsuitable for weapon-use? This is why marble was preferred: granite could also be used, but was usually much more laborious to cut and shape.

⁴² Nicolle 2004.

⁴³ Greenhalgh 2009.

In terms of mechanics, the Moslems were probably *pari passu* with the Byzantines,⁴⁴ and probably taught the Crusaders a thing or two machine-wise as they did fort-wise. From the 15th century stone shot, made from marble and granite, was cut for gunpowder cannon, for use both on land and on board ship,^{cv} and as far west as Tlemcen.^{cvii} In attacks on Mecca in 683, the projectiles might have been common stone, but the destroyed columns were marble.^{cviii} Since the Ottoman Turks had breached the walls of Constantinople with just such weapons, their confidence in their continuing use had a basis in experience,^{cx} and they happily used stone projectiles in their attacks around Vienna in 1529.^{cx} Western forces with eastern connections also used marble shot: Canon Casola, for example, boarding his Venetian galley for Jaffa in 1494, noticed such supplies.^{cx} Did something similar happen on the Greek islands during the Middle Ages – since these were often the most convenient points for the victualling of fleets?⁴⁵ Another connection between marble and gunnery should be mentioned in passing. Guns needed powder, and saltpetre was needed to produce this; suffice it to say, without going into details, that old ruins were a well-known source for “milking” this important ingredient.^{cxii}

On the acropolis at Athens, marble projectiles were the cause of throwing up defensive walls of antiquities during the Ottoman period, to counter the marble projectiles flung at it.^{cxiii} Several, including some of large caliber, were to be seen scattered near the Propylaea in 1856.^{cxiv} And projectiles manufactured there just might have been used to salute ambassadors, Choiseul-Gouffier receiving a 21-gun salute from them in the 1780s (though he does not say whether they were shotted).^{cxv} Of course, the nearer the fortress, the greater the danger to the antiquities – witness the destruction of some of the drums of the Parthenon to provide projectiles for the Turkish guns, as Tenent reports in 1825^{cxvi} and Emerson in 1826.^{cxvii} And such projectiles – did any of the drums of the earlier structure⁴⁶ suffer this fate? – were supposedly still being carved from the Parthenon column drums during the War of Independence, during the siege of the Acropolis in 1826 – and by a French general at that.^{cxviii}

⁴⁴ Sezgin 2003, V, 93–138 for Islamic war machines.

⁴⁵ E.g. Carile 2004, 278–9 for Samos: the fleet launched in 911 by Leo VI against Crete included 100 vessels and 24,300 men (imperial fleet), 31 vessels and 6760 men (the Cibirreoti fleet), from the Theme of Samos itself 22 vessels and 4680 men, and from the Aegean Theme 14 vessels and 3100 men – so were a lot of missiles carved out from the local monuments? If so, is there any sign of these on Crete, or would they all be at the bottom of the sea?

⁴⁶ Hurwit 2004, 67–76 for the older Parthenon, scaffolding of which destroyed by the Persian sack in 480 – only the two or three lowest column drums, unfluted, in place.

Marble Projectiles Around the Mediterranean

Once made into ammunition, antiquities were of little use for any other purpose, and lay around the Mediterranean for centuries, and in large quantities. Balls thrown from trebuchets during the 1480/1 siege of Rhodes amazed Cazola when he visited the city in 1494,^{cxcix} and at least some of these were of marble.^{cxx} Defensive weapons also used stone, such as the immense bombard mortar, which threw granite balls of 260kg, and which is now in the Musée de l'Armée in Paris. At the second and successful siege of 1522, many more projectiles were fired, and littered Rhodes, its streets and its defences (in which latter location they are still to be seen). Dallam saw large quantities there in 1600,^{cxxi} they were still all over the streets in 1820,^{cxxii} were examined and measured by Wilde in 1840,^{cxxiii} and around their ancient guns in 1853.^{cxxiv} Some tidying then occurred for, when Allard saw them in 1864 they were in neat piles ready to serve the adjacent (and by now centuries-old?) cannon.^{cxxv}

Although common on Rhodes because of the two sieges, they were nearly as plentiful elsewhere. Jomard saw such ammunition next to "dead" guns in the fort at Alexandria in 1818.^{cxxvi} Others were to be found at Mahdiya, supposedly fired against the Spanish.^{cxxvii} Stone projectiles were still in the streets of Mahdiya in 1835.^{cxxviii} Piles of stone shot were still to be seen by the walls of Constantinople in 1835, conceivably left there as trophies, next to the breaches they had made in that "impregnable" City,^{cxxix} while others were set in a special display and had received appropriate inscriptions,^{xxx} which made their anti-Christian triumphalism clear to visitors.^{xxxi} Such military souvenirs were perhaps more common than any civilian trumpeting: if De Saulcy is correct, then the citadel at Damascus displayed a Christian bow captured during the Crusades.^{xxxii} Such enormous projectiles were also found down the Euphrates, reported in 1697, probably for trebuchet-like devices.^{xxxiii}

In Algeria during the Spanish occupation Mostagenem lost a marble gateway to such balls.^{xxxiv} Plenty were also to be seen at Goletta in 1830,^{xxxv} and the cannon for twenty-one-inch stone shot were still to be seen there in the mid-19th century.^{xxxvi} At Acre, that much-fought-over town, Maundrell found plenty of projectiles in 1697,^{xxxvii} as did Robinson in the 1830s, these latter possibly from the French siege.^{xxxviii} Cyprus retained many for the same reason,^{xxxix} some of them being used to ornament the British parade-ground at Famagusta,^{cxl} which had been rich in antiquities in the 15th century,^{cxli} but whose walls were crumbling away by 1801.^{cxlii} North Africa also had its share, including great balls supposedly from a 1337 siege at Tlemcen,^{cxliii} and others in the fort at Sidi Maharess.^{cxliv}

Enormous quantities of antiquities went into fortress-building, generally on the same spot (for strategic reasons), and re-used again and again during rebuilds, for fortification was a changing science. As for offensive weapons, this chapter has shown that very large quantities of standard-size column shafts went into the fashioning of pre-gunpowder and then gunpowder-weapon

projectiles. Since much warfare around the Mediterranean was sea-based, column-shafts or stumps were probably shipped as ballast, and cut when supplies ran low. This is almost like the cartoon of the reporters stitching the Bayeux Tapestry as the Battle of Hastings raged in front of their eyes – except that there the battle is transformed into art, whereas for projectiles the architecture is transformed into battle.

- i Laborde_1809_III_214–215
- ii Le_Camus_1889_I_172
- iii Ponz_1792_XVII_198–199
- iv Broughton_1858_I_336
- v Neroutsos-Bey_1875_50
- vi El-Edrisi_1866_116b
- vii Mármol_1667_II_392
- viii Leo_Africanus_1896_III_795
- ix Leo_Africanus_1896_II_540
- x Ibn_Haukal_1842_241
- xi Ibn_Haukal_1842_162
- xii Blondel_1840_18
- xiii Clarke_1818_VII_444–5
- xiv Hammer_1844_I_97
- xv Leake_1835_IV_508–9
- xvi Mustawfi_1919_258
- xvii Davis_1874_214–215
- xviii Rott_1908_100–102
- xix Thévenot_1727_357
- xx Mrs_Walker_1886_163
- xxi Von_Struve_1802_203
- xxii Sieur_du_Loir_1654_312
- xxiii Slade_1837_II_308
- xxiv Breton_1862_135
- xxv Nicolas_de_Martoni_1895_650
- xxvi Pasolini_1874_100–101
- xxvii Conder_&_Kitchener_II_1882_15
- xxviii Mileham_1910_24
- xxix Dussaud_1903_36
- xxx Van_Egmont_&_Heyman_1759_II_312–13
- xxxi Belon_1588_174
- xxxii Clarke_III_1817_264
- xxxiii Boissier_1912_209
- xxxiv William_of_Tyre_1880_II_83
- xxxv Buchon_1843_384–385
- xxxvi Falkener_1854_27
- xxxvii Hamilton_1842_II_107–8
- xxxviii William_of_Tyre_XX_19
- xxxix William_of_Tyre_1880_II_24
- xl Van_Egmont_1759_II_312–3
- xli Cagnat_&_Saladin_1894_142
- xliv Napier_1842_I_86–7
- xlvi Rey_1883_100
- xliv Urquhart_1838_I_143
- xlvi Guichard_1581_379–81
- xlvi Sabba_da_Castiglione_1886_98
- xlvi Sabba_da_Castiglione_1886_105
- xlvi Gabarti_1838_58–9
- xlvi Gabarti_1838_20
- li Breton_1814_I_188
- li Description_de_l’Egypte_18_1826_420–1
- lii Denon_1817_92.
- liii Dolomieu_1922_67–68
- lii Keppel_1831_156
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- lvi Clarke_1816_II_122–3
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- lix Fellows_1843_39–40
- lx Hamilton_1856_134
- lxi Dussaud_1903_77
- lxii Diehl_1893_17
- lxiii Clarke_1817_V_438
- lxiv Clarke_1814_II_1_129–30
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- lxviii Hughes_1830_II_470
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- lxxv Della_Valle_1650_36–8
- lxxvi Baratta_1831_31
- lxxvii Hommaire_de_Hell_1854_I_140–141
- lxxviii Lucas_1714_I_203
- lxxix Hamilton_1838_139
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- lxxxii Ainsworth_1839_263
- lxxxiii Cowper_1894_88
- lxxxiv Scott-Stevenson_1881_57
- lxxxv SHD\$71_Génie_14
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- lxxxix Rey_1871_215
- xc De_la_Porte_1765_I_107
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- xcvi Walpole_1817_415
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- xcviii Cadalvène_1841_II_83

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- ci Maudrell_1853_109
- cii Maudrell_1853_134b
- ciii Mariti_1909_64
- civ Maurand_1901_203
- cv Geoffrey_de_Vinsauf_
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- cvi De_Tott_1786_II_
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- cviii Al_Tabari_1874_
- IV_56–7
- cix Walsh_1836_I_213–15
- cx Frankland_1829_I_3
- cxi Casola_1907_160
- cxii Saint-Martin_1852_
- II_672–3
- cxiii Beulé_1873_I_35–7
- cxiv Baird_1856_33
- cxv Martin_1821_36
- cxvi Tennent_1826_I_282
- cxvii Emerson_1826_
- I_282b
- cxviii Azaïs_&_
- Domergue_1858_336–7
- cxix Casola_1907_205–6
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- I_162
- cxxi Dallam_1893_39
- cxvii Turner_1820_III_7–8
- cxviii Wilde_1840_40
- cxviii Finlay_1995_I_321
- cxv Allard_1864_151
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- cxvii Temple_1835_I_139
- cxviii Temple_1835_
- I_139b
- cxviii Porter_1835_83
- cxviii Porter_1835_I_173
- cxviii Pardoe_1838_76
- cxviii De_Saulcy_1853_II_586
- cxviii Maudrell_1853_134
- cxviii Rozet_&_Carette_
- 1850_88
- cxviii Grosvenor_1830_40
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- cxviii Robinson_1838_
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- cxl Baker_1879_153
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- cxliii Knox_1883_428–9
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CHAPTER TWELVE

THE MECHANICS OF DISMANTLING AND TRANSPORT

Admiration for the antique was sometimes accompanied by the desire to own objects, and perhaps to sell them. But for most travellers our Crescent was a long way from home, and its antiquities located in intractable deserts, under sand-dunes, and in any case many possibly stormy sea-miles from home. Actually dismantling antiquities could be a problem, and transport over land was generally difficult. Transport by sea, on the other hand, was easy – always assuming the artworks could be satisfactorily shipped. This was by no means always the case, and the difficulties experienced even in the highly mechanised 19th century in distant lands explain why so many antiquities remained safely where they lay until museum fervour took hold.

Building, Dismantling and Destruction

Even in the mid-19th century there were still plentiful remains to be taken from the regions of our Crescent, if transport were available. And of course, in all centuries when the supplies were needed, bulk transport (for grain as much as for marble) went by sea. Thus Van de Velde writes of what he could have taken from Tyre in 1854, “had I a vessel at my disposal.”ⁱ These might have included the great triple shafts of the Cathedral, now re-erected, which were perhaps left behind because they were heavy, but especially because it was impossible easily to reduce such triplets to three separate shafts.

Conservation

Architecture and its conservation, on the other hand, are the preserve of men who understand and appreciate civilisation, as Belisarius is supposed to have reminded Totila;ⁱⁱ perhaps because the Romans (according to Procopius’ unlikely statement) preserved “all their ancestral treasures.”ⁱⁱⁱ Ibn Khaldun relates how ambassadors from Bougie to Fez in 1304 were very interested in the surviving architecture of that kingdom’s Almohad ancestors.^{iv} He perhaps mentioned this because he was himself so interested in old monuments,^v and of course ruminations on the building cycle form an

interesting part of his *Muqaddima*. But he also noted that sultans sometimes visited the remains left by earlier dynasties – and El Djem as well.^{vi}

Islam adopts materials and building techniques from the Romans and the Sassanians,¹ but their attitude to the past is more variable. Although he could not read any of the inscriptions on the Pyramids, Mas'udi assures us that one reads: “C'est nous qui avons bâti les pyramides. Que celui qui veut égaler notre autorité, obtenir notre pouvoir et renverser notre trône, abatte ces édifices, et en efface les vestiges, bien qu'il soit plus facile d'abattre que de bâtir, et de disperser des matériaux que de les réunir,” and goes on to tell of how a Moslem king started their demolition, but could not complete it.^{vii} This moral tale is repeated with embellishments by Al-Maqrizi centuries later,^{viii} and is part of a tradition of smart sayings about these structures.^{ix} Their counterpoint is the common theme that even monuments crumble to dust^x – or survive to echo the vanity of later efforts.^{xi}

In other words, the Middle Ages were in wonder at the structures of the ancients: building confirmed authority and, as Ibn Khaldun states, the greatness of their monuments is in direct proportion to the greatness of the dynasty which built them.^{xii} Rebuilding, after the destruction caused by earthquakes, might also serve a dynastic cause – as when the 1220 quake destroyed or severely damaged several Crusader forts. The Christians were frantic to rebuild, for fear of attacks by Nur al-Din. But he was in Aleppo, where he is said to have directed the reconstruction work himself – the ruler as builder, indeed!²

Dismantling and Demolition

The term “dismantling” implies disassembling into constituent pieces so that these individual members may be re-used in some other configuration. Had this always been the case, then much more would survive of the ancient world, albeit needing to be rebuilt lego-wise. Thus when Lucas went to investigate a pyramid at Sakkara in 1715, it was demolished because the entrance could not be found^{xiii} – and presumably not rebuilt!

¹ Arce 2007, 494–498 for the adoption of technologies by the Arabs, and 498–503 for the next stage – hybridisation.

² Guidoboni & Comastri (p. 433), earthquakes, Cat 089 another large one in 1170, Eastern Syria and Lebanon; caused extensive damage to the Krak, as did subsequent quakes, so that what we see today is a part-rebuilding, finished c.1220.

But dismantling was rarely employed (prizes for European museums being exceptions) because it is not easy, and the constituent elements often broke, including column shafts. Much more usual was the undermining of column bases in order to topple them, and then smashing up into convenient chunks whatever had fortuitously survived the brute-force toppling process. The alternative to the difficulties of dismantling was to use gunpowder, as Urquhart saw at Phidocastro in the 1830s^{xiv} – a procedure which was perhaps frequently employed.

Si le souvenir d'un peuple ne survit pas à ses monuments^{xv}

Dismantling – if not completed adequately – could undermine authority. (Although whether pulling down part of the Pyramids to build the Citadel at Cairo counts here is a moot point).^{xvi} Thus dismantling the architecture of one's predecessors could confirm the legitimacy and glory of one's reign – just as, presumably, re-using the remains added to that glory. Hence, perhaps, the prestige of Pisa's Duomo, the marbles for which were believed to come from a variety of sources in the Moslem world.^{xvii}

But praising old monuments could be dangerous. So when Harun Al-Rashid (in Mas'udi's telling) heard a servant praising the Palace of Chosroes as "Ce palais a été bâti par un homme issu de telle famille, qui voulait de là s'élever jusqu'au ciel," he had him whipped to preserve the dignity of his throne. But he also rejected initial advice from Yahia against destruction until Yahia saw Harun was set on it. When the destruction failed, Yahia explained that he had wished to avoid shame falling on Moslems for being unable to demolish what the Persians had built.^{xviii} In one legend, part of the great arch fell on the night of Mohammed's birth^{xix} – shades of legends surrounding the Temple of Diana at Ephesus.

This "destruction rule" – pull it down to preserve present dignity – seems not to apply when extra-large monoliths are concerned. So we may wonder whether Al-Tabari's story of the Pentateuch under one of the columns of the Temple reflected mediaeval unease at the thought of trying to shift such large weights.^{xx} After all, if structures such as the Pyramids were built by giants, how could mere men shift them? But legend and reality were distinct: it must have been clear to many that their granite facing-blocks had indeed been removed,^{xxi} presumably to satisfy Cairo's needs. To get the materials to Cairo, dismantling the Pyramid facings was easier because the blocks were relatively small, and all that was needed was a causeway, built for that one purpose.^{xxii}

The Romans, with an intact road system, did not encounter such problems.³ How were the giant shafts in the Citadel Diwan moved? Evidently, by human muscle; and the Sultan had no difficulty in removing smaller shafts from elsewhere in the city.⁴

Declining Technical Skill?

One reason for not dismantling or trying to move large monoliths, as already stated, was that they were fragile if not handled carefully. That horizons had declined is evident from an examination of technical resources in the late Roman world,⁵ which were not recouped for centuries. In the Citadel at Cairo, where long before Sandys had wondered how the great columns were got there,^{xxiii} in the 1840s Wilkinson watched the same mammoth shafts of Saladin's Diwan being taken down for re-use in the then-building Mosque of Mehmet Ali. But several were broken, either through carelessness, or because the workmen did not know how to cope with monoliths of such a size.^{xxiv} This might tie in with the ten twenty-plus-footers that Brocchi, confirming Wittmann two decades earlier,^{xxv} saw on the approaches to Old Cairo in the 1820s.^{xxvi} These must have been intended for some aborted 13th- or 14th-century building project. So were they simply too large to be moved? Or had the knack been lost, or insufficient labour employed? And if they were too large to be moved, then what happened to large columns seen in the early 19th century, but now gone, as at Ankara?^{xxvii} Or, indeed, to some of the sculptures seen in the citadel walls at Ankara in the early 18th century?^{xxviii}

Sometimes even moving shafts a short distance was difficult, as an example from Seville makes clear. The city's historians associated Hercules with Seville,^{xxix} and two large columns were moved from a swamp, itself converted into a park, the Alameda, as part of "branding" the city

³ Hirt 2004 deals with quarries and roads in southern Euboea, Dokimeion, and Mons Porphyrites and Mons Claudianus.

⁴ Denoix 1992 on Cairo, citing 14th–15thC historians: 122 Grande Qaysariyya d'Ibn al-Muyassar, where thread was sold; nobody would buy the building, but Il y avait eu [NB tense] dans cette qaysariyya de nombreuses colonnes de marbre dont l'administration sultanienne s'empara et qu'elle remplaça par des colonnes de calcaire. La plus grande partie de cette qaysariyya tomba en ruines.

⁵ Lavan Technology 2007 technology, xv–xl: "Explaining technological change: innovation, stagnation, recession and replacement." – i.e. the technology of the Mediterranean world.

with the name of Hercules.⁶ Conceivably, it was admiration for the building achievements of the past which helped preserve some monuments. In Seville, indeed, consciousness of the Islamic past was sensitive, for the citizens integrated such monuments into the “story” of their city⁷ – which is surely also why most of the Mezquita in Córdoba survived as well.⁸

Indeed, the 19th century often showed itself untrustworthy in the dismantling of antiquities. And even when dismantling was under the supervision of a supposedly responsible ambassador, the task could not necessarily be completed without damage, as with the near-demolition of a funerary monument at Dougga, damaged in the removal of the large marble-slabbed inscription, now in the British Museum, but leaving debris of bas-reliefs on the site.^{xxx} This is but one of what must have been many examples of inexperience blended with crass stupidity.

Dismantling Large Blocks

The mediaeval Moslem world knew that the ancients had assembled marbles and other materials from various parts of the Eastern Mediterranean to build their cities. They pondered just how the Egyptians built the Pyramids,^{xxxi} and marvelled at the mechanical skill required to erect Pompey’s Pillar.^{xxxii} This we can deduce from Mas’udi’s 9th-century relaying of where Alexander got the materials for Alexandria. He is also said to have gathered workmen from a host of countries.^{xxxiii} We may perhaps assume that this *modus operandi* is a fair reflection of how the Moslems themselves sought and transported their building materials in the early centuries, from locations they stated Alexander to have used, all of which were near the sea. Perhaps they also realised that huge blocks at sites flanking the Nile had come from much further south, or even that some of them were intended for re-use.^{xxxiv} We may also assume that some shafts in Alexandria survived into the 19th century because of their large

⁶ Wunder 2003, 2003–2005. Cf 2005: “Built with the remains of the Roman past, the completed Alameda de Hércules enjoyed a certain authority and authenticity, thanks to the common belief that the ancient hero had personally placed the pillars in Seville.”

⁷ Wunder 2003, 211: “Ever since the Reconquest of 1248 – when the conquering Christian king chose to preserve the Moslem minaret and build a cathedral around it rather than destroy the beautiful but ungodly remains of the recent past – the instinct to preserve the vestiges of previous civilizations was considered a human virtue and a local value in Seville.”

⁸ Salcedo Hierro 2000 for a well-illustrated survey; for columns and capitals 169–179, 225–229 and 279–295. Murillo et al., 1997, and Carrillo et al., 1999 for the development of the city.

dimensions – estimated by Dolomieu in 1797 to equal those of the Pantheon in Rome,^{xxxv} although these are fifty Roman feet tall.

Antiquities in strategic locations were perhaps subject to special risk, as was the case with the Acropolis at Athens, fought for by Morosini, who tackled the removal of some of its antiquities.⁹ It was apparently not razed to the ground to deny it to the Turks (and hence Turkish control over the whole of Attica) because the task would take too many workers too long to effect.^{xxxvi}

In the West, we can assume that large buildings were also dismantled, but it is not known exactly how. Building techniques also change: we find traditional handicrafts such as bricklaying continue into the Middle Ages, but the engineering of structures declines,¹⁰ perhaps in part because of new stylistic requirements. The great cathedrals of the West, for example, structural marvels though they often are, are never built with large and heavy monoliths – and, indeed, their style, ceiling heights and general dimensions could not have re-used any but the largest of monolithic column-shafts.

In Upper Egypt, Nassiri-Khosrau in the 11th century puzzled over the immense blocks he saw, distant from any quarry, and wondered how they were moved.^{xxxvii} A little perversely, we find him explaining the size of building blocks in an arch by the enormous cost of demolishing the structure^{xxxviii} – almost suggesting, in other words, that enormous blocks helped preserve structures because of the cost and difficulty involved in their demolition. So was this a common idea, and had he perhaps seen a lot of large buildings thus demolished? Mechanical devices may well have been used in the Islamic East to shift heavy loads, especially columns.¹¹ Certainly, plenty of ancient walls survive with the block interstices chipped out to get at the metal cramps – so either the metal was worth more than the blocks (which is likely), or dismantling was frequently seen as too difficult a task. Abd-Allatif conceded, while visiting

⁹ Details in Miller 1920, e.g. 352–353 for difficulties with the Western pediment: “but the recent explosion had disarranged the blocks of marble, so that the workmen no sooner touched them than these beautiful sculptures fell in pieces upon the ground. Morosini, coolly announcing this disaster in a dispatch to the senate, expressed satisfaction that none of the workmen had been injured, and announced his decision to carry off instead a marble lioness without a head.” Cf. Also Sacconi 1991, 51–54 for the lions at the Arsenale. 25–41 for *Le antichità di Atene al tempo di Morosini*.

¹⁰ Nussbaum 2008 for examples from Germany and France.

¹¹ Pasquale 2006 for Heron of Alexandria’s treatise, which has an Arabic translation by Qusta Ibn Luqa of 849, with diagrams incorporating ropes and pullies.

Memphis, that the ruins were so great it was easy to see how the ignorant immediately thought of giants.^{xxxix}

Hobhouse pondered the same problem at Athens,^{xi} and the same theme is also seen in North Africa, at Rabat, perhaps with the sub-text that mediaeval buildings were better-constructed.^{xli} But this is of course a topos that goes back centuries: earlier generations were perhaps always better at solid building – Procopius suggested as much.^{xlii} So perhaps Mas'udi really did know of dismantling attempts; and Abd Al-Latif says he witnessed the extreme difficulty of satisfactorily bringing down even one stone – and setting it back up again simply could not be done.^{xliii} Nevertheless, the Moslems were indeed able to lift relatively great weights – witness Ibn Haukal's note on Damascus, for weights which even elephants could not move.^{xliv} They knew about gears and pulleys,¹² and they were certainly well aware of the very large size of the blocks and columns with which some ancient cities were built, such as Carthage.^{xlv} Here El-Bekri describes large shafts with some of their length sunk well underground,^{xlvi} and presumably too large an engineering problem to move. Indeed, we might suspect that so many extra-large column shafts and blocks were admired by travellers (as at Caesarea)^{xlvii} because their smaller fellows had already been easily removed.

Triumphalism in Dismantling?

There are a few instances where we can assume a purpose in dismantling other than ordinary re-use. An early example of likely triumphalism is the 5th-century shifting at Aphrodisias of temple columns to convert the selfsame building into a church – an unnecessary but no doubt religiously popular transformation, demonstrating that at this date shifting large shafts could still be handled.¹³ Another is in the 14th century the Georgian king embarked on a punitive expedition to the west, the success of which was measured in part by the antiquities he incorporated into a chapel back home, complete with an inscription underlining their re-use.^{xlviii} Hence Christians could be triumphalist in their re-use of antiquities, so it is perhaps against such a background that we should sometimes view at least some Moslem re-use of classical antiquities – that is, as inherently triumphalistic. Is this the way in which we should understand

¹² Sezgin 2003, V, 40–44 for Islamic gears and pulleys.

¹³ Ratté 2001, 131–33 for the conversion of the Temple of Aphrodite into a church, which entailed moving 12 shafts etc from the colonnades to turn a peripteral temple into a basilical church with the colonnades inside; columns also laid out in a atrium to the west. At least one part of this rebuilding dated by coinage to reign of Leo I (457–74) or after.

a Christian inscription of 1593, taken to Tunis?¹⁴ In other words, the Roman and Byzantine cities of our Crescent possessed valuable marble and mosaic, and these were sometimes to be carted away for re-use as a result of military victory, as the Persian Emperor Anouchirwan did at Antioch and elsewhere in Syria,^{xlix} just as their forefathers had done against Greece.¹ Although this was not such an enormous task as building Rome herself,¹⁵ large resources would nevertheless have been needed.

Harbours, Rivers, and Breakers' Yards

In any century the main requirement for easy dismantling for export was that the monument be near to a suitable and accessible harbour, or on a river, where destruction was always greater than inland. Thus the columns from Antioch taken by Al-Walid (ruled 705–715) went down to the sea on the river.^{li} Very large shafts were seen abandoned near Iskanderun in 1780^{lii} – another accessible port. And when Mas'udi writes of the marvelous buildings of Egypt, he notes that they are near the river, along which ply boats each of which can carry one hundred camel-loads of goods.^{liii} On the Cyzicus peninsula, Sestini came across a statue he reckoned was damaged in efforts to load it onto a ship.^{liv} All the additional examples given below are near a river, or the sea-shore.

Waterside Breakers' Yards

Turkey: Alexandria Troas: Plentiful examples have already been given of the steadily decreasing antiquities of this, the richest and most accessible set of ruins within moderate sailing distance of Constantinople. At the lower end of the Dardanelles, this sea-side city had an easily accessible harbour (still there, but silted up). Plundered since at least the 16th century, it was also a convenient resting-place for travellers before they made the passage through the Dardanelles up to Constantinople itself. And, of course, the Troad, its deeds,

¹⁴ Mahfoudh 2003, 185–209 for Mosque of al-Kasr in Tunis, has no re-use in the original structure, which author considers (208) an ancient fort adapted to a mosque. Interior has as a lintel (197) a 1593 Christian inscription from Genoa. Mahfoudh 2008, 197–8 for Genoese inscription of 1593 relating to the building of the Cathedral of Ajaccio at that date, and presumably brought to Tunis by pirates.

¹⁵ DeLaine 2000, 135: "If all the travertine from the Tivoli quarries went by road to Rome – as has often been suggested – then a heavily laden cart would have left the quarry every few minutes of every day for 400 years."

tombs and cities vouchsafed by Homer, was nearby. Why were these ruins, just like those of Cyzicus, plundered? Because ancient cities closer to Constantinople had already been stripped, some of them conceivably well before the Ottoman conquest. At both Alexandria Troas and Cyzicus, only the stripped skeletons of buildings remain today.

Egypt: At sites such as Abu Mina, dismantling would have entailed transport costs before re-use, and these have been calculated.¹⁶ Breaking up for immediate and local re-use of the materials (usually within a few kilometres of the site of the ruins)^{lv} is of course easy, and travellers were outraged by the destruction wrought by Mehmet Ali in Egypt – and almost as much, it seems, by those who defaced the monuments with pencil or paint.^{lvi} Breaking up blocks too large to shift was current at Nicomedia in 1555, to supply marble to Constantinople.^{lvii} At Memphis, what remains today is perhaps there because the large blocks went very early, and peasants looking for building materials in the 19th century could not break or carry anything large they found.^{lviii} An abandoned 50-footer shaft was seen in Alexandria in 1821,^{lix} smaller ones having been abstracted by c.1800 to make the French Consul's house rich in porphyry and granite.^{lx} But an earlier consul, de Maillet, maintained that the litter of shafts lying around Alexandria at the end of the 17th century were there simply because the Turks could not lift them.^{lxi} This was the man who projected the transport of Pompey's Pillar to Paris^{lxii} – understandable, in that the French had a good track record for transporting marble, although not without difficulty.¹⁷

Greece and the Islands: On the Greek Islands, wheeled transport was scarce; so perhaps large blocks survived because there was no easy way of transporting them for re-use unless the island was small.^{lxiii} Much material must have already been taken from Delos, one of Venice's "string of pearls," but Digby still found material to take in 1628.^{lxiv} Some of the blocks were too big for him, including the Apollo, which he estimated at 30 tons.^{lxv} It is also clear from his form of words that he was actually digging for antiquities, rather than simply contenting himself with what he found on the surface.^{lxvi} Much earlier Sabba da Castiglione, who spent three days on Delos turning things over to find something for Isabella d'Este, did indeed find marble statues "uscite da bon martello," as he puts it – but, in a wordy alibi, claims they were too heavy to be moved.^{lxvii} Sainte Maure in 1724 saw nothing there he considered meaningful, but presumably this was just on the surface.^{lxviii} Turner admits to being similarly misled on the island of Symi, the inhabitants having shipped antiquities from the mainland to build a church.^{lxix} And when the very expensive Royal

¹⁶ Grossmann 1989, for Abu Mina: 258–265 on the spoliation of the Justinianic Gruftkirche and its annexed buildings. 263 and note 710 for some calculations of transport costs.

¹⁷ Julie 2006, 151–169 for the transport of marbles in France by land and water.

Palace was built in Athens – “an immense, ugly pile of Pentelic marble”^{lxx} – the Pentelic quarries were apparently much maltreated, and blocks simply rolled down the hill, presumably because no suitable transport or mechanical lifting were available.^{lxxi}

Moving Great Weights Before the 19th Century

There was some heavy lifting in the Middle Ages, as we know because of the dislocation of antiquities from their original site to somewhere new. Al-Hakim, who quarried two monolithic blocks for fountains in the Mezquita, had to build a road for the carrying cart, and the operation was expensive and time-consuming.^{lxxii} Where roads were bad, even extremely long sea-routes were to be preferred, as when Peiresc interested himself in marble at a quarry near Toulouse – perhaps 450km as the crow flies from his home at Aix-en-Provence – but thought it would be easier to get an English ship to take them via Bordeaux and Gibraltar to Marseille, the nearest port.^{lxxiii} Even the Venetians, in the early years, had difficulties with large columns, as an account of 1172 relates.^{lxxiv} But what happened at Palmyra? The theatre lacks most of its original limestone shafts¹⁸ – but were these carried away, or burned to lime for later constructions? At Carthage in 1271 the Tatars took the wood but left the stone behind.^{lxxv} was it simply too much of a load for them?

Alexandria’s harbours were being fished for columns in the 1580s, using “engines.”^{lxxvi} In 1818, a very large basin remained at Antinoe, presumably because the technology to move it no longer existed.^{lxxvii} Magic was also, of course, used to shift magical columns, as in the story of a Moslem woman who, in 649, bought three columns from a monk, the latter being sure she could not move them: but, on her death, they moved themselves, walking on the sea, to ornament her tomb.^{lxxviii}

But for less suspect displacements, we only have accounts of such work from the early 17th century, or from archaeological deduction – such as the coffering blocks from the main temple at Assos discovered on that town’s acropolis.^{lxxix} No doubt the size and weight of the shafts were a problem, for it appears that in the later 15th century shafts were not only disinterred

¹⁸ Fourdoin 2009 for the theatre at Palmyra, 199: only four columns from 32 survived entire (plus the four from the central baldacchino, of a different and harder stone than the rest, and 6.23m x .77m for the shafts), and “les colonnes qui ont été ajoutées au moment de la restauration ont été prélevées en différents endroits du site.”

at Jaffa for building in Jerusalem, but also lifted from the waters of the harbour – quite a technical feat.^{lxxx} Indeed, as Casola observed in 1494, the town had “a fine circuit of ruins.”^{lxxxi} It is certain that two large statues were shifted at Caesarea in late antiquity, but probably not very far.¹⁹ We have accounts of the shifting of the great obelisk to the Circus Maximus in Rome, and then its erection^{lxxxii} – but these are of no help with the moving of smaller weights in later centuries, which no contemporaries wrote about in detail until the Italian Renaissance, when monolithic columns were still very popular.²⁰ Sarcophagi did get moved for re-use, but perhaps not far: Lucas records one at Nicomedia in 1714, which had travelled perhaps less than a kilometre from its original location.^{lxxxiii} At Hosios Loukas, Diehl admires the marble the more because he believes it to have been transported a great distance^{lxxxiv} (but was nearby Stiris a possibility?). But at Tebessa, marble veneer was taken, but a large sarcophagus left behind.^{lxxxv}

So what size shafts were workmen able to disinter and manipulate, and ships able to carry, and in what centuries? There appears to have been a limit to the weights capable of being shifted throughout our Crescent. Demonstrably, the ancient Egyptians had little difficulty in transporting large blocks,²¹ and the Romans did likewise, perhaps with Egyptian expertise, scholars having sufficient evidence to present some convincing

¹⁹ Tsafir 2008, 132 on the two Caesarea statues: “the transfer of these monumental statues from their original place (perhaps in the Hadrianum of Caesarea) required significant labor, probably at the expense of the palace occupants. Although this could be viewed simply as an attempt to collect the art of the past, I tend to believe that it attests mainly to sentiments toward the classical heritage among elites in Caesarea. Still, it should be mentioned that the statues were headless when installed in their new place, and thus not too offensive to clerical circles.” – What is the evidence for their installation already headless?

²⁰ Belli 2006 for column transporting and erecting devices in 15thC & 16thC Italy, with details of dead-legs, pulleys, etc., and naturally on Francesco di Giorgio Martini. Cf. fig 9 for le Taccola’s drawing (c.1431/33) of a column-shaft floated on a raft with wheels, evidently for pulling also on land. 105: Enfin, la présence récurrente des fûts monolithes dans les codex de machines révèle à quel point la colonne, dans la seconde moitié du XV^e siècle, demeure l’un des symboles de la redécouverte de l’architecture des Antiques sous l’angle à la fois formel et technique.

²¹ Arnold 1991, 58–66 and table 3.1 for moving heavy monuments. The Lateran Obelisk was 455–510 tons, the Thutmosis III ones in London and New York a mere 193 tons. The Colossus of Ramesses II in the Ramesseum is 1000 tons – so they could almost certainly have moved the unfinished Aswan one at 1168 tons. fig 3.19 showing 15 workers with one lever lifting the ten-ton granite altar of Amenemhat I at Lisht. Goyon 2004, 175–216 for transport in ancient Egypt. But nothing on re-use.

ways and means, but transport was certainly at huge cost.²² After Antiquity, however, it appears that very heavy weights, such as Egyptian sarcophagi, were simply too heavy to be moved.^{lxxxvi} This is perhaps why large shafts were still to be seen at Nablus in 1874, as Guérin reports^{lxxxvii} – or, indeed, why porphyry shafts were buried under modern houses in Alexandria.^{lxxxviii} Occasionally even sawing seems to have failed, as in an abandoned mosque at Ramala, where a mis-sawn block (with an inscription of 1268) was seen in 1868.^{lxxxix} Precious items might go by ship, but then on human shoulders if they were small enough.^{xc}

As we have already seen, when columns were taken from Antioch to Damascus for the construction of the Umayyad Mosque, the major part of their journey was by sea:^{xc} were others left behind because they were too heavy to be moved? Al-Mu'izz had no such trouble in hauling large columns from Sousse to al-Mansuriyya – a feat considered “impossible.”²³ But an 18th-century Russian traveller thought so much remained at Alexandria because of the difficulty of shifting it.^{xcii} This could also be the case with abandoned mill or press stones seen in 1869 by Guérin in Judaea.^{xciii} Near Marbella, in Spain, at the end of the 18th century a road was built especially to shift a block of marble – but then abandoned.^{xciv} In Constantinople, an account survives of the shifting of a large column from the Kiztasi district to the Suleymaniye (building 1550–1553, with four enormous monolithic shafts inside) – a parallel, as it were, to Fontana's feat in Rome.²⁴

The French were able to shift large column shafts by the 17th century. Arvieux stood in amazement at the blocks he saw in the quarries, reckoning that the ancients must have had better machines than in his day^{xcv} – and forgetting, of course, slave labour. He obviously did not know that his compatriots were shifting heavy shafts at Leptis Magna. Certainly some giant shafts defeated them, and they were left behind²⁵ – but this fact must be

²² Maxfield 2001, 157–165 for transport and haulage. Adams 2001, 174–176 for what camels could haul.

²³ Bloom 2007, 38 at al-Mansuriyya al-Mu'izz “Qadi al-Nu'man, for example, reported that al-Mu'izz ordered some colossal antique columns transported from Sousse to Mansuriyya to be erected in the Great Hall, a feat that was considered impossible. But it was successful and the fragments of colossal columns, with a diameter of over one metre, may still be seen at the site.” Al-Mu'izz also built an aqueduct from Ayn Ayyub to al-Mansuriyya by building an aqueduct modelled on the great Carthage one.

²⁴ Morkoç 2008, 45–46.

²⁵ Laronde & Degeorge 2005, for Leptis Magna: 62–68 *Disparition et redécouverte d'une ville*: reckons Lemaire's columns went to Toulon, then up the the Rhone, Saône, and canal de Bourgogne and so into the Seine, shafts for Versailles, Saint-Germain-des-Prés and Rouen cathedral. Cf. fig 33 for three giant shafts left by Lemaire on the shore, near the Old Forum. Fig 34 for shafts taken in November 1817 to make in Windsor Great Park the ruins called Virginia Water.

set against Consul Lemaire's extraction of sixty shafts in 1693. He needed to get shafts disinterred from the sand-dunes, which obviously had protected them: resourceful, he was cunning enough to get the local sheikh to excavate them from the sand.^{xcvi} In the 1680s, French flutes were carrying nineteen-footers (5.7 metres), without any problems, and in fair quantities, from Leptis Magna.^{xcvii} Lemaire also had some twenty-eight-footers (8.5m) taken to the sea at the same site, but he did not manage to embark them – they are still there.²⁶ However, he tells us he spent three months in a tent under the hot sun supervising the extraction of shafts from the sands.^{xcviii} Leptis Magna was rich and sand-blown, and Lemaire was still extracting shafts in 1707 when the traveller Paul Lucas arrives, claiming he spent six months getting them (quantity unspecified) from the site to the sea.^{xcix} When happened at the seaside – for the ancient harbor was completely silted up – must have depended on the vessel and its equipment.

We also learn from Lemaire's plentiful correspondance that shafts were repolished – some marbles and granites degraded in the air^c – and repaired once arrived in France. So when we read throughout this chapter and elsewhere in the book of columns lying for decades at such-and-such a location, it is as well to bear in mind the possibility that their surface was badly degraded, and they were left alone for that very reason. But in cases where we know the date of disinterment, lifting difficulties were surely the reason for abandonment: thus some seventeen-footers dug up by Lady Stanhope at Askalon in 1814 were still there in 1869.^{ci}

Shifting Great Weights from the 19th Century

In previous centuries, it seems that great weights were avoided where possible – so that as early as the 2nd century we find a reference to “squared camel stones,” glossed as stones quarry-cut so that camels could manage them.^{cii} Perhaps this severely practical attitude percolates down the centuries, as for example when columns are sawn up into blocks small enough to be carried by camels, such as were seen near Mactar in 1862.^{ciii} In other words, re-use is through necessity, but often betokens a crass disregard for antiquities which made travellers such as Mac Farlane in 1850 despair.^{civ} It was still not clear what happened to some of the great monuments: could the Olympieion in Athens ever have been finished, wonders Giffard in 1837, given its dearth of columns?^{cv} – while Garston

²⁶ Blas de Roblès 2005, 74 for photograph of Lemaire's three shafts taken to the shore at Leptis: he couldn't find a “chaland” strong enough to embark them on the Flute du Roy to take them to France.

a few years later speculates that the drums went into later constructions.^{cvi} 16 columns are still standing today. D'Istria, writing in 1863, believe its paving-stones and architraves (the latter presumably broken in falling) went for lime.^{cvi} According to Baird, writing in 1856, some went into the building of a new mosque.^{cvi}

Even the later 19th century had problems shifting very large blocks. Calculating in 1876 the number of men required to shift the great monolith from the quarry at Baalbek, machines do not apparently come into the equation.^{cix} Victor Place tried to move Khorsabad material down the Tigris in 1855, meeting with pirates and capsizing several rafts – and he had not even taken an inventory of the material embarked.²⁷ At Ierapetra in 1865, a seven-ton sarcophagus was with difficulty got to the sea – but then “a very substantial pier” had to be constructed to load it aboard.^{cx} All the famous Sidon vessels had been discovered during digging for reusable antique blocks;^{cx} and to extract one of them, weighing 15 tons, a tunneled ramp 15 metres wide was excavated.^{cxii} They were then transported in triumph to Constantinople by a warship diverted from conveying the Ka’aba covering to Mecca.^{cxiii} Manoeuvring them at the Constantinople end, however, was only solved when Budge suggested using hydraulic jacks.^{cxiv} The problem of excessive weight was, of course, easily solved for statues: knock the head off, and leave the rest behind.^{cxv} This is reported in 1816 as recently happening at Leptis Magna.^{cxvi}

For large weights, raising them was not a problem in Upper Egypt by the beginning of the 20th century; although removals were restricted to 20 tons because of road problems – and, luckily, most monuments were already broken in waggon-sized chunks.^{cxvii} But occasionally even the ingenious efforts of the Royal Navy were insufficient: at Xanthus, blocks had to be sawn up for transport, surely because of the difficulties of incapable roadways.^{cxviii} Nevertheless, thanks to the 19th-century love-affair with technology, and the popularity of illustrated periodicals, such feats of transport, such as Layard’s bulls from Nimrud to London, were extensively charted.²⁸

²⁷ Larsen 1996, 344–349. Nobody wanted to steal the antiquities (which were too heavy) – but the wood from the boats was much prized.

²⁸ Larsen 1996, *passim*.

Roads and Sledges

A road was also needed at Assos, in the 1860s, to convey blocks on sledges down the hill for building-work at Constantinople.^{cxi} Lions such as those which once adorned the Greek temple at Taman, especially the life-size ones, were easier to disperse, the Governor taking the best four (out of five) for his garden.^{cxi} Difficulties could also be multiple; and we learn how, in 1818, even after fixing the local authorities, and the priest, a Mr. Hawkins, was still unable to get an Ionic capital from Skimatari in Boeotia down to the sea.^{cxi} Loading antiquities on the ships available was not necessarily always easy, as Carne suspected at Luxor. Nevertheless, assuming that not all went to the lime kilns, plenty of statues must also have gone somewhere, leaving the many bases still there today.²⁹ The same applies to North Africa, in some cities of which there was such a crowd of statues as to leave little room for human beings.³⁰ In Greek lands, however, the export of antiquities appears to have become difficult by the 1830s, and expressly prohibited later in the century.^{cxi}

As we have seen with the Sidon sarcophagi, shifting even one sarcophagus without appropriate equipment could take a lot of time and manpower – a resource important but difficult to calculate.³¹ This was explained in detail by Cesnola at Amathus, for “With the means at my disposal it was a difficult undertaking.”^{cxi} Even leaving columns partly-buried could not save them from builders who preferred marble to the myriad stones lying all around.^{cxi} Indeed at Kertch, in the early 1840s, sailors gave up on extracting an eight-foot-long sarcophagus from a tomb chamber.^{cxi}

Failed Operations

Examples have already been given demonstrating that not all would-be abstractors of antiquities were necessarily well-versed in the mechanics of heavy looting. Or indeed their aesthetics. Thus the seashore at Leptis Magna was apparently cluttered by the 1870s with deteriorating column shafts which had not been able to be taken aboard the ships sent to collect

²⁹ Filges 2007, 7–92 for the sculpture, 93–110 for the bases.

³⁰ Zimmer 1989 deals with Cuicul/Djemila, and Timgad. Figs 5 for reconstruction of the crowd of statues and bases at Djemila, and fig 22 for recons of the 5 quadriga groups on the east side alone of the forum at Timgad.

³¹ Kardulias 2005, for Isthmia, 95–106: “Internal correlations: developments at Isthmia” – tries to assess manpower requirements for the construction of the fortress.

them.^{cxxvi} This is no doubt because they had indeed deteriorated too badly to be worth taking, being impossible to polish back to life – and more in a similar condition were observed at Sabratha in 1904.^{cxxvii} But these must have been only a fraction of what did get exported, for Rae in 1877 saw gangs unearthing columns at Leptis Magna, and believed the trade had been prospering since the beginning of that century.^{cxxviii} Davis reports a large clutch of column-shafts along the North African coast at Medea in 1862.^{cxxix} At nearby Tripoli, in 1858 marble and granite shafts were seen half-buried in the sand by the port, presumably damaged stock that nobody had bothered to collect.^{xxx} And at Caesarea, the many blackened shafts^{xxxi} could perhaps have been cleaned up before being re-used.

Columns too large to lift also survived at Tyre/Sour. These were perhaps those laid horizontally for wall-strengthening, mentioned by Mocquet^{xxxii} and later by Seetzen.^{xxxiii} The engineers of Djézzar Pasha, who wanted them for his mosque at Acre, could not shift them,^{xxxiv} and surely his engineers had already investigated the piles of ruins that Mariti saw there in 1791.^{xxxv} Not that his mosque, which was large and marble-decorated,^{xxxvi} lasted long in any case, water entering by 1862, although marble revetments and floors were still in place.^{xxxvii} Perhaps it simply did not have the gravamen for a mosque, Ali Bey believing it looked more like a pleasure-house than a house of worship.^{xxxviii} And even the railway could not help with the removal of the 227-ton obelisk from Luxor to Paris,^{xxxix} as we shall see. For the famous “bloody columns” at Sabra near Kairouan, already mentioned, one alibi for leaving them there was that they bled when an attempt was made to saw them up and thereby ease their transport.^{cxl}

Rail, Road, Steam and Speed

Reaching Ancient Landscapes Quickly

Railways and steamships were the marvels of 19th century transport and commerce – as indeed was archaeology as part of modern science. Communications were the key, and it was not difficult to link the railway and the steamship to the coming of civilization, and archaeology to both.^{cxli} These developments increased in importance during the course of the century, and affected the survival or destruction of antiquities in our Crescent, as elsewhere. Roads and railways would take yet more tourists to view the ancient monuments – monuments similar to those that the very

building of new communications was itself destroying, as Tissot observed in Tunisia in 1881.^{cxlii}

Mass tourism arrived in sections of our Crescent following upon the provision of roads and telegraphs, undercutting the indignant cameleers by the 1850s,^{cxliii} and generating from the 1890s the new medium of postcards, a sure indication of speedier communications.³²

Most people saw such developments as unalloyed progress. Poujoulat, for example, in 1847, offers a veritable hymn to steam as a way to conquer Algeria much more rapidly and efficiently than the Romans had done, although warning that physical conquest is only part of the necessary process.^{cxliv} As early as the 1860s, ancient cities in Algeria were publicized as attractive to visit, promoted by Royalty and eased by the railway. Leaving Algiers on the train at 6:35 got travellers to Constantine at midnight (464km); Lambaesis passed from being a house of correction for political prisoners in the 1850s to a target of tourists, led by Royalty.^{cxlv} Then again, antiquities could be brought into play as billboards: at 36km from Timgad (one of the few complete Roman ensembles left in the country),^{cxlvi} a Roman milestone was given this inscription: "Ministère de l'Instruction Publique / Et des Beaux-Arts / Monuments Historiques / Ville Romaine de Thamugad / 2 kilomètres 500."^{cxlvii}

If Algeria was a special case, in persuading the French to accept their new accession, more distant destinations were also promoted for the real enthusiasts. Railways could give a much easier entrée to the ruins of Mesopotamia, as in McBean's "England, Palestine, Egypt and India, / connected by a railway system. / Popularly explained, with map," (London 1876), whereby exploration will suddenly be made easy, "rendering exploration a simple instead of a wearisome and tedious matter," as well as being a Good Thing for the study of the Bible.^{cxlviii}

Destroying Monuments Quickly

Counter to the visit-the-monuments idea was the visit-the-museums invitation, for large quantities of architecture (not just prime pieces of sculpture) had been brought to Europe, for example to Berlin and to London. The latter was proclaimed by Lethaby at the beginning of the 20th century as having "the richest collection of representative fragments of great

³² Samsinger 2006: from the 1890s, well illustrated, often with postcards – i.e. the era of organised group-tourism has arrived.

classical buildings in the world.”^{cxlix} This could not have been accomplished without rail and steam. As a consequence, in the countries of origin remains were disappearing so fast that archaeology needed as a matter of urgency to record what was left – Sterrett’s plan (unfortunately never fulfilled) being for twenty years of funding.^{cl} Outside Tripoli, in the 1870s, marble shafts were used to support telegraph poles, but not for long.^{cli}

In a sense, railway construction acted as a gigantic bulldozer, throwing up antiquities which scholars like Tissot in N. Africa by 1880 hastened to see before they were utterly destroyed.^{clii} In many cases he was too late, because of the quantities of materials re-used for cutting and bridge-work. Thus on one stretch of the Medjerda, all that remained of the ancient town of Novis Aquilianis after the railway had passed were a few blocks and column-stumps.^{cliii} Elsewhere the railway produced a tunnel and a bridge, all built from local antiquities – and one inscription.^{cliv} In Illyria, it was an engineer scavenging in the early 1880s for material for a new bridge who – ironically – uncovered some antiquities for science:^{clv} but how many more did he destroy? In Montenegro, another post-antique bridge, construction date unknown, might be said to have preserved antiquities, although not in their original context.^{clvi}

Hard-core Ironies of Modernisation

An ironic and painful colophon to any consideration of the transport of antiquities is the use of antiquities in the construction of the means of modern transport, namely roads and railways, both of which needed large quantities of hardcore, and both of which eased and speeded travellers in their search for further plunder. Indeed, better access was achieved at an unknown yet surely enormous cost – for during the same period we find fine marbles broken up for road hard-core in Illyria as late as the 1880s.^{clvii} The constructors would not have been human had they not used whatever they found along their project routes – including antiquities. In Tunisia, indeed, how to visit the country changed completely in the last decade of the 19th century, thanks to the new railways. The fourth edition of Playfair’s “Handbook for travellers in Algeria and Tunis” (London 1891) noted great changes in railway construction even in only the last three years.^{clviii} Railways also gave a sense of superiority over the camels and bullock-carts which they replaced. Should not we, writes Duponchel in 1878, be able to go further than the Romans into Algeria, given the advantages provided by the railway?^{clix} We can savour another irony, in that the cutting of railway tracks provided a kind of continuous archaeological

trench, which revealed antiquities, some of which survived the process, as happened during the construction of the Athens-Piraeus railway at the end of the 19th century.^{clx} The cutting of a railway from Thessaloniki provided the same service.^{clxi} But at Piraeus, much of the material had already gone into modern buildings by 1850.^{clxii} But the over-arching irony is that railways take tourists to see antiquities – of which more would certainly have survived had not so many been re-used in the construction of the railways. So modern technology, as well as providing access to antiquities, feeds off them as well.

French versus British Triumphalism

One element of dismantling mechanics was distinctly political: for the French, just how to keep antiquities out of the hands of (mainly) the British, and vice versa. Unfortunately, this sometimes led to the piecemeal removal of small elements that could more easily be negotiated than a large enterprise such as that by Elgin, who was of course the target of outbreaks of French sentimentousness.^{clxiii} Choiseul-Gouffier, the French Ambassador to the Porte, therefore trod carefully in trying to acquire pieces of the Parthenon.^{clxiv} Might one also suspect that had marble statues been lighter, more would have reached Europe earlier? If this seems whimsical – compare the large quantities of Oriental manuscripts carried back especially to France (but also by the Levant Company) from the 17th century – Peiresc to the fore, of course.^{clxv}

For France as a colonial power, the Roman remains of Algeria offered several dilemmas, but a common one was whether to leave spectacular antiquities in place, transport them to Paris, or use them to embellish the capital, Algiers. Thus Poujalat eyes the triumphal arch at Djemilah as a candidate for Algiers or even Paris.^{clxvi} In 1839, the Duc d'Orléans dreamed of shipping Cuicul's triumphal arch back to Paris as a monument to the sacrifice and achievements of the French army.^{clxvii} Flaux, in 1865, believed the remains so extensive that several monuments there could actually be rebuilt.^{clxviii} On the Acropolis in Athens, in 1738–9, several of the pedimental sculptures could be inspected on the ground where they had fallen,^{clxix} and Stratford Canning wondered a century later why Elgin had not confined his attentions to these.^{clxx} He certainly did not, but Bramson writes in 1820 that Elgin dug as well as mutilated.^{clxxi} There was still a partial metope, naturally further damaged by travellers, still to be seen in 1833.^{clxxii}

In all periods from Late Antiquity onwards, many antiquities were broken up because they were too large to transport. Conscripted or slave labour had set them in place, but declining manpower, ability or desire to set back up monuments brought down by often very severe earthquakes meant that for centuries they lay where they fell. Even in the 19th century very few large blocks were moved, and then generally by the conscripted labour of professional sailors, used to handling heavy guns and tackle. The re-erection of whole monuments begins only in the 20th century, with the aid of mechanical devices previously unavailable. Too late, however: nearly all the best pieces were now in the museums of Europe, rather than on their original sites.

- i Van_de_Velde_1854_ I_206
- ii Procopius_Wars_1914ff_ VII_xxii_7-11
- iii Procopius_Wars_1914ff_ VIII_xxii_5-8
- iv Ibn_Khaldun_1854_ IV_151
- v Ibn_Khaldun_1844_57
- vi Ibn_Khaldun_1856_ IV_252-253
- vii Mas'udi_1863_II_404-5
- viii Al-Maqrizi_1900_331-2
- ix Al-Dimashki_1874_33
- x Ibn_Khallikan_1843_ II_554
- xi Saint-Arnaud_1855_ II_260
- xii Ibn_Khaldun_1863_ I_359
- xiii Omont_1902_I_364
- xiv Urquhart_1838_ I_142-143
- xv Duc_d'Orléans_1892_ 354-5b
- xvi Lane-Poole_1896_44
- xvii Tronci_1682_22
- xviii Mas'udi_1863_ II_186-8
- xix Mustawfi_1919_51-2
- xx Al_Tabari_1867_ I_497-8
- xxi Michaud_&_ Poujoulat_1834_V_285
- xxii Poole_1844_I_111
- xxiii Sandys_1673_95
- xxiv Wilkinson_1843_ I_226-7
- xxv Wittman_1804_230
- xxvi Brocchi_1841_I_198
- xxvii Kinneir_1818_73
- xxviii Lucas_1714_I_114
- xxix Morgado_1587_146-147
- xxx Perry_1869_457-8
- xxxi Mas'udi_1863_ II_379-80
- xxxii Abd_Allatif_1810_182
- xxxiii Mas'udi_1863_ II_422-3
- xxxiv Naville_1894_21
- xxxv Dolomieu_1922_16-17
- xxxvi Kornilia_ Chatziaslani_passim
- xxxvii Nassiri-Khosrau_ 1881_174
- xxxviii Le_Strange_1890_ 401
- xxxix Abd_Allatif_1810_190
- xl Broughton_1858_I_350
- xli Jackson_1811_38-9
- xlii Procopius_Wars_ 1914ff_VI_xxvii_5
- xliii Abd_Allatif_1810_ 177-9
- xliv Le_Strange_1890_257
- xlvi El-Edrisi_1866_133
- xlvi El-Bekri_1859_107-108
- xlvii Turner_1820_II_119
- xlviii Dubois_de_ Montpéreux_1839_I_76
- xliv Mas'udi_1863_ II_198-9
- l Wordsworth_1837_38-9
- li Le_Strange_1890_210
- lii Irwin_1780_367-8
- liii Mas'udi_1896_34-5
- liv Sestini_1789_16-17
- lv Leake_1835_IV_401-2
- lvi Gregory_1859_I_146-7
- lvii Grélois_2003_120
- lviii Olin_1843_I_287
- lix Laurent_1821_39
- lx Sonnini_1807_182
- lxi Le_Mascrier_1740_I_189
- lxii Omont_1902_I_288ff.
- lxiii Ross_1840_11-12
- lxiv Digby_1868_56
- lxv Digby_1868_57
- lxvi Digby_1868_55-56
- lxvii Sabba_da_ Castiglione_1886_102-3
- lxviii Sainte_Maure_1724_ xvi
- lxix Turner_1820_III_27
- lxx Taylor_1859_265-266
- lxxi Wilde_1840_II_443-5
- lxxii Al-Makkari_1840_ I_226-227
- lxxiii Peiresc_1894_V_703
- lxxiv Sabellico_1718_153-4
- lxxv Moufazzal_Ibn_ Abil-Fazail_1919_548
- lxxvi Anon_1586_195
- lxxvii Jomard_1818_II_29b
- lxxviii Cobham_1908_377
- lxxix Clarke_1898_112
- lxxx Casola_1907_252-3
- lxxxi Casola_1907_235
- lxxxii Ammianus_ Marcellinus_1935ff_ XVII_13-14
- lxxxiii Lucas_1714_I_51
- lxxxiv Diehl_1889_32
- lxxxv Seriziat_1868_474
- lxxxvi Al-Maqrizi_1900_ 328
- lxxxvii Guérin_1874_I_400

- lxxxviii Neroutsos-Bey_1888_23
 lxxxix Guérin_1868_I_41
 xc Frederick_Historia_Diplomatica_V_2_1859_912
 xci Le_Strange_1890_368-9
 xcii Volkoff_1972_95
 xciii Guérin_1869_II_10
 xciv Jacob_1811_219
 xcv Arvieux_1735_I_187
 xcvi Masson_1903_176-177
 xcvi Omont_1902_I_312-15
 xcvi Omont_1902_I_312-13
 xcix Omont_1902_I_338
 c Clarke_1817_VII_187-9
 ci Guérin_1869_II_145-146
 cii Oxyrhynchus_Papyri_III_1903_No_498
 ciii Davis_1862_80
 civ Mac_Farlane_1850_I_176
 cv Giffard_1837_171
 cvi Garston_1842_106-7
 cvii D'Istria_1863_II_325
 cviii Baird_1856_51
 cix De_Vogüé_1876_68
 cx Spratt_1865_I_274-5
 cxi PEF_1887_201
 cxii Reinach_1891_380
 cxiii Reinach_1891_415-16
 cxiv Wallis_Budge_1920_I_353
 cxv Van_Egmont_&Heyman_1759_II_113
 cxvi Smyth_1854_476b
 cxvii Maspero_1904
 cxviii Fellows_1843_34
 cxix Clarke_1881_12-13
 cxx Dubois_de_Montpéreux_1843_V_69
 cxxi Clarke_1818_VII_56-7
 cxxii Fontainer_1829_281
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SECTION THREE

TRAVELLING, COLLECTING, DIGGING

CHAPTER THIRTEEN

COLLECTING ANTIQUITIES

Although some antiquities left our Crescent for the West from the Middle Ages onwards, collecting begins in earnest in the 17th century, when lists of targets were constructed, ambassadors recruited to do or to supervise the collecting, and national navies called upon to ship home the loot. With the increased tourism of the 19th century, enabled by cheaper travel by sea and land, and by the development of archaeology, antiquities disappeared faster than ever before.

Grandeurs and Miseries of Travel

“Other Shapeless Heaps . . .”

One aspect of Western engagement with our Crescent which greatly affects both what was written about and what was collected or neglected is the varied circumstances under which people travelled, their expectations, and the different reactions they met.¹ Awkward or dangerous locals, hostility to foreigners, “come and see the mosaic floor” scams,ⁱ closed mosques, awful weather, inhospitable lodgings and difficult terrain, robbery and death on the one hand were as important in conveying or obscuring information as were easy routes, welcoming commercial representatives and consular officials on the other. The more difficult the sites were to get to (such as Palmyra versus Baalbek), the more overvalued (in the opinion of some) they became.ⁱⁱ Hard pioneers sometimes gave way to lightweights.

Already by 1800 a yawning ennui was possible, and a disinclination to follow the same old milk-run, as Galt remarksⁱⁱⁱ – and the same author, obviously wanting to be stunned rather than informed, casts a jaundiced eye on Ephesus.^{iv} Unless, of course, one was a Christian to whom the mouldering ruins gave pause and induced significant thoughts, such as Hartley being edified at Ephesus in 1833.^v Or unless the very privations of

¹ Balestracci 2008, 137–173 for European views and appreciations of Alexandria, Cairo, Damascus, Jerusalem, and Constantinople.

travel made one exult in the vandalism of re-use rather than the destruction of beauty, as Colton did at Alexandria Troas in 1856.^{vi} Hence for some travellers, Greece disappointed: Gillieron complained in 1877 of the lack of fulfilling antiquities anywhere in Greece – but comforted himself with that country's Immortal Spirit of Greece, in prose more purple than any sunset^{vii} – a disease to which the French are especially prone. Even Athens itself disappointed, as travellers such as Quin in 1835 clearly expected to find the whole classical city laid out for their inspection, and were consequently disappointed.^{viii} Even the glories of Homer left some travellers cold, Melchior De Vogüé refusing to interest himself in “une tribu pélasge.”^{ix}

Similarly diffident travellers tended to pass over the admirable re-used materials in buildings such as Haghia Sophia, and protest that they did not obey the rules.^x Of course, there were variations in travel between those who went for a few weeks, and those who took years – Pouqueville was in Illyria and Macedonia for three years – to gain an understanding of just a few regions.^{xi} For the old lags, the country needed to be studied carefully, with the ancient authors to hand, so that an accurate description could be written.^{xii} Nature sometimes too a hand, however, floods preventing Richardson undertaking a collecting expedition arranged by the local Sheikh at Ashmounein in 1822.^{xiii} But one of his party had much better luck at Kalabshi, when a small sphinx was lifted from a temple.^{xiv} There are connections between ruins, re-use, collecting, and museums, since “Lieux de destruction et oubli, les ruines se sont rapprochés du musée en devenant le lieu d'exaltation et de la mémoire.”²

Mosques and Fortifications

Both mosques and fortifications often harboured antiquities, and access (or not) could condition both the impressions and the antiquities that Westerners took back home. Western travellers were attracted to classical ruins by their education, but easily took to the glories of Egypt as well, during the course of the 19th century, conceivably because travel there was much easier: ship to Alexandria, then river-rail to Cairo, then river to go further south. Islamic architecture often features less in their accounts, partly through contextual ignorance, but also because it was sometimes difficult or impossible in some areas to get into their monuments. Some

² Settis 1993.

travellers certainly went out ill-prepared for significant sight-seeing, and saw nothing of interest to them even when they bribed their way into mosques.^{xv}

Inability to view such important monuments meant that not a few travellers returned home with quite the wrong impression of some towns, such as Kairouan, where Peyssonnel in 1724–5 reported seeing nothing antique.^{xvi} In 1696 Mocquet reports that the ancient city of Angoumet, near Morocco, was forbidden to infidel visitors because a saint was buried within it.^{xvii} LeMascrier found the same problem at Alexandria in 1735, at the Mosque of a Thousand Columns, at the midpoint of the antique colonnade; he peeps into the courtyard “environné de quatre rangs de colonnes de porphyre parfaitement belles . . . ils sont aussi jaloux de leurs Mosquées que de leurs femmes.”^{xviii}

Access to Mosques

was fitful, with some of the greatest being forbidden all infidels, sometimes on pain of death, or at least bastinado^{xix} – unless, of course, they were in fact seeking circumcision.^{xx} If we are to believe what travellers relate, the Umayyad Mosque in Damascus was closed in 1657^{xxi} and still in 1864.^{xxii} For similar reasons Hebron, with its biblical references and mosque, remained unexplored into the 1880s.^{xxiii} These tales included a devious excuse for denying access to the Haram in Jerusalem in 1624,^{xxiv} and deliberate interference with the Via Dolorosa^{xxv} the marble column-markers of which – or so Michon informs us^{xxvi} – had been placed by Helena herself. (Conversely, Ibn Battuta could not – or at least did not – get into Hagia Sophia in the 14th century.)^{xxvii} Denial of access appears to have waxed and waned: thus Fabri entered and admired a new marble-rich mosque in Jerusalem in the 1480s.^{xxviii}

However, matters seem to have improved by 1856 both for the Dome of the Rock (where once it had been death or conversion to approach too closely)^{xxix} and Damascus,^{xxx} although Louet reports restrictions for the former in 1862.^{xxxi} In some circumstances, such as the Dome of the Rock in 1889, money was the key^{xxxii} and, after the mid-century, a consul's letter.^{xxxiii} Arvieux in 1653 gives an over-enthusiastic description of the Umayyad Mosque at Damascus, surely because he did not see inside with his own eyes – Moslem friends described it to him.^{xxxiv} Even Hagia Sophia was out-of-bounds in 1829,^{xxxv} and in 1835 Christians might do no more than peek through the door.^{xxxvi} This is given a context by the story of Maslama entering the Great Church in 717–18 as a symbol of the triumph of Islam.^{xxxvii}

Access to Fortifications

many of which incorporated antiquities in their walls, could also be difficult, not least because many of them were still of strategic military importance.

A recurring leitmotif is of the foreigner with permission to enter, but no permission to come out again, as in the story told of Bodrum in the early 19th century.^{xxxviii} Similar legalistic pettifoggery was probably common in attempts to export antiquities: thus Cesnola was told by the Governor-General of Cyprus in 1878 that he certainly had a firman to dig – but not to export what he found. Cesnola got round this by having the Russian Consul export the antiquities instead.^{xxxix} But even getting at the antiquities could prove difficult, as when the locals built over excavated areas of Delphi and, in 1858, demanded compensation to have their houses removed so work could continue.^{xl} At Chersonesus in 1860, the Russians appear to have been particularly difficult, but for the dog-in-the-manger reason that Clarke was a foreigner, and not for any scientific principles.^{xli}

Catering for the Armchair Traveller

Of course, the greatest audience for travel books was the armchair-traveller, who read guidebooks for vicarious pleasure without undergoing dangers or difficulties. This was a large and growing market from the mid-18th century, as reflected not only in the increasing cadence of travel books by people who had actually travelled, but also of collections put together by people who had not. These were compilations, generally put together with diligence, and sometimes with even a pledge of accuracy, chapter-and-verse, and the rest, as Conder preachifies in 1830.^{xlii}

A sub-variety of such books were those which gave straight descriptions of sites to be visited, thereby saving travellers from consulting anything else – forerunners of some of the guides of today. An excellent example is Joanne, Adolphe, & Isambert, Emile, “Itinéraire descriptif, historique et archéologique de l’Orient,” Paris 1861. This contained 1104 pages, and was advertised on the title page as “Ouvrage Entièrement Nouveau.” It covers Malta, Greece, Turquie d’Europe, Turquie d’Asie, Syria, Palestine, Arabia, and Egypt. And this is indeed a set of itineraries, keeping away from value judgments, noting not only marble and columns wherever they occur, but also where blocks of marble are in re-use. So popular was it that it was split up, with the 772-page 1881 edition covering Malta, Egypt, Syria, Abyssinia and Sinai, and the 848-page 1882 edition covering only Syria and Palestine.

Collecting

Magpie collecting is a characteristic of human nature, and antiquities have been collected in various quantities and for varying reasons.³ But European collecting of antiquities begins rather late, notwithstanding the possibly nugatory Medici Sculpture Garden. The important point here is the lack of interest in antiquities on the part of the Crusaders (as far as we know), and especially of the Venetians, in spite of their manifold opportunities,⁴ so that myth constructs fact.⁵ Four horses do not a hipodrome make.

Collecting antiquities here and there was probably easier in earlier centuries than it became in the 18th century when travellers began to flood our Crescent, not least because locals were surely less alert to financial value. Mantua (unlike Venice), was interested in collecting sarcophagi from the East, for display.^{xliii} What is more, it was recognised as profitable, because of the number of private cabinets waiting for eastern curiosities (including hieroglyphics) as early as the 1630s in France^{xliv} and the 1660s in England.^{xlv} The English were early in the field, as Tavernier (travelling 1631–1633) noted at Smyrna, where he picked up what he thought was a toe from an immense colossal statue.^{xlvi} Of course, antiquities were routinely destroyed by people who did not understand their value, such as sculptures at Athens in 1789,^{xlvii} and coins at Amphipolis in 1818,^{xlviii} let alone that “curiosity” was De la Motraye’s only reason in 1727 for visiting Eastern parts.^{xlix}

Seventeenth & Eighteenth Centuries

In earlier centuries antiquities were available “to such as will fetch them,” as Sandys wrote of Delos in the early 17th century.¹ Indeed, it was Westerners (such as the British)^{li} who destroyed antiquities, or wrenched them from their context to carry them home in the 18th century. While evidence is generally lacking of who got what from where, the letters from

³ Wiegartz 2004, 294–319 for 75 useful source material quotes on the fortunes of antiquities from Cicero to the 18th century.

⁴ Favaretto 1997 takes the origins of Venetian collecting back to earlier 16thC, but not much earlier.

⁵ E.g. Beschi 1997, 89: Nessun città d’Europa, almeno fino alle grandi operazioni di spoglio, agli inizi del secolo scorso, dei marmi partenonici, degli Egineti e del fregio di Basse, ebbe una ricca e lunga presenza di sculture della Grecia classica come Venezia – but he ventures no further back than Nicolo Corner on Crete in first half of 15thC.

Sir Thomas Roe to the Duke of Buckingham in 1626 demonstrate the size of the net his agents were able to throw. Antiquities were obtained or expected from “Troy,” Ankara, Athens, Paros, Naxos Skiros, Pergamon, the Morea, Aleppo and Alexandria – unless some of the list is posturing to curry favour with his client.^{lii} Much of the collecting was surely of marble for re-use back home, because antiquities were now popular for adorning town and country houses – but also for recutting or reconstruction if the piece was badly damaged. With porphyry, however, there was a problem, because it was far from easy to cut for re-use without chipping – although the French Minister of Marine is on record in 1716 as welcoming finds of porphyry, if only they could be successfully cut.^{liii} Certainly, there seem to have been plenty of small blocks of porphyry available, Paul Lucas noting early in the 18th century that they would cost him nothing except the trouble of collecting them.^{liv}

The French, as one might expect, did things methodically. The Marquis de Nointel (travelling 1670–1680) accordingly went around followed by workmen, ready to carry off any antiquities he designated,^{lv} and enthusiastically put together a large collection which was much admired.^{lvi} Figured statues and bas-reliefs were popular because they complemented European sensitivities to the classicism in which they had been schooled. Most were obtained by excavation, or through dealers, or by being led to find-spots in order to uncover yet more.^{lvii} Apart from the well-known search for antiquities by Arundel’s agents, the French also dug in the 17th century, not just in Cyrenaica, but also in Gaza, in association with the local government.^{lviii} Galland in the 1670s established a brief listing of places worth visiting in order to find and carry off antiquities.^{lix} Smyrna, being such an important trading port, was an obvious source of antiquities to carry home.^{lx} As early as 1681 we find a French correspondant to the Minister in Paris contemplating antiquities built into later walls at Tripoli, and wondering how to get hold of them. They succeeded, but the transporting ship sank – the reason we know more about the cargo than might otherwise have been the case.^{lxi} Even Montfaucon, in distant France in 1723, metaphorically rubbed his hands at the treasures that might be unearthed in the Peloponnesus.^{lxii} Pückler Muskau in 1839 likewise encouraged the French in Algeria to hurry up and conquer Constantine and publicize its antiquities^{lxiii} – he would not have been so keen thirty years later.

Unfortunately, much collecting was done piecemeal, without plan, and badly, as the Abbé Sévin laments in 1729.^{lxiv} Hence one of the problems we face in documenting re-use in European collections, including public museums, is that it can be impossible to know the source of the antiquities

retrieved. This is sometimes because the correspondants are careless in what they write: Lemaire, for example, transferred to Cairo after successful column-hunting seasons at Tripoli, refers in 1716 to a statue found in “a Greek temple” in the Delta, without further specifics; but perhaps Pococke saw the same monument in 1737.^{lxv} In the same letter, Lemaire refers to a damaged negro-head in “black porphyry,” from which he suggests making a vase if it proves to be un-repairable.^{lxvi}

Nineteenth Century

Carting and shipping ancient materials off to the expanding cities and new museums of Europe was popular from the early 19th century, especially for sites near the sea, such as Pergamon,^{lxvii} so that late antique praise of cities which warned about the danger of attack if they were by the sea⁶ has transmuted into the dismantling of such cities over the succeeding centuries. But as the century progressed, it became more difficult to obtain permission to excavate – research for which “European learning and taste are required.”^{lxviii}

In the 19th century, abstracting antiquities was well-organised, and often a commercial venture, intending to profit by the thirst of new museums for antiquities. After all, one of the attractions of museums is that they allowed visitors to educate themselves in the cream of a country’s culture without venturing abroad. Rather than the Turks as destroyers of the past, then, it was foreigners who were seen as “resurrection men,”^{lxix} with Elgin as one of the last of the old private collectors. Small antiquities were pilfered because they could easily be carried, as Pashley found when searching for inscriptions at Axos in 1837.^{lxx} Local entrepreneurs in Constantinople were by 1818 selling antiquities sifted from the sewers.^{lxxi} But the Turks often needed to be squared before antiquities could be taken away, and Ross recounts how a priest offered to do that for him in Attica in 1863.^{lxxii} In Adrianople, the Russians needed squaring before a porphyry statue could be extracted.^{lxxiii} However, “saving antiquities from mutilation” was a constant alibi,^{lxxiv} as we have already seen several times throughout this book. The obvious reaction of Westerners was to take collected materials home. Choiseuil-Gouffier, for instance, had plans in 1817

⁶ Bouffartigue 1996, on formal praise of cities: characteristics such as grandeur, a place of beauty and embellishment; security (if distant from the sea! – the orator dilates on the dangers of seaside cities), if a port, a secure one; culture, etc. – cf. the Praise of Antioch by Libanios, discussed 52–4.

for a museum by the Seine at Chaillot, with a version of the Erectheum, some real and restored antiquities, and some factitious ruins.^{lxxv}

Searching⁷ and then haggling for antiquities with the locals could be a version of a card-game, with large prizes for the British Museum after supposedly successful bidding for the Aegina marbles^{lxxvi} – but Munich got them in the end. Indeed, the collecting of antiquities could cost a very large amount of money, especially where excavation and extended transport were required. So it is not surprising that Blakesley in 1859 is alert to the possibility of antiquities-hunting, the larger-scale the better, turning a profit.^{lxxvii} Readers should be aware that many museums exhibit such a lot of Kleinkunst only because large-scale materials have long since been destroyed,⁸ and small objects were easier to filch and to carry. For Bucke in 1840, the reasons for destruction were multiple: at Athens, the Venetian bombardment, and Turkish lime-making, were complemented by the pilfering of fragments and the demands of museums,^{lxxviii} and much seems to have disappeared in the early 19th century.^{lxxix} Unfortunately, whole necropoleis were ransacked and damaged simply for some of the grave-goods they contained.^{lxxx}

Demand was met by a new supply: by the end of the 19th century the forgery industry was in full swing, and only on islands like Crete was one likely to be offered genuine antiquities – and only then the slim pickings left after the professionals had passed by.^{lxxxi} Again, locations like the Crimea could provide Greek vases after the shutters came down on exports from Greece,^{lxxxii} but plenty of attempted smuggling was stopped at the Piraeus.^{lxxxiii} The Germans secured the Pergamon Altar legally, because the Ottoman Government was short of cash to fight wars.⁹

But not everyone was aware of value, even in Constantinople. Here, as late as 1886, antiquities were being broken up for road-metal (the authorities must surely have known?), and the workmen offering choice specimens to the cognoscenti would dash them and break them if their price was not immediately agreed.^{lxxxiv} Outside the capital, antiquities went even more quickly. In this perspective, one wonders whether the Egyptian Government was wise to publish, in 1907, an old manuscript on treasure

⁷ Schiffer 1999, 101–110 “Useless urns: travellers and their search for classical antiquities” for a very brief overview.

⁸ E.g. Trofimova 2007 for the Greek colonies on the Black Sea.

⁹ Queyrel 2005, 33 for Pergamon: from 1878 the Ottoman Government have two-thirds of the finds to the Germans, who then paid 20,000 marks for the rest. 34 fig 14 for a drawing of the Byzantine wall with antiquities therein.

hunting.^{lxxxv} At other times, however, the antiquities had long since disappeared from their original location: for example, we would not know that the Pisans brought marble back in triumph from the Balearics, had not local chroniclers recorded the fact (or belief).^{lxxxvi} Even the antiquities assembled by the French in Egypt (and with so many scholars behind them) did not have their find-spots given, as can be seen from the list generated when the British took them from the quay at Alexandria where they had been cased up ready for shipping.^{lxxxvii} Some stayed behind, perhaps as some indication of interest in the antique: at Bougie, in Algeria, the soldiers were making impromptu public displays of the antiquities they found in the ruins of the town.^{lxxxviii}

Appropriation of ancient monuments to reflect modern deeds and glory was also projected, as for Pompey's Pillar at Alexandria and as the Ottoman Turks had done.¹⁰ The most preposterous of all projects were the various French ones to remove "Pompey's Pillar" from Alexandria so that it might bear a statue of the monarch in Paris – and this under Louis XIV, as another piece of furniture perhaps for a square like the Place Vendôme or the Place des Victoires. Paumier begins the dance in 1698, writing to the Minister of Marine.^{lxxxix} The suggestion came from the French Ambassador to Cairo, M. de Maillet (in *Levant* 1692–8),^{xc} and seems to have become an obsession for him. His plan was still alive in 1735 as he contemplated getting a permit to export it,^{xci} and he is still writing memos on the subject two years later.^{xcii} An engineer in the dockyard at Toulon (writing 4 January 1699) believed he had all the tackle necessary,^{xciii} and suggested bribing the Grand Vizier at Constantinople to avoid problems. Bribery often worked, as we shall see; but in this case it was the technology that was lacking. The project would not die, Sonnini commenting in 1807 on the glory this could bring^{xciv} – or not, as the case may be – and calling forth outrage from his English editor in 1807 at the Gallican rape of the Roman world.^{xcv}

Evading Local Regulations

Even semi-official foreigners could be quite shameless when in pursuit of antiquities. In the 1880s, Wallis Budge was secreting antiquities from Babylon under the eyes of the authorities,^{xcvi} and with the collusion of Tweedie, the Consul-General, and he relates in detail how he fooled the locals^{xcvii} – presumably descendants of those hawking antiquities to

¹⁰ Ousterhout 2004: appropriation "as an attempt to position themselves within the larger context of world history as the rightful heirs of the Roman/Byzantine Empire."

foreigners in 1840.^{xcviii} Again, Budge consorted with dealers, feeling it was his “duty” to use them to get material for the British Museum.^{xcix} Only the perpetrators had changed, since it was now the local Turks and Armenians who controlled the traffic in the 1820s.^c At Tunis in 1819, the Minister of Marine would not yield statues at Goletta, because Noah offered too little for them.^{ci} By the end of the century, customs inspections stopped some illegally-exported antiquities, behind which were Paris dealers.^{cii} It is difficult to believe that the situation has much improved over the past century.¹¹

Trading Antiquities

As well as being conveyed to Europe on board large commercial vessels or men-of-war, antiquities were also traded around the Mediterranean, but often to be remade as objects for everyday use. We learn of a Maltese sea-captain in Sfax, in the early 1850s, selling red granite columns he had brought from Homs, a city almost completely denuded of antiquities by the 19th century.^{ciii} These, possibly extracted from the citadel,^{civ} he was to sell at a 300% profit, and they were to be used as rollers for crushing olives.^{cv} Homs citadel had certainly been stripped when Porter saw it in 1855.^{cvi} Antique columns were also found by de Saulcy in use in a mill, but whether for crushing is not clear.^{cvi} This must have been a thriving trade, for unless the columns at Sfax in 1877 had been lying there for years, others had already been unloaded in 1859.^{cvi}

Europeans, of course, give or take the odd marble table, wished to collect antiquities as such, in order to recreate part of the Ancient World at home, and were encouraged to do so by institutions such as Cambridge University, who egged on their alumni to donate objects.^{cix} Tombaroli sprang up in Greece to cater for antiquity-seeking foreigners, while the ephors struggled to protect the monuments, and were still jousting with importunate foreigners at the end of the century.^{cx} “Preservation” could mean carrying away, as with Gregory who, in 1859, immediately following a disquisition of windy pieties on “preserving” antiquities, noted that “My guide here informed me that an Arab, Achmet by name, of great antiquarian celebrity, had procured for me four Canopic vases, of which I have

¹¹ Muscarella 2000, 7: “probably all museum staffs function independently of normative scholarly standards.” The message is that museums and dealers have a conspiracy to forge and loot.

previously spoken.”^{cxī} He evidently saw no incompatibility between preservation and looting.

Figured Antiquities

But what kinds of antiquities were most prized? Not architecture, for it was difficult to transport. Decoration was easier: elements of the Treasury of Atreus had disappeared by 1830,^{cxii} eventually to fetch up in the British Museum.¹² Small-scale sculpture was popular, and plenty survived. At Cyrene, near the fountain, for example, headless statues were still lying around in the 1850s,^{cxiii} though Hamilton condemned many he saw as being of a late period. He also noted statues in the theatre.^{cxiv} They were still there, perhaps, because they were not considered of the right period – garden decorations, not museum pieces, writes Hamilton of others there, in a splendid put-down – for they were all “unworthy of a museum.”^{cxv}

Presumably in an age of easier transport complete statues were more highly prized than damaged ones – but we might suspect that many collectors knocked off heads, which were easy to transport, and carried them home, leaving the bulky bodies behind. Plenty of museums display more detached heads than complete statues, and readers can chase up their sources in the various catalogues (some have even been reunited head-and-body at a much later date). Then again, it has been suggested¹³ that in late antiquity headless statues were held up to ridicule, so perhaps the centuries they took to regain esteem were a kind of protection. In the 1820s, statues apparently lay on Greek beaches just waiting to be picked up by French warships^{cxvi} – but the possibility vanished when the Greek government forbade exports, and wished to gather such materials into Greek museums, as we shall see below.

Generally, people in our Crescent (and further afield) were puzzled by the thirst of Westerners for damaged, mutilated statues, as we see from Mirza Abu Taleb Khan’s astonishment when he saw such works in Dublin and London at the end of the 18th century – and attributes part of their popularity to apotropaic virtues.^{cxvii}

¹² Finn 2002: columns flanking the entrance of the Treasury of Atreus taken by 2nd Marquess of Sligo to Ireland in 1812, having hired a ship for them. They at one time flanked the south door at his Westport House (fig. 6), and are now London BM, presented in 1905.

¹³ Caseau 2001, 116 suggests exposition of decapitated statues chimes with Eusebius of Caesarea writing of ridiculing statues by exposing them to public insults.

Souvenir Hunting

Only organised expeditions, with ships, money and perhaps government backing, were able to abstract large antiquities from our Crescent. We should of course not forget that many mediaeval pilgrims went on group-travel,¹⁴ but presumably came back only with small finds. The majority of travellers restricted themselves to small portable items such as statuettes and coins, given the large blocks which strewn most sites, which required equipment to move.^{cxviii} But a constant drain on all monuments was the carrying away of small pieces of it as souvenirs. This was a debilitating practice which satisfied European whimsy, and which intelligent travellers seem to have encouraged with never a thought.^{cxix} Even those, like D'Estournel in 1844, who writes at length about the speedy disappearance of Egypt's antiquities, picked up whatever he could carry by the Pyramids.^{cxx} He did likewise in Jerusalem,^{cxxi} where there were still plenty of antiquities lying around.^{cxxii} At the Monastery of S. Demetrius on Olympus, fresco fragments were on the floor, and brightly coloured, by 1869 – a “sad sight,” remarks Tozer;^{cxxiii} and these were presumably also filched or destroyed. For a Frenchman in 1881, not an English tourist left Carthage without taking something home.^{cxxiv}

The shipping lines, however, were clearly on the side of the souvenir hunters. By the mid-19th century, exporting antiquities was easy: the P&O shipping line allowed two hundredweight of baggage per passenger on the Southampton-Alexandria run, with excess charged at only one shilling per cubic foot – and not by weight.^{cxxv} An economy air passenger today is lucky to get 25kg – far different from P&O's 101kg.

*Who Owned Antiquities?**Local Interests*

As we have seen, there is little evidence that from later Antiquity sculpture was viewed with any interest by the locals in our Crescent. Both religious and cultural reasons played a part, and sculpture was also tricky to transport.¹⁵ But our travellers taught locals that sculpture could be

¹⁴ Yerasimos 1991, 69–70 for organised pilgrimages, done by Venice (up to conquest of Cyprus in 1570).

¹⁵ Hannestad 1999, 201–2 asking why sculpture in the round disappeared: “Society was still able to produce marble (or other types of stone) sculpture in great size, such as

valuable so that, by the later 18th century, figured antiquities which the Moslems had eschewed were seen to be of as much if not more value than the splendid marble column-sets they had collected and themselves re-used for centuries. This was in part a result of the constant pressure by Westerners for export firmans – not that firmans necessarily cut much ice locally, as Batissier reported from Syria in 1851.^{cxxvi} In the course of the 19th century, therefore, the locals almost everywhere awoke to the marble assets lying on or under their ground – and in the early 19th century one local aga near Tralles even issued (for money) an annual permit.^{cxxvii} On Thasos by the 1880s, the locals would not allow digging in their gardens,^{cxxviii} presumably because they believed the gardens contained valuable items they could better sell themselves. In Algeria in the mid-19th century, Madame Prus found pieces in a newly-discovered Roman cemetery which she wanted to send home – but the owner of the land simply broke them up for re-use.^{cxxix}

While some Turkish pashas also forbade any digging, for example on Crete^{cxxx} or at Tripoli,^{cxxxi} others took an intelligent interest in antiquities, and in the establishment of museums, if not necessarily on their own territory, such as Veli Pasha at Tirnovο in the 1820s.^{cxxxii} Hussein Pasha, at Gaza in the 1660s, undertook excavations, but the finds melted away, the townspeople buying them for re-use.^{cxxxiii} In mid-19th century Egypt, the looting by one pasha for his own building projects had to be countered by stiff regulations issued by his successor.^{cxxxiv}

And as well as moveable antiquities, interest was also displayed in standing monuments, such as the walls of Diyarbekir, already admired by Nassiri-Khosrau in the 1030s,^{cxxxv} and by Evliya Celebi.^{cxxxvi} Hafiz Pasha in 1836–1837 wanted to know the architects, perhaps not just for antiquarian reasons, but because he himself needed builders who could construct strong walls.^{cxxxvii} But the majority of locals could not understand why foreigners came just to see old walls: Parsons, going to Kepse (Seleucia) in 1808 and meeting some farmers, recounts that “when I told them that my business there was merely the curiosity of seeing the remains of a celebrated city, which was formerly called Seleucia, they seemed much surprised that I came so far only to see fragments of old walls.”^{cxxxviii} After all, farmers generally saw surviving remains as impediments to

capitals for churches or palaces or sarcophagi, and to transport such pieces over long distances when needed, but sculpture in the round was another matter. In fact it is a problem to transport sculpture in marble because the pieces are fragile but still heavy. And bronze appears to have become scarce.”

their livelihood, as Castellan reported in 1820.^{cxvix} At Utica in 1881, French excavators found and reburied some statues (marking the spot with a cross!) – but the Bey said he did not understand “l'intérêt que vous avez à tirer de la terre toutes ces petites machines.”^{cxl}

Local aghas could similarly make it very difficult to view antiquities, let alone to collect them, as Hamilton discovered at Bodrum in 1842.^{cxli} In one case, on Cyprus, fear of retribution led to a French resident in the 1760s filling in again a cellar where he had found what he presumed to have been a workshop for manufacturing terracottas.^{cxlii} Langlois had a similar problem at Tarsus in 1852–3, when a find of myriads of terracottas was transmuted by rumour into vases filled with gold.^{cxliii} And, as Newton found on Cos in 1865, locals were sometimes reticent about where they found antiquities,^{cxliv} presumably wishing to profit further from their treasure-trove, or to keep authorities (who would tax them, and/or appropriate the finds), equally ignorant of its location. Different sites obviously maintained different traditions, though. Wansleben missed a piece in Egypt in 1672–3, because of attempted price-gouging.^{cxlv} And there was always somebody who was a threat to the local agha, as Craven discovered in 1789 when he tried to remove a fragment of Parthenon cast down by the Venetian explosion.^{cxlvi} One danger was that local pashas could suspect that antiquities contained treasure, so fined would-be exporters accordingly. Foreigners who lived locally, and did not need to export material, could for this reason gather spectacular collections of small antiquities, as did Fauvel in Athens,^{cxlvii} which he then took to Izmir, where Lamartine admired his collection in 1842.^{cxlviii}

The State

The mournful and entirely accurate belief that many Europeans were abroad to rob the locals of their antiquities was entrenched by 1850.^{cxlix} To this end, orders were apparently sent throughout Greece for the protection of antiquities; but at Delphi at least, it appears as late as 1840 they were disregarded.^{cl} Gell had foreseen some of the problems in 1823, lugubriously suggesting that a Greek regime would be no better for antiquities than had been the Turkish one.^{cli} He might have been correct, given that an official in 1856 saw no problem with letting an American lieutenant export a Byzantine antiquity.^{clii}

But it was also due to a growing consciousness that such antiquities were of some value in the complexion of the state – as heritage, as some of us might say today, without wishing to enquire too closely about this leap of faith rather than fact. Thus to wrest the Venus de Milo from the hands of the locals, who realized its value, required some fast and fancy

footwork on the part of the French.^{cliii} In Spain, better organized officially, the reaction by the mid-18th century was to send discovered statues to Madrid, but rebury temple remains under new buildings.^{cliv}

Regulations in Greece from the later 19th century protecting standing antiquities, in such antiquities-rich lands, were generally impossible to enforce.^{clv} But the Greeks themselves did not necessarily display any special regard for antiquities; so that when the Commandant of the Acropolis at Athens let Cockerell have a block of the Parthenon frieze, this was simply bowled down the cliff to his waiting cart.^{clvi} This was probably not an unusual way of shifting suitably-shaped antiquities: even protected targets, such as the theatre at Melos, were damaged by having plundered stones rolled down them.^{clvii} Conceivably, some of the pedimental figures had been converted into lime within living memory.^{clviii} Even worse, part of the Theseum, its structure and surroundings already damaged,^{clix} was mutilated by a local early 19th-century pasha to get at a hive of honey^{clx} – perhaps an easy task, as its walls were already unsteady.^{clxi} In 1820, Hughes was already alert to the consequences of such thoughtless dismantling, in that removing sculptures exposed the remaining fabric to speedier degradation.^{clxii}

Antiquities and Their Cash Value

Many instances survive of locals with but a hazy notion of the value of antiquities. Some sold antique coins for no more than the value of their metal, perhaps because they were ignorant of current values; perhaps because they were already practiced in the melting down of metal antiquities. Certainly they were not always alert to what people would pay.

More than the few hoards of which we know surely went into the jewellers' bazaars, rather than to the Government.^{clxiii} This happened at Ankara in the 1550s;^{clxiv} and in North Africa in 1710.^{clxv} Clarke tells of a "Byzantine" agate-jasper vase the Sultan had dashed to pieces in anger in 1817, which they bought from the repairer in Constantinople.^{clxvi} Fellows' experience at Aezani in 1839 confirms how slow the locals sometimes were to become alert to value,^{clxvii} as do some of Gell's transactions at Elis in 1823.^{clxviii} It happened on Thasos, with gold funerary decorations.^{clxix} A coin-hoard seems to have been offered to Campbell in 1739, but the price is not stated.^{clxx} One also has to wonder whether the bronze in the 1883 partage at Assos went to the Porte because they preferred the metal to the figured sculpture^{clxxi} – after all, metal had a known value. But in the case of the partage at Phigalia, the pasha wanted sections of the frieze conveyed to him, so he might assess them.^{clxxii} Sometimes

formal arrangements were made which amounted to controlled looting. In 1816, for example, the Dutch engineer Humbert agreed with the Bey that gold and silver items discovered in excavations at Utica would be weighed, and that value provided in metal¹⁶ – that is, there was no conception that antiquities were worth more than their weight in brute metal. By the end of the 19th century, looting was in full swing, for example in Egypt, because locals and foreigners realised the objects were worth far more than the puny official fines for discovery.^{clxxiii}

Local Pride – Eastern Collecting, and Museums

Even if the Abbé Sévin averred in 1729 that saving antiquities from the wreck of time would redound to the glory of France,^{clxxiv} local pride also protected some antiquities. In one instance, it is said the locals ganged up in 1804 against Djezza Pasha removing antiquities from Ascalon.^{clxxv} In another, the locals prevented the removal of a hieroglyph-rich sarcophagus from a mosque in Alexandria, in use as a cistern, but scheduled in 1799 as a gift for the “Emperor of Germany.”^{clxxvi} And in the early 18th century the only way for the French to embark a column at Alexandria was the downright lie that it was being transported to the Sultan at Constantinople.^{clxxvii}

At Assos, in 1883, Clarke believed some of their treasured finds would end up in “the unheeded corners of a Levantine museum” – when he wanted to purchase some to take home.^{clxxviii} Small collections were formed in Greece, for example in a church on Tinos by 1835.^{clxxix} In Egypt in the 1830s, on the other hand, both the Viceroy and foreign consuls appear to have been in a pact to unearth and export antiquities – after payment, of course.^{clxxx}

There are also cases where antiquities were assiduously collected by the local Pasha, “who is anxious to acquire the European taste for such things,” as Fellows writes at Tralles in 1840: he had decorated the doorway to his house with them, to help preserve antique material that had only recently been found.^{clxxxi} Again, in 1819, the vizier from Prevesa had a couch set down at Nicopolis, so that he could watch the excavations for useful marbles – but he did not know much about the site.^{clxxxii} It was, indeed, at Prevesa that so many inscriptions, perhaps relating to Actium,

¹⁶ Halbertsma 2003, 83.

had been re-used or destroyed.^{clxxxiii} And “Veli Pasha... once made an excursion to Athens, for the express purpose of inspecting the treasures of the Acropolis, and the ruins of the ancient city.”^{clxxxiv}

In the course of the 19th century, the locals began to take more care of their antiquities than the marauding tourists and travellers. Giffard, in 1837, gives Athens high marks for the care with which the Propylaea were being treated.^{clxxxv} At the same date, it was reported that the Temple of Wingless Victory had been uncovered from the Turkish bastion^{clxxxvi} into which it had been built.^{clxxxvii} It was apparently clear that this and its fellow walls had been built from dismantled monuments^{clxxxviii} – and very solidly, for gunpowder was needed to dislodge some of the blocks, the structure being some 40ft in height.^{clxxxix} Garston, in 1842, surmises that whoever built the bastion was “not insensitive” to the beauty of the antiquities built therein, so apparently carefully was this done^{cxc} – although surely for reasons of solidity, not aesthetics. Even so, officials could not stand guard over the smaller sites – which meant that several fine sarcophagi at Clazomenae were lost to local cupidity in 1883, broken up to be sold piecemeal in order to try and get round the laws regarding antiquities.^{cxc i} By the end of the century the Turkish Government was taking steps to protect potentially fruitful ruins from local marauders, as at Raqqa.^{cxc ii} And at Synnada, Ouvré in the 1890s honoured the Turks for the care they took of the antiquities.^{cxc iii} Equally, a local sheik who had mutilated parts of Baalbek was a reformed character when he visited Italy in the early 19th century “and contracted a taste for its architecture.”^{cxc iv}

Western Museums: Britain and France

Which countries gathered the largest number of antiquities, and the most important? Certainly neither Egypt nor the Ottoman Empire. In earlier centuries, private initiative (as with Sir Thomas Roe’s exertions) had been largely responsible, and this continued to be the case in Britain. This state of affairs was bemoaned by perceptive and nationalistic travellers, who admired and yet resented the work of the French state which, writes a disgusted Falkener in 1862, has “done for the Fine Arts, what our Government has done for commerce”.^{cxc v}

International competition for antiquities occurred most notably at Athens and elsewhere in Greece, but also in Egypt, where the British succeeded the French, and caused the despairing General Menou to challenge Lord Hutchison to single combat for the antiquities he had collected

in Alexandria.^{cxcvi} Being merely human, the British took much pleasure in observing how antiquities collected for the Louvre were instead to be found in the British Museum.^{cxcvii} (Of course, the Revolutionary Wars had not helped relations between Royalists and Jacobins.)^{cxcviii} This led the French to maintain as late as the 1870s that the British had a well-oiled mechanism for extracting antiquities for the British Museum.^{cxcix} But this was surely a mis-perception: the British were so slow in collecting the obelisk in Alexandria given to them as a present by Mehmet Ali (although the British intended to carry it away in 1802)^{cc} that Michel Angelo Titmarsh (a.k.a. Thackeray) made the excellent suggestion in 1846 of sending Nelson's Column to Egypt to keep it company.^{cci} A generation later, at least one traveller was eyeing it nervously, hoping the Europeans would not remove it.^{ccii} The British caused more pain to the French at Leptis Magna, where by 1880 the latter were losing out to "les anglais."^{cciii} Earlier in the century, the British were in a dilemma there: the sculpture was of a bad period – but the French had got there first!^{cciv}

Rather than using navy captains as spotters, and then returning later and hoping to find uncovered antiquities where they had been left, properly-equipped expeditions might have been employed. But as a country Britain was conspicuously slow in mounting such expeditions, and much material eluded her for that reason, not just through pilfering. Falkener notes the point in 1862, still patriotically smarting over the loss of the Aegina Marbles decades earlier.^{ccv} Nevertheless, official individuals such as Stratford Canning had manifold connections, and exulted when they triumphed over the French in acquiring antiquities, reckoning his 1846 loot from Nimrud would trump Botta's material from Nineveh.^{ccvi} Important antiquities also slipped through the fingers of British travellers, as for example when Morritt in 1795 tried to secure parts of the Parthenon for Rokeby Hall, in spite of knowing that the workmen were liable to damage the reliefs.^{ccvii} He conjured up for his correspondent "the beauty of such a building entirely of white marble; and the regret we had in seeing the flags which remain, and the large square blocks, which have been thrown down by the powder, broken in pieces to make paltry, ugly gravestones in a Turkish burying-ground, or miserable ornaments for their doorways" – but this did not stop his attempts to plunder it further, again protesting that he was saving the monument from being broken up.^{ccviii}

Nor did the British always work carefully. Dodwell in 1819 evoked "the unprincipled licentiousness of subordinate and hireling agents" as an alibi for the damage his countrymen wreaked on the Parthenon,^{ccix} some of whom wrote veritable hymns to its life-enhancing beauty.^{ccx} At

Alexandria, Europeans must have been well-known for having column shafts hauled to the harbour for transport, since Ali Bey in 1814 attributes the column-shaft-jetty there to such cargo, instead of to several centuries previously.^{ccxi}

As well as building bigger monuments at home (the Parthenon being a tiddler in comparison with the Madeleine),^{ccxii} the French also got some of their own back, by imputing scientific sloppiness to some British collectors of antiquities^{ccxiii} – although they themselves sometimes had problems recruiting scholars for foreign expeditions.^{ccxiv} In one sense at least, the British achievement over the French was accidental, or at least much helped by her powerful Navy. Liaison between the Royal Navy and the local consul, and clever footwork to deceive the local Bey, also helped get mosaics from Carthage to England in the 1850s.^{ccxv} Reports of tasty antiquities could also be sent by sea captains to influential individuals back home, as Captain Smyth reported about Leptis Magna in 1816, to the Admiralty.^{ccxvi} Here again, the consul was suggested for a watching brief, although nothing was done, and many of the antiquities were filched, some by the locals to saw up into millstones.^{ccxvii}

Leaving Antiquities in Their Original Context

Already by 1811 keeping the Elgin Marbles out of the hands of the French^{ccxviii} had been a strong argument for abstracting them to England. By 1820 Bramsen was marshalling more arguments in favour of Lord Elgin, embroidering on this same notion of national pride, and branding those who disagreed as un-English.^{ccxix} But attitudes were changing. By the 1830s, the authorities in Athens were clearing up the Acropolis, and carefully examining detritus from the digs before it was tipped over the cliff – and visitors were watched to make sure they did not appropriate anything.^{ccxx} Regulations were drafted for the care and preservation of antiquities, which optimists in the early 1830s acclaimed as a new golden age.^{ccxxi} Some foreigners, for example Giffard writing in 1837,^{ccxxii} were already convinced that material taken to the museums of Europe should now be brought back to Greece. “Who would not, moreover, rather see a mutilated fragment on the temple, than the perfect specimen, were that possible, in London?” asks Slade in the same year.^{ccxxiii} Newton in 1865 emphasised context as being important for the Parthenon.^{ccxxiv} Heartening signs were certainly in evidence, as the Temple of Theseus was converted into a museum in the early 1840s^{ccxxv} – but disheartening was the filching

of a souvenir in Athens in 1865 (by an Austrian midshipman) when the custodian's back was turned.^{ccxxvi} The French in Algeria were more personally involved, uncovering in 1859 large quantities of antiquities when destroying 4000 houses at Constantine,^{ccxxvii} albeit building some of them into the walls of the kasbah.^{ccxxviii} But by the 1870s they were questioning the right of the State to all antiquities found, to the obvious detriment of French landowners,^{ccxxix} certainly because antiquities spelled money, but also perhaps because of the age-old "right" to exploit materials found on one's land.

Another common opinion among Westerners was that ruins were better than restoration; and that, in any case, huge modern museum-building in the antique manner simply could not match their distant models, as Spencer noted in 1851 of (unsurprisingly) French buildings.^{ccxxx} This was in one sense convenient, since so many once-healthy ruins had recently been reduced to little more than rubble, as at Assos,^{ccxxxi} conveniently on the sea. But casting a jaundiced eye over some modern "restorations," Spencer undoubtedly had a point.¹⁷

Antiquities Lost in Translation

Once purloined or bought antiquities were embarked on board ship for home, that was far from the end of the story. In 1725 the Marquis de Bonnac lost what sounds like a considerable collection by shipwreck.^{ccxxxii} Choiseuil-Gouffier was particularly unlucky, suffering confiscation at Marseille and also capture of his cargo at the hands of the British. Nelson promised to return them, saying he did not make war on the lovers of art; but then died at Trafalgar before he could deliver on his promise.^{ccxxxiii} Choiseuil-Gouffier had also had problems collecting in the first place for, even with a firman, the locals put so many obstacles in his way that he gave up attempts during his ambassadorship (1784–1792) to carry away not only the famous Sigaeon Inscription, but also what must have been an Athenian Classical or Hellenistic stela, and took a squeeze instead.^{ccxxxiv} Pirates also had to be reckoned with, and the story of four statues embarked at Izmir in the early 18th century is an intricate one, the merchants losing money because the antiquities got separated, and therefore fetched a lower price in France than had they been sold together.^{ccxxxv} Part of Elgin's collection was also lost in treacherous Greek waters, off Cerigo,^{ccxxxvi}

¹⁷ Gonnella 2007 125–128 for the early 13thC palace in the Citadel at Aleppo with its mosaic floor in courtyard, perhaps re-used antique marble. 234–236: "a significant amount of original material" has been lost from this floor since the 1980s. Colour plates 70–71, 77–78 and 84 showing before-and-after conservation work on the floor, should be enough to alarm anyone.

where the ship sank when taking refuge in the port of Avlemoni; but all the cases were eventually recovered.^{ccxxvii} And this leads Mahaffy in 1876 to ponder the niceties of who-now-owns-what after so many years.^{ccxxviii}

“Lepsius and Other Scientific Attilas”

Responsible organisations such as the Society of Dilettanti were largely content to collect knowledge, not objects^{ccxxxix} – although of course their publications spurred a great interest in the East and its remains. Indeed, “science” seemed responsible for as much mutilation and destruction as that occasioned by the sillier tourists. Hence in 1859 Gregory dismisses the arguments of the scholars – his especial *bête noire* is Dr. Lepsius, from Berlin – that tourists would only destroy everything if archaeologists did not “save” the monuments.^{ccxi} This they proceeded to do for sites like Olympia – although some were uncertain that the Germans would not “do an Elgin” and spirit the finds back to Berlin.^{ccxli}

But an argument that comes to the fore for the first time in the mid-19th century (in Egypt^{ccxlii} as elsewhere) is that monuments should not be moved to foreign countries and that, indeed, they only make sense in their original location. What is more, they often gained anonymity, as Leake remarked at Daphni in 1835, startled that three of the marble shafts supporting the dome had been removed since his previous visit.^{ccxliii} It would be surprising if this attitude is not in part a reaction to the growing ease of visiting exotic archaeological locations: after all, if one could get there in a few days, then why rip a monument out of its context and put it in a distant museum? The dangers of such arguments for the very existence of museums are self-evident, but we shall pass them by. An almost natural extension of the collecting of antiquities (and their removal to a European capital such as Paris, London or Berlin for restoration) is the restoration of monuments still in place, which in the 19th century was perhaps partly an indicator of a growing respect for antiquities, and partly aggrandisement with political overtones. Not only was Greece’s King Otto not a Greek, but he seems to have imported the idea of restoring the public buildings of ancient Athens, by means of a subscription raised abroad – a notion which in 1851 produced a decidedly dusty reaction from a British traveller.^{ccxliv}

In other words, it is but a step to deploring the splitting of a monument such as the Parthenon from its sculptures, and the desire (a French desire, it should be admitted, expressed in 1858) that they be reunited.^{ccxlv}

Pouqueville as early as 1826, writing of the reliefs of the Temple of Apollo Epikourios at Bassae, recommends sunlight, not museum, albeit with the standard dig at the British for entombing them in the British Museum.^{ccxlv} Local insouciance was still an argument often advanced into the 1880s against such an action, although “they are now learning to talk and fret about art and archaeology,”^{ccxlvii} and plenty were in favour. Thus Rhone, in 1880, considered that the obelisk carried to Paris was more or less an eyesore, and should be returned.^{ccxlviii} But this attitude was unusual, for we can still find in 1880 the excavations at Nimrud described as a veritable model – not least because the diggers took away only the best pieces and left the rest.^{ccxlix}

Collecting Cedes to Recording: Enter “Archaeology”

Over time the colonial machine in Algeria included not simply the tools of conquest, but frequently those of excavation as well, so that the setting-up of colonies or protectorates of various kinds often provided a fillip to archaeological exploration as strong as did its concomitants, the railways and the steam shipping lines, offering cruises, the larger way-stations of which being little different from those offered today.^{ccl} Giffard, in Tunisia in 1881, could not decide whether archaeology was the science of speculation – or the speculation of science.^{ccli}

Steam navigation and optics (not to mention cameras) also offered opportunities, especially to the more nonchalant tourist equipped with a telescope^{cclii} – an early version, as it were of armchair television. More professional travellers also found telescopes useful, as for example Bruce in Egypt to bring the ruins close-up^{ccliii} and Arundell in Turkey, who could now see from afar whether any clumps of ruins in the distance were worth visiting.^{ccliv} But when Davis could not spy near a Turkish village a standing statue the villagers said was there, he simply did not bother to trek to the supposed site.^{cclv}

By the 19th century, then, we find Western scholars (and eventually governments) making formal versions of the catalogues of antiquities that some of our travellers were already making in our Crescent, such as in 1832 in Spain.^{cclvi} They were also beginning already in 1842 to write histories of excavation, as for Greece.^{cclvii} When archaeology is credited with saving the past we should applaud – but after looking carefully at the context. In some instances misleading impressions are easily and not innocently

invoked, precisely because the background of negligence and destruction is so often omitted. This is the case for the Black Sea.¹⁸

Toward the end of the 19th century, collecting actual antiquities had largely given way among Westerners to recording information about them, for scholars back home. This was in part because of the embargo placed by the visited countries on export, and partly because any readily available treasures had already gone West. But now “collecting” took on a different focus, as scholars realised just how much material existed and was visible, and just how little of it had been adequately recorded. Reinach noted as much in 1886^{cclviii} – this in spite of pioneering efforts such as the 1829 *Expédition de Morée*.¹⁹ Consequently, scholars back home attempted in the later 19th century to rope travellers into helping record the antiquities they saw, and to employ photography where possible (Reinach again),^{cclvix} which had been successfully recording Egyptian monuments in danger of destruction since the mid-century.^{cclx} Indeed, it must have seemed that scholarship was conferring status on travellers, given the title of Reinach’s 1886 book, *Conseils aux voyageurs archéologues en Grèce et dans l’Orient Hellénique* (with sections on epigraphy, beaux-arts, numismatics and topography). But when he counsels against bringing back antiquities from their travels, although the fact that it was forbidden by both Greece and Turkey, his main argument was that the traveller would probably get duped, or pay too much, or get stopped by an unbribable customs officer.^{cclxi}

By the end of the century, sending monolingual travellers to collect information produced some hilarious results. An Englishman (naturally) tells of how French travellers, sent out with a phrase-book, so they could identify locations and monuments, came back with a large proportion of the ancient ruins labelled, in translation, “Don’t Know.”^{cclxii} This was scarcely an improvement on the usual denomination of ruins in North Africa, of “Henchir,”^{cclxiii} which at least meant something. Parallel to this are the locals who assured De Saulcy in 1853 that there was absolutely nothing

¹⁸ Trofimova 2007, IX for Greeks on the Black Sea: “Research and archaeological excavations in the Black Sea area have been going on for more than two centuries” – well, in a way. Kalashnik 2007, for example, discussing the history of exploration there, utters not a word on the destruction wrought on the region, largely by the Russians.

¹⁹ Grange 2000, 46: the scholars’ first duty was de retrouver à travers la Grèce moderne la Grèce antique – that is, to identify sites mentioned by ancient authors, compare their descriptions with remains, and correct any previous travellers’ accounts.

to see at a located called “the Mother of Columns.”^{cclxiv} This was a popular toponym, recorded at Kharbet Oumm el-A’amid in Palestine, mentioned by Guérin^{cclxv} and then described at greater length;^{cclxvi} near Hebron^{cclxvii} and near Acre,^{cclxviii} and one no doubt in which the Mother’s children helped build houses. “Fortress” was another common denomination for ruins,^{cclxix} perhaps because so many were indeed built with antiquities.

One of the daftest ideas for linking photography to tourism and archaeology came from the French, her scholars opining that amateur travellers should be enlisted to “s’occuper un peu d’archéologie.” They should bring back photographs, drawings etc for scholars to study^{cclxx} – which had been common practice for decades.²⁰ This trawling did not include an invitation to dig and export antiquities, except for coins,^{cclxxi} but this happened, of course, and many deplored the fact.^{cclxxii} This essentially grab-it-all invitation came in 1890, when the French Comité des Travaux Historiques et Scientifiques (members included Perrot, Cagnat, Babelon, Reinach and Saladin) published how-to-do-it instructions addressed to archaeologists and travellers to North Africa on how they should deal with antiquities they came across.^{cclxxiii} These included instructions for taking photographs, getting the light right, etc.; making papier-mâché casts of inscriptions; a quick introduction to topography and using a compass; and then (pp. 25–34) “Notions d’architecture,” with the syntax of classical orders, how to take measurements, etc. The whole of the rest of the book 24–231, is an I-Spy guide to architecture, inscriptions, numismatics, etc., profusely illustrated – and followed by the Tabula Peutingeriana and the Antonine Table! Just as the Roman past could be compared with the French occupation, so the degradation of late-19th-century life in Algeria could be contrasted with a glorious past – thus by Mercier, cataloguing Arabic inscriptions in 1902.^{cclxxiv} Not that the march of archaeology was necessarily to be welcomed.²¹

The world of tourism we know today – and unfortunately the collecting of tangible memories – came into being thanks to various trends. These include a growing local consciousness of and pride in the monuments of the past; the development of a museum culture imitated from the West; and also the realisation that our Crescent had already been robbed frequently and nearly comprehensively. Finally, the countries in our Crescent realised that tourism could itself constitute a healthy income stream if monuments were visible to

²⁰ Thorn 2006.

²¹ Shaw 1995, 28–60, “Archaeology and knowledge: the history of the African provinces of the Roman Empire,” for a very pessimistic account of archaeology’s contribution.

feed it. Although what we today would consider an explosion in tourism had to wait until cheap air travel from the 1960s onwards, large leaps were made via steamships and railways from the 1880s, particularly affecting Algeria, Tunisia, Morocco, Greece and Turkey. For one traveller, the classical east was no longer a land of science – but of memory.^{cclxxv} *Much further west, monuments were also caught up in a similar matrix.*²²

- i Dennis_1839_I_227
- ii Blondel_1840_175–6
- iii Galt_1813_105
- iv Galt_1813_290–1
- v Hartley_1833_12–13
- vi Colton_1856_203
- vii Gillieron_1877_viii
- viii Quin_1835_II_196
- ix De_Vogüé_1876_5
- x Spencer_1839_167
- xi Pouqueville_1826_I_vi
- xii Pouqueville_1826_I_ii–iii
- xiii Richardson_1822_I_168
- xiv Richardson_1822_I_476
- xv Blondel_1840_177
- xvi Peyssonel_1838_I_114
- xvii Mocquet_1696_160–161
- xviii Le_Mascrier_1735_141–2
- xix Robinson_1837_262
- xx Rauwolff_1738_II_18
- xxi Thévenot_1727_III_52
- xxii Tilley_1864_363–4
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- xxxiv Arvieux_1735_II_452–3
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- xliii Sabba_da_Castiglione_1886_108–9
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- lii Michaelis_1882_197
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²² Stanton & Magnoni 2008, 1–24 for the editors'overview: "Places of remembrance. The use and perception of abandoned structures in the Maya lowlands."

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CHAPTER FOURTEEN

THE FRENCH INVASION OF ALGERIA AND THE ROMAN PAST

The mediaeval landscape of Algeria was largely obliterated because of military necessity and a considerably enlarged population. The French occupation was disastrous for the monuments precisely because they could not survive without re-using the Roman infrastructure of the country. These were the two pressures which also destroyed the ancient land- and monument-scape in Europe between the Millennium and the Black Death. In other words, read below about the fate of Algeria, fully documented – but consider the likelihood that very similar processes devastated and remodelled mediaeval Europe. For that period, we have very little documentation, and none day-by-day, as survive for 19th-century Algeria.

Nineteenth-Century Algeria and the Middle Ages in Europe

Unlike the rest of the book, this chapter relies largely on archival documents, residing in large quantities in the Service Historique de la Défense (Département de l'Armée de Terre) (*SHD(T)*) at Vincennes, as well as at the Centre des Archives d'Outre-Mer (CAOM) and DOM-TOM in Aix-en-Provence. The military archives are abundant, frequently logical in their layout, and contain sometimes contradictory annotations – apostilles – written by engineers, artillerymen and commandants in their official capacity, many of them interested in and knowledgeable about antiquities. As a result, they allow us to deduce not just the life-history and death-throes of antiquities almost year by year under the French, but also to expound the wide range of French attitudes to those monuments, the more prevalent of which led to their destruction. Algeria away from the trading-cities along the coast was largely terra incognita to the French, and information on the state of most of the monuments was not available before the invasion, hence both the lack of any plans for dealing with them, and their sending missions in the late 1830s to scour Italian archives for useful material.ⁱ The invasion was scarcely planned, had changing aims, was indifferently or badly supported by Paris, and cost 150,000 soldiers' lives in thirty years (with settlers' deaths also very high).

The invasion of Algeria allows us to study in microcosm and with ample documentation what happens to a sparsely-inhabited landscape rich in Roman and Byzantine monuments when the apparatus of modern war and then colonisation attack it. The ancient infrastructure enabled the struggling French army, very dependent on supplies from France, to survive. Such re-used materials survived at first because the army was small. As numbers grew, and as the army penetrated ever further south, and needed bigger fortifications, plus bakeries, barracks, hospitals, and churches, so immense quantities of ancient materials were re-used in modern constructions. The proposition that the study of the past is as much about the present as the past¹ is well illustrated by Algeria, where the interest in the monuments is practical and political as well as archaeological, and where a near-complete layout of Roman military defences was clear to see.² The emphasis here is on “was,” since “L’implantation d’une multitude de villes nouvelles a jeté une voile opaque sur le passé antique de Tébessa, Guelma, Sétif, Sour el Ghoulame ou Cherchel.”³

In mediaeval Europe, antiquities were also subjected to similar pressures, but for that period documentary evidence is very rare, and most cases of re-use have been obliterated by the population pressures of later centuries. The obliteration in Algeria was by the French, who invaded a landscape the Romans or the Byzantines would have recognized, and proceeded to refortify and then settle it – and they wrote about it at great length, so that their attitudes to the monuments, re-use, refurbishment and destruction can be thoroughly documented.

The Romans Over Their Shoulders

Following the Moslem invasions of the 7th century, and then the Crusader states, the occupation of Algeria was the first 19th-century attempt by Europeans to colonise part of our Crescent. The ubiquity of mediaeval landscapes in North Africa was a potent element in promoting such colo-

¹ Kohl & Fawcett 1995; Shanks 1996.

² As it still is in the south: cf. the extent of Roman way stations, in Baradez 1949.

³ Benseddik 2000, 760. Short sections on individual towns sketch the scale of the disaster: Tiaret, Castellum, Tlemcen, Manliana, Miliana, Cherchell, Tipasa, Medea, Auzia, Iomnium (Tigzint), Russicada, Sétif, Cuicul, Constantine, Guelma, Tébessa, Timgad, Lambaesis – with plentiful reproductions of typed letters indicating that destruction continued after the Second World War.

nisation. This is not a book dedicated to either colonialism or empire,⁴ but the subject creeps in because it affects the ways in which various countries, such as Greece, were viewed.⁵ One of the impulses toward the colonisation of North Africa, writes Duval in 1877, was the fact that the Romans had done the same, and profited from its resources, which offered opportunities to colonists because of the unexploited fertility of its soil,ⁱⁱ climates suitable for Europeans, and the traces of Roman occupation and agriculture.ⁱⁱⁱ From such a viewpoint – shared by Italian soldiers into the 1920s^{iv} – North Africa was in any case European, not Arabic.⁶ But the Romans had pacified the land with veteran soldiers, carefully placed.⁷

Indeed, one of the themes running through European engagement with North Africa is that the Romans – Europeans – were there long before the Arabs, and that this was demonstrated by the archaeological excavations that brought to light the remains of that occupation – an argument used as late as 1918 for Morocco.^v But that very sentiment had another side, articulated by Hugonnet in 1858: if the Romans had come and gone, so likewise might their descendants.^{vi}

After all, the Carthaginians had disappeared, and inhabitants of Carthage knew nothing about them – whereas they did know about the Romans.^{vii} Yet for centuries after the Romans had departed, her monuments convinced travellers that revival was once again possible, as they did for Marcotte de Quivères near Oran, in 1855.^{viii} And as Poujoulat declared (incorrectly) in 1847, “Les limites de l’Algérie française sont celles de l’Afrique romaine. Nous avons repris l’œuvre des Romains, avec le christianisme et la vapeur de plus.”^{ix} Many other Frenchmen restricted themselves to plough, sword, and mission civilisatrice, for their excursions into Tunisia, which fera sentir ses bienfaits aux Arabes tunisiens comme à leurs frères de l’Algérie.^x For Lubomirski in 1880, on the other hand, the Roman ruins convinced the natives that the French occupation and buildings would also pass – still leaving nomadic tents.^{xi}

⁴ Lockman 2004, 66–98 for the modern historiography of Orientalism and Empire. A fair statement of its many threads.

⁵ Beaton & Ricks 2009 for the uses of the past in the development of a modern Greek identity.

⁶ Munzi 2001, fig 3 for a postcard by Fortunato Matania dated 1911 showing in Tripolitania the skeleton of the Roman legionary from which rises a determined Italian sailor, with sword, and the legend “L’Italia Brandisce La Spada dell’Antica Roma.”

⁷ Chausa Sáez 1997, 159 El Africa Proconsular es la región más rica, está muy urbanizada, y engenera; pacificada desde antaño, por tanto no es útil la implantación de veteranos en sus municipios – hence una mayor instalación de veteranos en la zona de Numidia.

French occupation, claimed Boissière, was a disinterested attempt at regeneration following the Roman example,^{xii} and the French therefore responsible for establishing long-lasting prosperity.⁸ And scholarship would help understanding: Bory-de-Saint-Vincent, for example, reckoned only three years would be needed “pour mettre au jour un ouvrage complet sur les régions barbaresques; sorte d’encyclopédie, où nulle branche de nos connaissances n’usurpera de place exubérante, ou rien ne sera omis ni sacrifié.”^{xiii} Many, however, were aware that the Roman colonisation had been far from a perfect success, and wondered as early as 1844 whether the French might fare similarly in Algeria,^{xiv} given the groaning expense of the venture,^{xv} and in spite of what French newspapers, stuffed full of armchair strategists, might say.^{xvi} Nor was it difficult to equate the coming of colonisation with the coming of civilization, for the “mission civilisatrice” was to be taken up with fervour by the Italians and British and Germans^{xvii} as well as the French, who invoked no less than Saint Louis himself for the conquest of Algeria by Christians.^{xviii}

Indeed, just observing Roman structures in North Africa was sufficient for the Duc d’Orléans in 1839 to place 19th-century excursions into both town-building^{xix} and fortification^{xx} into their pitiable perspective, and to privilege the Romans against current inhabitants.^{xxi} Nor were lessons learned at the beginning from Roman colonization, for Duponchel was still calling for a detailed study of their ways and means in 1878, to help along the French “oeuvre civilisatrice,”^{xxii} perhaps by re-developing erstwhile cultural centres such as Bougie.^{xxiii} For the British, Roman occupation of North Africa had meant construction, whereas French occupation spelled destruction,^{xxiv} and this in spite of the attested qualities and archaeological inclinations of some of her soldiers.^{xxv} The splendour of the monumental remains could also be used as a stick with which to chastise the laziness, insouciance and “tendency to barbarism” of the locals^{xxvi} – for which reason, of course, so many antiquities were moved to safer hands abroad,^{xxvii} using that wonder of modern science, the sailing ship.^{xxviii} For other nations, North Africa meant searching for statues – such as the Dutch collection of classical and Punic works from Tunisia in the 1820s.⁹

⁸ Gutron 2008 on Louis Carton (1861–1924): he and his fellows were, he believed, responsible for Tunisia as a haven of peace and prosperity in 2000.

⁹ Halbertsma 2003, 71–88: “Jean Emile Hubert: the quest for Carthage,” and 79ff for the 1822–4 expedition, the point of which was to collect for the Leiden Museum at Utica and Carthage, against European competition (81–2).

The French and Roman belief in their civilising influence survives into the 20th century, echoed by the Italians in the 1920s and 1930s. For the Italians, later still, North Africa was a tabula rasa on which they could write the rules of civilisation,¹⁰ and propaganda to that effect was rife.¹¹ The Governor of Libya, Italo Balbo himself, proclaimed that mission in print.^{xxix} Without such sentiments, and the reassurance provided by the evidence of what they construed as the Roman success in colonising Algeria, the French would surely never have stayed the course.

A Monumental Disaster

The notion of the ruin of the ancient world is a familiar one – *Roma quanta fuit, ipsa ruina docet* – and we tend to accept that destruction in the West is largely limited to the Middle Ages and the more megalomaniac phases of the Renaissance,¹² with the example of the classical past playing an important part in the complexion of the various re-births. We must usually imagine the models that survived, because so many have subsequently vanished under the press of population expansion. Again, we usually lack documentation of any kind that would give us a before-and-after perspective; so that it is often difficult to say just when antiquities were destroyed. This is because such antiquities are only of interest to people who want to sketch them, admire them, refit them for occupation, or re-use their materials – and most re-use is opportunistic, not based on the prizing of a monument's inherent beauty, but rather on the convenience of its blocks. In the East (Turkey, Syria, Lebanon), more ancient monuments survive to this day than is the case further west, yet we often lack documentation on their attrition, except for travellers' reports, from the 17th century onwards.

Since the fact so impressed the French, it is appropriate to emphasise here the profusion and near-pristine state of Roman and Byzantine monuments in Algeria upon their arrival in 1830. Even after 60 years of occupation Diehl, reviewing the archaeology of Algeria in 1892, marvelled at

¹⁰ Ghisleri 1928, 142: *Che rimase delle civiltà antiche? Rattrista il cuore di dover rispondere, per le testimonianze della storia di questa regione dell'Africa Mediterranea, anche delle parti più fertili, le più coltivate e così lungamente possedute dai Romani: – Nulla! Ibid., 150–162 Nuovi principii e indirizzi della colonizzazione moderna.*

¹¹ Munzi 2001, for Tripolitania, 60–63: *Colonizzazione antica e moderna nella pubblicistica di regime; then 72–80: Divulgazione e fruizione di massa: la Tripolitania romana a scuola, alle mostre, al cinema e per turismo.*

¹² Greenhalgh 1989.

the quantities of remains in the South^{xxx} – not least because the South was relatively untouched by the French, the distance from Algiers to the southern border being greater than that in the other direction to Paris. Even today, Algeria is rich in monuments, but characteristically less so in the North, which saw the preponderance of French building and colonising activity and hence of destruction: by 1900 it was already recognized just how much had already gone.^{xxxi} As Saint-Arnaud remarked, one must look after the living before excavating the dead.^{xxxii} – But he conspicuously failed to explain the army's actions to the public – certainly not through journalists, whom he considered a plague and a scourge.^{xxxiii} Had the French occupation of Egypt been longer (antiquarian generals included),^{xxxiv} would those monuments have suffered as those of Algeria were to do?

We may also anticipate the conclusion to this chapter – namely, the disastrous effect the French occupation eventually had on the monuments – by underlining the immense infrastructure they had to build or repair in order to survive the early decades in a largely hostile land. Roman monuments were used where possible, as we shall see; but modern warfare and the demands of 19th-century settlement dictated a need for additional infrastructure which required immense quantities of building materials, often at the expense of the easily-available antiquities. This saved tedious quarrying, manpower, money and, above all, time. Such plundering could happen because the army was but little subject to political control from Paris: apart from brief periods (1848–51, and 1858–60), Algeria was under military rule between 1834 and 1870, with an army and administrators subscribing to the view that “no permanent peace was possible with an undefeated Islamic state.”¹³

Refurbishing Roman Forts throughout Algeria

The first monuments to go were Roman and Byzantine forts, because the French needed to occupy them against their local enemies. Everywhere they went, therefore, the French kept their eyes open for the useful materials of collapsed structures and still-standing forts they could occupy. At Biskara, no enceinte remained, but a new one could be constructed from the debris; at Tiaret, they simply rebuilt what had fallen down; at Miliana and at Djidjelli, similar making-good took place.^{xxxv} At Djidjelli, in spite of the poor state of the Roman walls, work was set in hand to repair them, including digging down to

¹³ Fieldhouse 1973, 109.

the foundations. These were found to be in good condition, and so the walls were rebuilt on top of them^{xxxvi} – a procedure already proposed in 1841.^{xxxvii} It was frequently remarked that the founding of French settlements on top of Roman ones was far from a coincidence; indeed, just a little excavation could reveal, as at Orléansville in 1844, the walls of the Roman settlement standing up to six metres high, some of them completely buried, with only a few large blocks breaking the surface elsewhere.^{xxxviii} Given the date, it is reasonable to assume that the excavation was organised in order to find building materials for the French fortifications or housing. One reason for acting in such a cavalier fashion with the antiquities is that, as already mentioned, certain aesthetes disapproved of those from the “decline” of late antiquity. Thus at Oran, while the more sensitive souls certainly deplored the fate of the amphitheatre, part-occupied by French troops for barracks, part-stripped of marble by “modern vandals”; they were equally pained by the Chateau Neuf, built sometime during or after late antiquity, “faites de pièces et de morceaux, sans art, sans goût, et sans régularité.”^{xxxix}

On many occasions, Roman forts were marked out for use in case there was trouble during offensive actions. Thus in 1839 a fort near Mactar was important because on the line the Division would need to take if retreating to either Arzon or Oran. Characteristically, the rapporteur goes further, admiring the materials as relicts of beautiful monuments.^{xl} At the same time, it was recognised that the very size and quantity of the Roman blocks meant that the French could plan for expansion. So at Khramis, in 1843, a fort went up on the ruins of a Roman fort, in a well-chosen position; the French defences were smaller than the Roman ones, large blocks from which were used in the buildings.^{xli} Frequently, the very existence of Roman ruins was cited as proof-positive of the existence of building materials suitable for the nurturing on the same site of large cities, as at Bougie, where seven layers of city from the Phoenicians onwards were recorded.^{xlii} Nevertheless, steadier minds pointed to the huge costs involved in re-using ancient materials for anything other than monumental building.^{xliii}

The Pace of Destruction in Algeria

In Europe, several centuries were needed to change for ever the ruins of the ancient landscape. In Algeria it took less than a century to obliterate much of what Rome had left – although leaving some Roman remains (as elsewhere) that the French never reached.¹⁴ The ironies are not only that

¹⁴ Klee 2006 for a demonstration that later settlement often did not get as far as the Roman frontiers is seen in the often little-damaged forts etc in Syria/Arabia/Judaea (100–121) and Egypt & N Africa (122–147) – in contrast to the largely dismantled forts in Britain and Germany, Donau/Black Sea (670–87), and even Pontus/Cappadocia (88–99).

already, in France and indeed Spain,^{xliv} antiquities were being catalogued rather than destroyed, but that it was the sophisticated, educated and antiquity-collecting officers of the French army in Algeria who, in fulfilment of their professional duty (as opposed to their amateur collecting pastime) destroyed so much of the mediaeval landscape.

Memory in the army was obviously short: admiration for the monuments was from the beginning accompanied by gratitude for the strategically placed Roman forts, cisterns, fountains etc.,^{xlv} some of which were tumble-down, but simply needed the blocks relaying to be re-used.^{xlvi} This was also the case with some of the roads, which the French urgently needed for their artillery.^{xlvii} Reports frequently point out the utility of Roman remains as-is, or with a little refurbishment.^{xlviii}

But so many ruined and semi-ruinous buildings were too tempting and conveniently placed to resist; and the army, in any case always short of skilled manpower, tended to use their blocks rather than tediously quarrying fresh ones. At Batna in 1847, for example, two officers were shocked^{xlix} by how much had gone quickly; as was another officer at Bougie.^l And as settlers – colons – arrived, they did the same when they could get away with it, and this in spite of grand-sounding but ineffective decrees – as ineffective, perhaps, as those of Theodosius¹⁵ – intended to protect what was now part of *le patrimoine national*. Certainly, the ancient monuments were a burden as well as a protection for the hard-pressed, undermanned, unpopular and under-financed army. Indeed, the Duc d'Orléans during the Expedition des Portes de Fer (September – November 1839) accused Vallée^{li} of being careless of the welfare of his men, being distracted by “grands travaux.” As we know from postwar Paris, “l’excès des grands travaux” from the Grand Louvre to the Très Grande Bibliothèque is an endearing French characteristic; here, the reference is to the rebuilding and refurbishing of antique monuments.

Population and the Ancient Monuments

“A densely populated region,” writes Livi-Bacci, “is implicit proof of a stable social order, of non-precarious human relations, and of well-utilised

¹⁵ Williams & Friell 1994, within the chapter 119–133, Contra Paganos, cf. 120–124 for a good overview of temple- and statue-smashing. Rufinus *Historia Ecclesiastica* for temple-smashing at Alexandria, and Eunapius in his *Vita Antonius*, describing the destruction. As authors remark, 122, “This was all a far cry from the earlier ruling of Theodosius that pagan temples and statues should be preserved as secular buildings and works of art.”

natural resources... Population, then, might be seen as a crude index of prosperity."¹⁶ Throughout this book we have met with descriptions of landscapes packed with decaying ancient monuments, but with little or no population; of discernible water systems including aqueducts, now dry; and of countrysides with villas and farms in ruins. All these aspects bespeak a lowering or disappearance of population after antiquity, which allowed many monuments to survive until a population upturn; and we have seen how in various parts of our Crescent re-use seems to increase from the 18th century onwards.

If few or no figures are available in our Crescent for any centuries before the nineteenth, for Algeria we have them in plenty from 1830. Linked explicitly to survival itself is the French invasion of Algeria from 1830, where the Roman monuments and infrastructure were desperately needed and where, with little doubt, the French would have had to withdraw had there been no monuments to support them. Even in this case, the prestige of the Romans was frequently invoked, and questions directed at the fighting soldier: the Romans conquered Algeria – why can't you do likewise? The only alternative would have been a radically greater investment from France in money, troops and materiel, and this would probably have been politically impossible and financially difficult. Hardly a "stable social order," in Livi-Bacci's phrase, the French army kept records of its soldierly population, and imported colonists in the Roman fashion. A brief sketch-chronology of occupation and destruction sets the scene:

1830–1840: Roman infrastructure is re-used through force majeure, as we shall see;

1830–69: In this period the French lost 150,000 soldiers in Algeria;

1841: 37,374 colons live amongst 3,000,000 natives;

1840–1855: Large influx of soldiers to expand conquest and protect the colons spells destruction for monuments;

1845–1870: Military technology offers rifled artillery; strategy (misguided and illusory) from c.1855 requires protection against European invaders with cannon. Thus prudence demands concrete fortifications; hence Roman and Byzantine walls can no longer be refurbished for defence;

1870: There are now 200,000 colons in Algeria;

¹⁶ Livi-Bacci 1001, 1.

1879ff. The beginning of civil administration spells large-scale destruction of antiquities by colons; laws to protect monuments exist, but are little enforced.

The result of such a large influx of people on what had been a sparsely populated land was that French building in Algeria was extensive. Thus by only 25 years after the initial conquest, it was estimated that the French had put into Algeria 5350km of roads “faites ou projetées”; aqueducts totalling 132,941 metres, offering 24,108,310 litres of water daily; and by 1850, “869 bâtiments d'utilité publique tels que fontaines, lavais, abreuvoirs, halles marchés, abattoirs, pépinières, hospitaux, églises, mosquées, écoles, lycées, salles d'asile etc.,” in addition were built 20 lighthouses; barracks for 40,000 men, and military hospitals for 5,000.^{lii} One of the hospitals was remodeled from a highly antiquarian mosque at Bône.^{liii} A considerable amount of this building would have been on top of the Roman infrastructure – digging out fountains, repairing cisterns and aqueduct, roads and forts. It is such large-scale building, provoked in large part by an expanded military presence for further conquest, and in support of colonisation, which put intolerable pressure on the ancient monuments. Much of the material destroyed was stone building blocks, a great loss because they represented the “skeleton” of ancient settlement. Also destroyed in large quantities were the plentiful inscriptions funerary and civic, by which the Romans had proclaimed the permanence of their civilisation, and which the Byzantines had frequently re-used in occasionally decorative display by incorporating them in the walls of the fortresses they built.

A Modern Army Meets Roman Monuments, and Destroys Them

In Algeria the French fought at first from scarcely altered Byzantine fortresses, drank from refurbished antique cisterns, bathed in water brought on repaired Roman aqueducts, and dragged their cannon along Roman roads. Without re-used and reusable blocks, the invasion would have failed. Descriptive accounts of antique remains by the classically-aware French military survive, and there are extensive narrative accounts in the French military archives.¹⁷ These allow us to chart (a) the ways in which the antiquities were re-used; (b) early attempts to preserve a scarcely touched mediaeval landscape; (c) the eventual destruction of much of

¹⁷ Archives of the SHD/T at Vincennes: e.g. for “Mémoires et Reconnaissance” see MR859–882 for Algeria; and 1318–1319 for Mémoires historiques sur l'Algérie depuis 1830.

Algeria's antique heritage first by the army (who needed cannon-proof, modern fortifications), and then by the settlers, who used large quantities of ancient blocks for building.

Algeria, however, is a special case. Furnished with large quantities of antiquities which were sometimes re-used by the Byzantines (who frequently built them into fortifications,¹⁸ and exercised a new kind of taste in so doing)¹⁹ the remains, with the exception of some wells and cisterns, were largely ignored by the native inhabitants. Algeria retained an easily-read and coherent Roman infrastructure and imposing buildings which the French, upon their invasion in 1830, both admired for their size and extent, and used where convenient – in an invasion where every item had to be shipped from France or found locally, including prefabricated blockhouses^{liv} and commemorative monuments.^{lv} It was under the French (who continually remind the reader how they brought civilization to the country, in imitation of the Romans themselves), that the large-scale destructions began: this, by many French officers is the more distressing because they well knew (as evinced in their reports and submissions for funding) what they were doing. The one element in mitigation, of course, is that they were schooled to respect remains of the classical period (Greek or Roman); so that walls built with materials from the later centuries of the Empire were surely seen as expendable, and of interest only for their inscribed and otherwise decorated stones – much as were the walls of late Roman enceintes in metropolitan France, many of which were dismantled during this same period.

The war – it was no less – also affected the Roman monuments through the changing strategies of the different French commands. Marshal Vallée had constructed heavily fortified defences, often on Roman citadels (e.g. Cherchell, Medea, Miliana), and waited for the enemy. But when Bugeaud replaced him in 1840, he opted for attack, with lightly-armed mobile troops: this highlighted the importance of those Roman forts in the province of Oran (Abd el Kader's stronghold) which could be used against a guerilla campaign. 1847 marks the end of this strategy, and also the recall of Bugeaud, whose enthusiastic plans for the foundation of military colonies on the Roman model had fallen on deaf ears in Paris, and failed on the ground in Algeria. The French army, harrassed as much by public opinion back home as by the Arabs and Berbers on the ground, needed

¹⁸ Greenhalgh 1999.

¹⁹ Christern 1976, 167f. & plate 10 for re-use, which he believes were used for aesthetic and iconographic as well as for practical reasons.

the example of the Romans as some justification for the feasibility of what they were attempting in Algeria. But not everyone was convinced. Even the generals were not all happy, wanting more than just glory.^{lvi}

A Romano-Byzantine Landscape

When the French invaded Algeria in 1830 in an attempt to compete with the British and the ancient Romans in the establishment of colonies by capturing the spoils of the decadent Ottoman Empire, their classically-educated officers found, to their astonishment, an architectural landscape and infrastructure little changed since Byzantine times. Excepting the period of the Crusades, their substantial re-use of the monuments of Algeria was the first since Solomon. With large quantities of intact (if earthquake-damaged) ancient cities, monuments, villages, farms and water systems, nowhere in Europe had looked like this since the time of Charlemagne.

But the army was hard-pressed; its officers certainly appreciated what they saw; archaeological commissions visited and reported, sometimes producing maps on which the army had to rely.^{lvii} Small objects were collected and saved; but the big picture was spoiled by the locust-like destruction of the army. For if old blocks were useful, they were also cheap because they were on-site and therefore preferable to quarrying. In any case, shipping materials from France was prohibitively expensive. The French thought of Algeria as a *tabula rasa* untouched since Antiquity. To the extent that the *Tabula Peutingeriana* was the most up-to-date map available to chart its topography and settlements, they were correct. Army officers set about assessing the utility of landscape and cities for their military tasks, writing often long accounts of cities which set them in their historical context (especially important for our knowledge of the multitude they subsequently destroyed), and meticulous reconnaissances of militarily useful routes, noticing every bridge, aqueduct, cistern, spring, villa, fort and remains of road along the way. They are important because they allow us to chart the chronology of degradation (or occasionally survival); attitudes of often well-educated officers and NCOs; financial stringency (always bad for the monuments); arguments for and against preservation; and (most depressingly) bureaucratic tricks employed to “de-accession” monuments so they could be used as building materials.

This discerningly prejudiced approach was at odds with the best intentions of the *Commission Scientifique* of the late 1830s, which sought no less than an encyclopaedic overview of Algeria, for scholarship as well as

for the government.^{lviii} The populations of Algeria would be civilised by war, no less, suggests Poujalat in 1847, with Christianity triumphing over Islam.^{lix}

The Officer Class Records and Destroys the Roman Monuments

There is plenty of evidence that the highest officers encouraged a commitment to the Roman past, doubtless because it was in this context that the French, nurtured on the vitality of Antiquity and the important lessons it could still yield, saw themselves. For example, in 1857 General Durrieu had his officers to accompany him on a visit to Roman remains in the province of Mascara, 24km from their camp, and this account was then filed.^{lx} In a further example, when Chef du Génie Captain Antonin wrote a *Mémoire militaire sur la Place de Sétif* on 28 February 1857, this historical account was considered by a committee which recommended on 4 January 1861 that it be put in the archives of the Génie où il sera utilement consulté. The copy-document is signed by Charon, General de Division; Genet, secretary and Lieut-Col de Génie; Charrier, Chef de Bataillon, Chef d'Etat Major du Génie en Algérie; and Randon, Secretary of State for War.^{lxi}

In the earlier years of the conquest classically-trained, archaeologically-inclined officers (of which there were many) were amazed by the quantity and quality of what they found in Algeria, and by the ubiquity of the Roman "footprint" in Algeria.^{lxii} For example, the Duc d'Orléans, during his expedition to the Portes de Fer in 1839, visited Cuicul, ravaged by the Vandals, with no population, which he calls a kind of Herculeum. He saw many inscriptions, but the "officiers archéologiques de notre colonne" were not to hand to explain them to him.^{lxiii} Unusually for this army, his thoughts turned to glory when he saw the triumphal arch, with the upper stones fallen to the ground, but all in a perfect state of conservation, and which he dreams of taking back to Paris as a monument to the army's exertions and achievements.^{lxiv}

A Catalogue of Ironies

Ironies do indeed abound in this story. The first is the image of a modern army with a lot of artillery reliant for their very survival on a military infrastructure 1300 and more years old, fighting free-ranging mounted warriors with rifles, who did not need forts for their guerrilla tactics. So defensive antiquities (and the artillery to be housed in them) were part of the problem as well as part of the solution, just like the abundant evidence of apparently prosperous Roman colonies in a now-waterless landscape. In this sense re-using ancient monuments was living off the land, as armies traditionally did – yet Algeria could not support a large army in foodstuffs or material, all of which had to be shipped in.

The second irony is that a later invasion should have ensured the survival of the plentiful ancient monuments both because of developing museo-historical awareness, and also because yet more modern artillery and fortification techniques would have ensured that the antiquities-rich defences were useless for protection.

The third irony is that the French always had the Romans at their back as spur and reproach. A better knowledge of the difficulties the Romans and Byzantines faced in Algeria would have prevented the highly misleading attitude of "The Romans conquered this country – so we can do the same!" One might have expected the army officers to place the Roman invasion in a correct chronological context: the Romans succeeded but tenuously and briefly after an occupation of over four centuries (following an earlier protectorate); whereas the French were eventually to last 132 years in all. Better planning by the usually meticulous Ministry of War might have mitigated supply problems and spared more monuments, as might a better grasp of guerilla warfare of the type the French had already confronted in the Peninsular Wars. Again, comprehensive laws properly enforced would have prevented the destruction of remains by the army and the settlers. Finally, as was frequently the case with such remains, the old world was destroyed in the construction of the new.

Again, an irony intimately connected with re-use: the French lived a more straightened existence than their Roman models. For just as with late Roman enceintes, the French ones are often much smaller than those of their predecessors, and built with stones from the bigger brother. This was the case at Tebessa;^{lxv} at Sétif, where the French forces would eventually fill the Roman enceinte;^{lxvi} at Medeah, where the spolia are re-used for extending the enceinte;^{lxvii} at Bougie;^{lxviii} and also at Tlemcen,^{lxix} a site which was reported as full of antiquities in the 1780s.^{lxx}

Yet another irony is the large difference between the natives and the French as measured in their attitudes to the Roman remains, the latter believing the very fact that the natives had left the Roman monuments alone was an indicator of their fecklessness and lack of interest in civilisation itself. Yet indifference (as Mitterand is supposed to have remarked) is the most important quality of the statesman. The French approach was to contrast current living conditions of the indigenous populations with the grandeur of the past, as in Bonnafont's 1846 account. On the ruins of Tiffech, for example, in the valley of Mersouk-Khaal, he observed that such splendid monuments "n'ont réveillé dans l'âme engourdie de ce peuple stationnaire et indifférent aucun genre de progrès en faveur de ce que nous appelons civilisation."^{lxxi} Pious sentiments indeed, but also

shot through with irony, because the French were to destroy immense quantities of Roman remains in their occupation of Algeria, and neglect others, such as the Roman bridge at Constantine, which collapsed in 1857, and was not rebuilt.

The stance that the Arabs were children, to be nurtured and helped, had a long life. Gustave Boissière, rejecting the notion that extermination was the aim of the conquest, preferred to believe that “si c’est plutôt civiliser la terre et civiliser l’homme, si c’est remplir envers les enfants attardés de la famille humaine les devoirs de protectrice affection où sont tenus les frères aînés, si c’est faire la conquête des âmes après avoir fait celle du sol, nulle nation n’est plus que la France capable de cette noble et généreuse mission.” France’s mission was to make of Africa “non point une autre France, non point une France nouvelle, mais une partie intégrale de son être même, un des nobles et essentiels organes de l’existence de la patrie.”

Had Boissière only stopped to think, he could have proved from his own observation how foolish was his sweeping statement, for he noted how the walls of the casbah at Constantine, once the Byzantine fortress, “portent, encastrées dans leur pierres, comme des titres de noblesse, les inscriptions qui décoraient les temples et les monuments de l’Acropole.” The Arabs were indeed interested in retaining the display of ancient inscriptions. This was the same principle as buying someone else’s ancestral portraits and hanging them in the hall^{lxxii} – an action parallel to the Venetian decoration of St Mark’s. And inspection of mosques in Algeria would have underlined the long-established local taste for re-using classical antiquities, especially marble columns. Indeed, going further afield (such as to Tunis, or Córdoba) would have revealed the mediaeval Moslem as a much greater admirer of Roman marble than the contemporary Christian.

The Stages of the Destruction of Roman Algeria

First Stage: Making Good Roman Constructions

In the first years of the occupation, beset by attacks and undermined by weather, poor communications and re-supply, the French generally tried to make good what the Romans had left, to admire what the Romans had done, and to plan to do likewise – plans, even, to take members of the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres along on the reconnaissances, much as had happened earlier, to produce the *Description de l’Egypte*.^{lxxiii}

A powerful factor in making do with re-used buildings was cost: the invasion cost the French 18.75 million francs for 1834 and 1835 alone. So it is not surprising that committee advice was to secure positions against native attacks, and put off “les ouvrages de fortification régulière” for the future.^{lxxiv} – hence the prominence allotted to refurbishing Roman enceintes. Not that this prevented looting, with an attempt in 1831 to acquire antique columns and marbles, already in re-use, from a demolished mosque in Algiers: the Minister of War himself had requested them, and Lieut-General Berthegène replied that they were already reserved for the new mosque and, in any case, were of meagre beauty.^{lxxv}

This first stage of French occupation is elastic in date, depending on the area of the country, and the date of its conquest. In the province of Constantine, for example, Lieut. Demesmay in 1847 can still judge the site of the old Roman fort at K'sour as worthy of reoccupation, with good wood and water, and plenty of building stone.^{lxxvi} At El Kantara itself, the bridge is Roman, is solid enough for artillery, and needs only a little work on the parapet. At Sétif, praised for its fine and abundant water, they will search for more Roman water conduits as the population grows.^{lxxvii} At Bougie, Lieut. Sarrette observes that antique prosperity has left its traces which are still to be discerned on the once-beautiful gardens of the plain, and the canals which fed them^{lxxviii} – a pity he was not aware of what had been a prestigious town in the Middle Ages. There were also plenty of military who enjoyed antiquities, and enthusiastically set about the task of recording and collecting them together, as at Milianah.^{lxxix}

Second Stage: Building on Top of the Ruins, and Re-using Materials

The second stage was the developmental building stage, when the Roman monuments began to suffer serious damage. Given the enormous costs of quarrying, in investment and manpower, Roman walls and ruins were simply too convenient to leave alone, because they were so thick and high that they could provide materials for whole cities. What is more, the Engineers soon began to consider fortification against European powers to be necessary, rather than simply defence against the local Arabs. Captain de Neveu's assertion that Constantine was fine “comme une ville d'Afrique placée au milieu de populations qui ne possèdent pas d'artillerie,” but not against European weaponry,^{lxxx} is typical. It spelled the death through insufficiency of surviving Byzantine or Vandal enceintes. In fact, the French never had to face such weapons in Algeria, but the development of military technology nevertheless sealed the fate of large quantities of antiquities.

Metropolitan France, generally against the invasion in any case, was filled with armchair theorists who had read their Latin authors, so that above the voices of those who believed that establishment in Africa was impossible because of cultural differences, were those who pointed to the once-rich, now semi-desertified territories, and planned experimental farms.^{lxxxix} Yet others pointed to the waste of money on military operations, including building, pointing to the need for true centuriation^{lxxxii} on the Roman model, as Bugeaud writes in 1838.^{lxxxiii} In a country with transportation problems and labour shortages, re-using Roman remains was the obvious course of action, as at Guelma in the early 1840s, when a reconnaissance finds at Mda-Ouroch some 28 hectares of ruins, including a temple, and a small fort built over a theatre – and with the Roman road from Carthage to Sirta passing close by.^{lxxxiv} And at Sétif, in the 1840s, planting colons was thought possible only because of the protection afforded by the Roman fort and its materials, which now begin to get re-used at an increasing rate.^{lxxxv} Such exploitation of the remains was systematic for several decades, until better counsels prevailed. For example, the materials of the Roman baths at Guelma were being used to repair the walls, and it was projected to incorporate them in the enceinte^{lxxxvi} – a familiar echo of late antique walls! This followed an 1845 recommendation to use the line of the Roman enceinte as much as possible, “dont les fondations au moins serviront, et produiront une économie en donnant plus de solidité aux nouvelles constructions,” with the Roman towers to be used as silos.^{lxxxvii}

Third Stage: Destruction in Order to House Colons

It was during the third stage that very serious problems began for the ancient monuments, and laws became necessary to protect them. The frequently disparaged French colons^{lxxxviii} practised large-scale robbing and lime-making, probably because they knew no better, and because spolia were better and cheaper than quarrying and transport. The losses are amply documented, not least by the laws enacted to try and stop the practice. By 1845 important monuments had been lost – to French barbarism, as Texier notes in 1847.^{lxxxix} At least one Byzantine fort was dismantled to make a farm near Sétif.^{xc} People who should have known better were targeting yet more remains, which were of “no archaeological interest.”^{xci}

Problems subsisted into the 20th century, with the Navy Engineer at Algiers pointing out in 1908 the need to demolish the Porte des Lions (a classified site) to build barracks for sailors,^{xcii} and the repeated refrain “without archaeological value” – a naked bureaucratic dodge – being

overused as an alibi for destruction.^{xciii} There were similar problems in Tunisia, as we gather from Saladin's excellent census of 1886.^{xciv} And just as Caylus' *Recueil d'Antiquités* in 18th-century France depended for many of its discoveries on the work of the Ponts et Chaussées, so colonisation in Algeria acted as a kind of vacuum-cleaner for the archaeologists, revealing and (if they were quick enough) preserving antiquities.^{xcv} As for the thirst for antiquities and marble in France, this simply continued, with Paris calling for antiquities just as she had earlier done from the monuments of Provence, and then from all around the Mediterranean (brought back on Royal ships), whether for building materials, or for stocking museums. Hence the 1900 catalogue of Greek and Roman sculpture in the British Museum was largely the result of four campaigns over thirty years,^{xcvi} and similar figures could be extracted from French catalogues. But attitudes did not generally improve with time, as Ginther observes for Sétif, noting the dearth of archaeological finds where the French had settled.^{xcvii} Such losses were partly counter-balanced by serious attempts to map and catalogue the monuments, frequently by as well as with the help of the French military. An illustrious name here is that of Colonel Carbuccia, who was instrumental in the systematic recording of material in the province of Batna.²⁰ His identification with his Roman predecessors strikes a romantic tone: out on campaign, and coming across a ruined tomb monument to a Roman centurion, he had his troops rebuild it, added an across-the-centuries inscription saluting these predecessors, and then passed them in review in honour of their antique comrade – a tableau worth of Horace Vernet. Delamare was also conscientious in recording the antiquities he came across,²¹ and the French soldiers also displayed their enthusiasm for museology at Adana in the 20th century – because it was “French” for their thoughts to turn to art.^{xcviii}

Security behind Roman Walls: Constantine and Philippeville

A glance at the map will show the key position of Constantine in the east of Algeria, while any views of the vertiginous and rocky site of the city will demonstrate its ability to withstand siege. General Clausel's failed expedition against Constantine, with much loss of life, provoked his recall in

²⁰ Février 1989 & 1990. cf. I, 23–66 for a brief overview of Les étapes de la recherche: colonisation et connaissance.

²¹ Dondin-Payre 2000 for the work of both men.

1837. That same year his successor, Danremont, lost his life in that town's expensive capture. The new commander, Marshal Vallée, secured the region by founding Philippeville (on the Gulf of Stora, some 3 miles from the Roman port of Stora) as Constantine's seaport. For this he was to use the remains of the Roman city of Russicada.

Stora-Russicada – Philippeville

In many instances throughout Algeria, all that needed doing to ancient walls was to make good what the Romans or Byzantines had left behind, which was usually easily visible. So when the Army of Africa camped in the bay of Stora for the first time, in 1838, they took shelter in the remains of the Roman fort at Russicada, renaming it Fort de France.^{xcix} If the general officers had been reading the Army Mémoires enthusiastically, they would have known that Colonel Prétot had noted in a reconnaissance as early as 1834 that "Stora peut redevenir en peu de tems ce qu'il étoit sous les Romains"^c – that is, a port guarded by nearby Russicada. The rebuilding of Roman Russicada as Philippeville was quickly undertaken, in order to protect communications between Constantine and the sea. Thus in 1838 was projected "un ouvrage romain mis rapidement en état de défense et qui servira de point de départ à des parapets en terre fournira l'enceinte de la ville," detailed in the Army's Reconnaissances.^{ci} Similarly, Niel had no hesitation in invoking the Roman strategy for the defence of Stora, slightly adapted to modern artillery.^{cii} The vaults to other Romans cisterns were repaired in 1839,^{ciii} and those below what was to become Fort Royal, holding more than 10,000 cubic metres, were refurbished after 1843.^{civ} But monuments such as the amphitheatre were completely destroyed.^{cv}

Constantine

If Russicada and Stora were one part of the equation, then Constantine itself was the other part. The willingness to re-use Roman remains (and to refurbish Roman aqueducts for their water),^{cvi} and the speed with which this was often done, is explained by the early recognition on the part of the highest French officers that surviving Roman remains could help fix their occupation of Algeria. Positive enthusiasm is exemplified by the actions of Marshal Vallée who, as part of his plan for the consolidation of the North, sought a strong defensive position by establishing his HQ in the Roman citadel (the Kasbah) at Constantine, the stones of which were still in place. He wrote from there to the Minister of War on 8 October 1838 that other blocks were to be used to raise Fort de France, on the highest hill.^{cvi} The convenience of re-using the Roman ruins is demonstrated by the speed with which the new-old fort was refurbished: for only three days later, on 11 October, Vallée could head another letter to the Minister "Fort de France." In this second letter he notes that he is following the Roman system^{cvi} – the Kabyles being the fierce tribesmen in

the surrounding mountains. The remainder of October 1838 was spent building the surrounding forts, using the plentiful Roman blocks.^{cix}

As for communications and defences, Vallée would use the Roman road to Sétif (nearly 100 miles from Constantine).^{cx} This assertion was denied by the Commandant Supérieur du Génie in 1864: probably because he had to consider European attack with cannon, rather than native attack with guns, he found existing fortifications inconsistent, too thin, and easy to attack – and Stora was no better.^{cx} By 1839, plans were afoot for simply heightening the walls of the Casbah at Constantine, and adding crenellations.^{cxii} These walls were late Roman and as the Colonel du Génie recognised in 1853,^{cxiii} probably on the ancient Capitolium. In another section of the same wall, new building was to go directly on top of the Roman wall, “et sera d’une grande utilité pour la construction de ce bâtiment, car elle est fondée avec des pierres de taille énormes sur un terrain fort inégal.” To assist making Constantine habitable, the Roman quarries at Mansourah were opened in 1840, for the light-weight and porous building stone, “avec laquelle les Romains ont construit les voûtes des citernes et qui pourra être employé pour celles de l’hôpital.”^{cxiv} In a very few years, then, the French had secured the dearly-bought Constantine, in large part by duplicating what the Romans had done, even to simply building up existing walls.

What to Conserve from the Past?

Two questions current from the later 19th century were How to conserve the past? and What to conserve? In many places, the answer was simplified by the destructions of 19th-century progress, as in Algeria.^{cxv} Nor was modernisation necessarily imposed by colonialists, for the sentiment amongst Western imports (such as the Greek monarchy) or rulers who admired Western ways (as in Egypt), was destructive to anything not Greek or Roman – and that means Islamic buildings containing the first or (more usually) second or third recycling of antique materials from temples or churches.

In 1892 Diehl, reviewing the study of archaeology in Algeria,^{cxvi} could deplore the ravages wrought by the French, so much more extensive than those under “la barbarie musulmane” – “Barbary” also being a generic term for the North African coast and its inhabitants. The archaeologists were in continual struggle against the colonists; but in fact all were destructive, an index of this being a 50% loss of inscriptions recorded in 1855.^{cxvii} Elsewhere, the same story: in 1840 the theatre at Cherchell was nearly intact, but was now only a hole. In 1873, the amphitheatre had seven ranks of seats – ten years later, all had been pillaged. When the

Constantine-Batna road was built, re-used materials were used, and over 300 inscriptions disappeared in the work. Getting around laws for preserving antiquities was easy: when a law was promulgated resiling to the State monuments and inscriptions, they simply went around and “se hâtaient d’effacer sur les pierres tout signe d’antiquité, afin de conserver des matériaux utiles dont ils se jugeaient les propriétaires légitimes.” Indeed, Diehl claimed to have seen in government offices at Algiers long and methodical lists of Roman monuments which could be quarried for building stone. Even trophies taken for Paris were treated badly: Diehl notes the story of 12 marble statues, acquired by a French consul in the South, which were shipped to Toulon for the Louvre, on a French warship. They languished in the Arsenal for 35 years, and only got to their destination “à la suite d’une réclamation formelle.”

But already by the later 19th century awkward conservation questions were being posed. Some gave a breezy answer. For Duval, writing in 1877 of Algeria, it was fine just to let untidy Arabic building fall down in their own good time. Westerners, in other words, were well aware of the often poor quality of building construction in our Crescent – just as they were of the splendour of their marble revetments, as Louet noted in 1862.^{cxviii} Duval’s solution is that archaeology is fine so long as modern life is not strangled by antiquities – even by Christian ones, let alone Moslem ones.^{cxix} In Cairo the Comité acted differently, and preserved many mediaeval monuments, for the glory of the city, and not primarily to promote tourism.²² The heritage industry, however, today has different criteria.²³ Nor has archaeology banished its fixation on the Greek and Roman – witness the continuing scavenging for scraps of remains at Carthage (when surely there are many more fruitful sites to be found inland),²⁴ or the fixation with Roman villas and their myriad mosaics. For all its undoubted successes, then,

²² Ormos 2009, I 49–106 for the work of the Comité; I 107–312 for the protected monuments. Ibid. 107 on Herz Pasha: “There is no monument of Arab-Islamic architecture in Cairo which does not bear the mark of his hand” – an exaggeration, but the Comité assigned Nos 1–279 to mosques in Cairo, and the Waqf Administration in 1883 lists 664 items.

²³ Guarini 2005 points out the dangers of linking tourism to cultural heritage, which 6: “implies that monuments to be preserved should be chosen according to their ability of attracting tourists, because tourists mean money and jobs” – hence mass tourism in danger of turning heritage into “a kind of cultural Disneyland... or... McDonalds.”

²⁴ Ennabli 1992 – i.e. still talking about rescue archaeology after so many centuries of plundering; a review of the papers here shows just how little is left. Wouldn’t UNESCO resources be better used elsewhere?

modernisation in posse was deadly for the survival of the ancient landscape, and archaeology in esse has performed disappointingly.

The French commitment to preserving the Roman past of Algeria was tenuous indeed. Given the officers' education and range of classical interests, not to mention the solid cultural achievements of Napoleon's earlier attempted conquest of Egypt (namely the magnificent multi-volume *Description de l'Égypte*, and the Egyptian vogue it provoked back in Europe), this is curious. The Middle Ages in Europe, who displayed their Roman heritage with pride and élan whether it was found locally or imported, incorporated antiquities both into their city walls and into the life of the streets. In 1830 many French cities still retained or had only recently lost their late Roman or reworked mediaeval walls – Narbonne, Bordeaux, Langres, Nîmes – with plentiful re-used material, displayed for public admiration. But the march of modernisation – clean air, modern fortifications to cope with modern artillery – ensured that old walls came down, the boulevards (that is, the fields of fire for the cannon) converted into bosky promenades, and very few antiquities from the old walls collected into museums built to house them. If modernisation inflicted a monumental disaster on France when so much antique material was lost from dismantled mediaeval walls, it was matched in Algeria, where a far greater quantity was obliterated by military occupation and then by colonisation.

While France was obliterating large parts of the past in Algeria, she was also dealing roughly with ancient monuments at home. 19th-century antiquarianism is therefore a strange mix: admiration for the monuments of Greece and the Levant, and the rush to fill museums with appropriate trophies, go hand-in-hand with continuing destruction, much of it very well documented. The "civilising mission" was therefore accompanied by the destruction of monuments which had survived among "barbarians" for centuries.

- i CAOM_53_S_1
- ii Duval_1877_vii
- iii Vignon_1887_26
- iv Corò_1928b
- v Chatelain_1918_4
- vi Hugonnet_1858_154
- vii Chénier_1787_I_32
- viii Marcotte_de_Quivières_1855_220
- ix Poujoulat_1847_II_154
- x De_Bisson_1881_Preface

- xi Lubomirski_1880_179
- xii Boissier_1878_8–9
- xiii Bory-de-Saint-Vincent_1838_17–18
- xiv Ansted_1844_210
- xv Blakesley_1859_415
- xvi Gregory_1859_II_154–5
- xvii Rohlf's_1871_I_3–4
- xviii Poujoulat_1847_I_11
- xix Duc_d'Orléans_1892_347–8

- xx Duc_d'Orléans_1892_354–5
- xxi Della_Cella_1840_vii
- xxii Duponchel_1878_103
- xxiii SHD\$20_Génie_GR_1H_48
- xxiv Campbell_1842_269–70
- xxv Beauvoir_1887_132
- xxvi Scholz_1822_120
- xxvii Vandal_1900_165
- xxviii Hughes_1830_I_255

- xxix Cappovin_1942_29-30
 xxx Diehl_1892
 xxxi Gsell_1912_IV
 xxxii Saint-Arnaud_1855_
 II_5
 xxxiii Saint-Arnaud_1855_
 II_133
 xxxiv Reybaud_IV_1844_
 304
 xxxv SHD\$62_MR229
 xxxvi SHD\$63_Génie_
 IH922
 xxxvii SHD\$64_Génie_
 IH922
 xxxviii SHD\$65_MR1315_
 item_3
 xxxix SHD\$66_MR1316_
 item_13
 xl SHD\$67_MR1316_items_
 14-15
 xli SHD\$68_MR1315_
 item_4
 xlii SHD\$69_Génie_1H47
 xliii SHD\$88_1H448
 xliv Ceán-Bermúdez_
 1832_vii
 xlv Greenhalgh_1998
 xlvi SHD\$21_Génie_8_1
 xlvi SHD\$22_Génie_8_1
 xlviii Prétot_MR1314_14
 xlix SHD\$23_59-60_1317
 l SHD\$24_3_1319
 li Duc_d'Orléans_1892_277
 lii SHD\$25_1K214_131
 liii Gsell_1912_PL193
 liv SHD\$26_MR861
 lv CAOM_2N75
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CHAPTER FIFTEEN

CONCLUSION: THE TRANSFORMATION OF THE MEDIAEVAL MEDITERRANEAN

This book has examined the various ways in which the the material survivals of the ancient world in part of the Mediterranean were adapted, re-used or ignored in successive centuries. Unfortunately, so little is known even about important sites century by century, let alone about population fluctuations, that it is usually impossible to know at what periods monuments were destroyed, or dismantled and re-used.

For Europe, it has been possible to develop a programme entitled “The Transformation of the Roman World” as a new approach to understanding some aspects of mediaeval societies. However, because of the relative dearth of contemporary documentation this does not work well for sculpture or architecture, for which there is little afterlife. Indeed, ancient architecture and sculpture disappeared quickly in Europe because, except for symbolic (sculpture) or practical purposes (accommodation for religion, housing or fortification), few locals were interested in preserving or re-using them for their original purpose. With Rome as the exception, the classical past almost vanished from Europe, so that architects such as Brunelleschi, Alberti, Bramante and Palladio produced pastiches of the classical rather than resurrections of it. This might be because they had few standing building to use as models (always assuming they were so inclined). Nor were their clients more knowledgeable about the antique. Hence the norm for archaeology in Europe from its beginnings in the 18th century was a matter of trenches or trowels. This was because of continuing re-use down the centuries: anything still remaining to be found was underground, for everything in the light of day had long gone.

In our Crescent, however, matters were far different, for ancient monuments survived in profusion above ground, their details to be recounted by travellers from the Middle Ages onwards. In spite of the losses mainly over the past centuries chronicled in this book, these regions are visited to this day for the exceptionally intact monuments they still contain, together with water and field systems, baths, ports and villas – “intact,” of course, only by comparison with the remnants surviving in Europe. So what happened to the far greater crowd of monuments to be seen in the mediaeval centuries? Just as in Europe, few accounts were written, whether

by soldiers, pilgrims or merchants. Many such monuments were seen by Crusaders (and indeed dismantled), but few accounts resulted; more came from the educated pilgrims who visited the Holy Land through the centuries, and from the occasional merchant, such as Ciriaco d'Ancona. In Europe a change sets in during the 15th century, when an interest in the classical past and its monuments (*rinascità*, indeed) is promoted and develops as part of the standard equipment of the educated. The result is that new generations of travellers (many from lands where standing ancient monuments were scarce) visit and describe monuments in a variety they could not see at home, writing for book-reading and eventually for antiquities-purchasing and museum-aggregating audiences in Europe. Indeed most of our Northern European travellers, often endowed with a classical education, might never have seen a near-intact classical building before they got to Rome – or to Sicily, Turkey, Syria, or North Africa.

What such travellers saw in our Crescent was a Mediterranean which was little changed since the ruination of Antiquity – a still-mediaeval Mediterranean, in fact, with antiquities earthquake-wrecked or crumbling, and inhabitants sometimes living amongst the many ruins. From the 17th century onwards, our travellers chart how this mediaeval landscape was further altered by natural disasters, and dismantled both by Europeans seeking antiquities and by locals. These were increasingly located in growing towns, seeking old blocks to abstract and convert to new uses, and often digging up ancient towns and dismantling monuments for such purposes. If in Europe we conventionally flag the Renaissance as a new beginning in various fields, in our Crescent the motors of change are later: rivalry with the West in trade and military technology from the 17th century; development of roads, ports and some industry in the 19th century, and the concomitant building of new and sometimes western-inspired towns, frequently at the expense of any surviving ancient or mediaeval structures. In other words, the transformation of the mediaeval Mediterranean into our modern world occurred with ever-increasing intensity from the 17th century, and was still in process in the early 20th century. Probably all the “outrages” against antiquities related in this book could be mirrored over the past century as well, were one to look hard enough.

We know about mediaeval transformations and dismantlings because of increased sensitivity to the splendour of ancient monuments on the part of Moslems and Christian pilgrims, travelling during the Middle Ages and into the 15th century, and a few later still. But a much larger number of accounts were written by western travellers, who sometimes went equipped with the ancient authors (whose accounts they tried to match

with the landscapes before them), or with specifically antiquarian aims in view, such as collecting sculpture or copying inscriptions. They fed a large and increasing market in Europe, where the taste for travel literature increased exponentially as travel became easier (roads, railways and steam) and tourism the leisure activity of a broader section of society.

With the “time-shift” characteristics of our Crescent, where the landscape of ancient ruins survived in parts into the 20th century, is it possible to believe that the dismantling and destruction of ancient architecture as reported by travellers is any guide to what might have happened to classical monuments in mediaeval Europe? Yes, because at various periods several parallel circumstances existed: post-antique decline in urban life and population; lowering of skill-levels (restricting quarrying and shifting great weights); diseases such as the plague, and earthquakes, producing even lower populations incapable of maintaining the urban fabric; then a growing population with a thirst for building materials most easily acquired by robbing surviving ancient monuments. In Europe we know that mediaeval dismantling of antiquities was extensive, for they are the only explanation for the almost complete obliteration of antique monuments. In our Crescent, our travellers give us detailed chapter and verse on the dismantling and destruction they saw as they visited ever-diminishing antique sites. In the well-worn phrase, “*Roma quanta fuit, ipsa ruina docet.*” This book has attempted to demonstrate just how extensive those ruins were and how long they survived, before the competing pressures of building, destruction and reworking by the locals, and predatory extraction by Western connoisseurs and museums, almost completely transformed what had for centuries been a landscape with plentiful ancient buildings and infrastructure. The ruins taught, but few heeded any architectural message, instead preferring dismantling and destruction.

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Both Sources and Secondary Materials are placed together in the following listing, first Sources, then Secondary Materials. The sections are divided by place and by topics, but these divisions are naturally fuzzy at the edges because so many works treat more than one country. Visits to single countries appear under those countries, and wider-flung visits where this book's interest is confined to one country are similarly restricted (e.g. Fabri goes under Palestine). Where a traveller visits contiguous countries in North Africa, that is the heading under which they appear. Travels by ship, and including visits to islands, appear under The Mediterranean. Tours to more than one country in the East are under Levant/Orient. Author names preceded by * indicate a particularly useful bibliography or references. The divisions are as follows:

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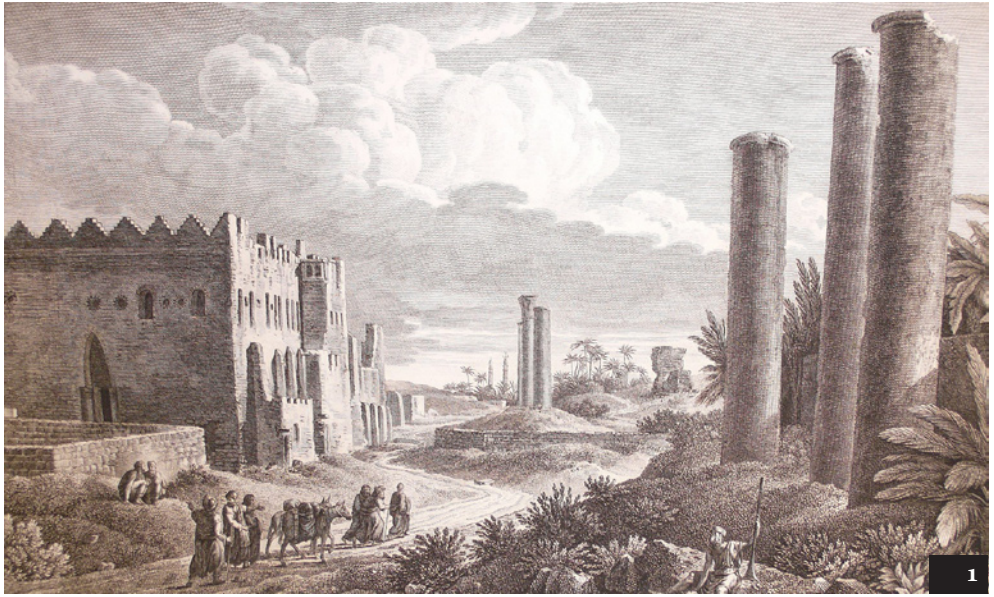
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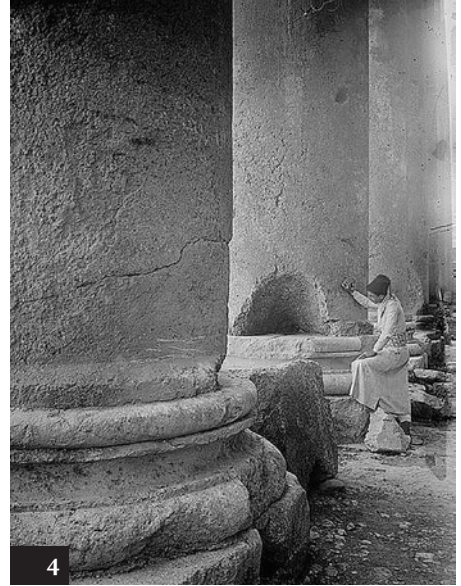
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ILLUSTRATIONS



Alexandria, Egypt: from Cassas' *Voyage Pittoresque de la Syrie*, 1799–1800, showing 1. the colonnade which was part of the Serapaeum complex, with the adjacent mosque; and 2. the Rosetta Gate, with a blocked-out garland sarcophagus and two Corinthian capitals to the left.



Late 19th-century photographs of 3. Karnak, showing the block interstices dug out to retrieve metal; and of 4. Baalbek, showing columns excavated to retrieve metal. The left-hand shaft has been severely cracked in the process (or shaken by an earthquake). 5. Caesarea, the crusader fortress with ancient columns laid to deter sapping.



6

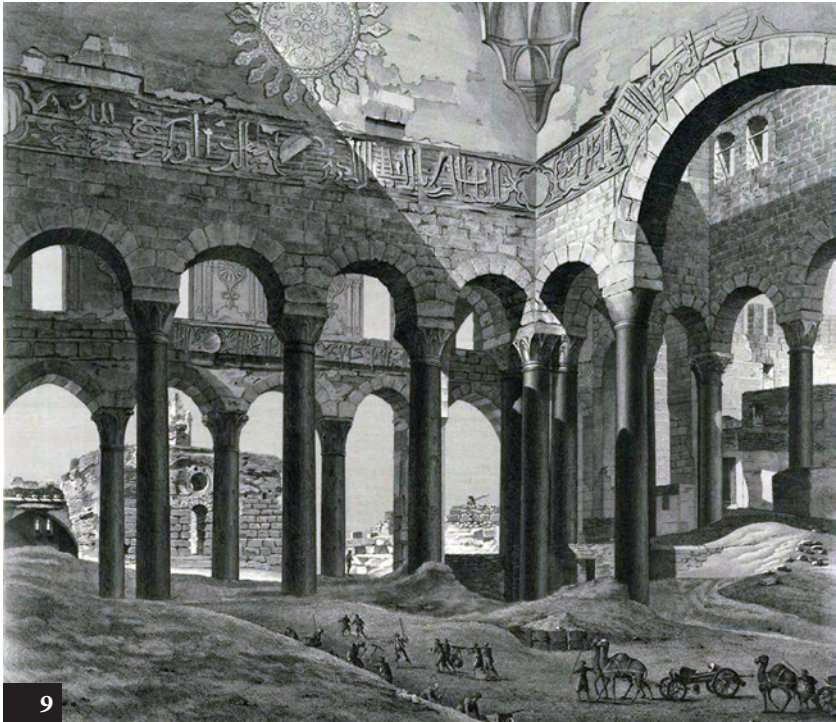


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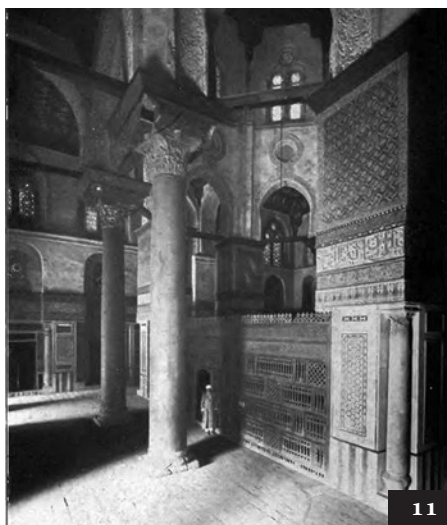


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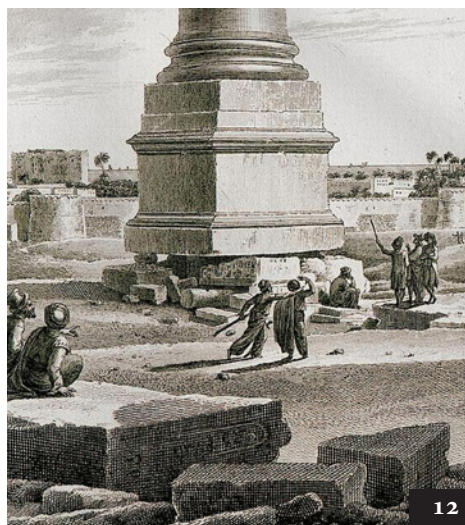
Baalbek: **6.** the mosque, with its cut-down shafts (compare the figure in the middle distance) and enormous capitals, both from the nearby ruins; and **7.** a Moslem shrine some distance from the site, and again re-using cut-down shafts, in a photo of 1860/90. The entablature shows how easy it was to find a series of uniform blocks with which to make new constructions. **8.** Delos, from Abel Bouet's section of the *Expédition scientifique de Morée*, of 1831: sparse antiquities stick up above the bracken.



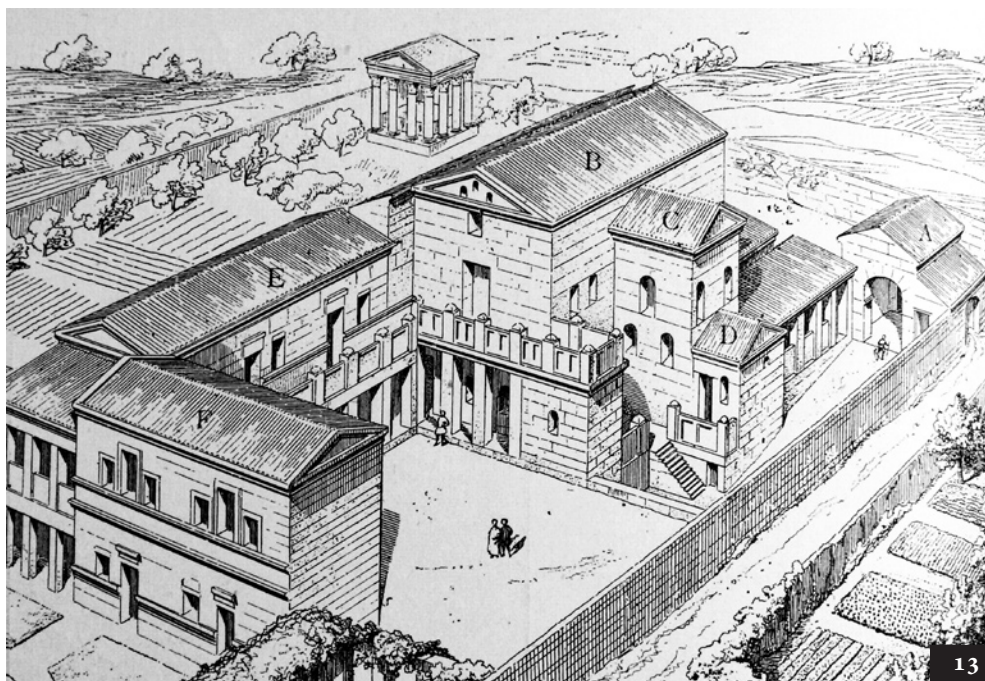
9 & 10. Saladin's Diwan in the Citadel, Cairo. Interior view from the *Description de l'Egypte*, of 1822; and exterior view by Robert Hay, of 1840. Note the diversity of the capitals, and the different heights of the shafts.



11



12



13

11. Cairo, Qalawun's Mausoleum, built 1284–5, with huge monoliths. 12. "Pompey's Pillar at Alexandria," from Cassas' *Voyage Pittoresque*, of 1799–1800. 13. Late antique housing at El Rabah (one of the "Dead Cities," near Aleppo), easily reconstructed by de Vogüé in his *Syrie*, of 1876.



14



15



16

14 & 15. Photographs by Gertrude Bell, 1905: Korykos, street of tombs. Some of these are now dispersed, but fine collections survive further east along the coast, at Elaiussa-Sebaste; and Konya: a lion in Alaeddin Camii, presumably one (of a whole pride) taken from the ancient walls, the ruins of which had been dismantled shortly before her visit. **16.** Patras, Greece: antiquities retrieved from the walls of the mediaeval fortress.



17. The ruins of Jerash, from Buckingham's *Travels in Palestine*, of 1822. This gives a good idea of the relative crudity of most published views accompanying earlier travel texts, and their attempt to be "picturesque." 18. Caesarea: the Crusader castle.



19

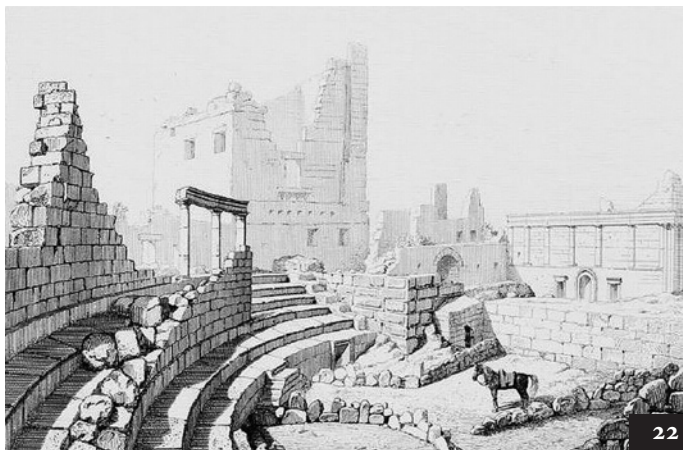


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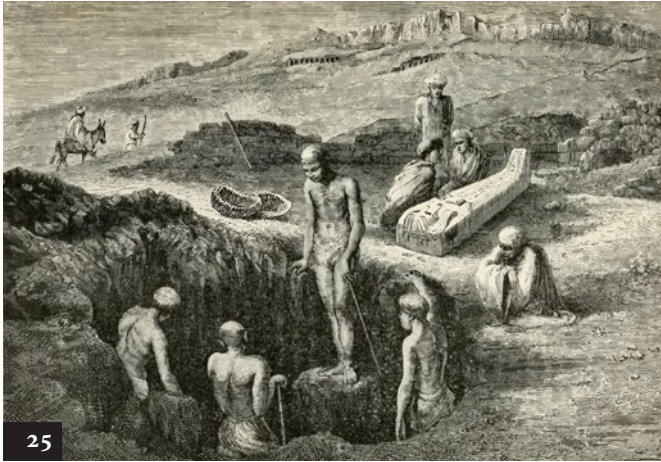


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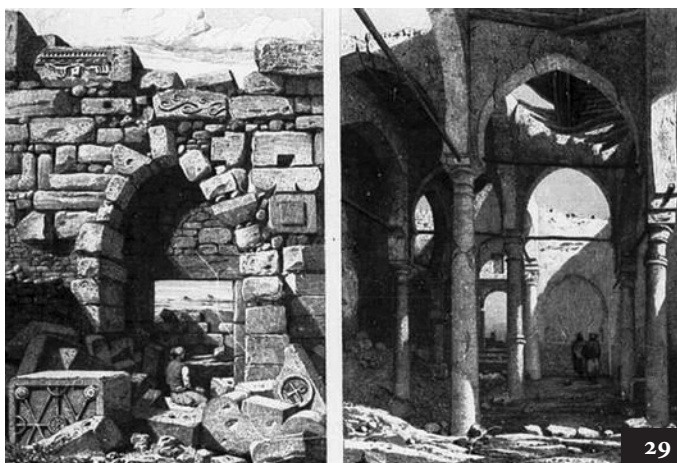
19. Caesarea: the mediaeval mole, strengthened with antique column shafts. The ancient (and specially constructed harbour, with its own moles) could no longer be used by the Middle Ages because the land had sunk relative to the sea. **20.** The house of the site guide at Gortyna, photographed in 1907. The statues are headless, his water trough is a sarcophagus – and his stylish steps are formed by Doric capitals. **21.** The main square of the eponymous town on Cos/Stanchio, with the branches of the famous plane tree supported by a variety of columns.



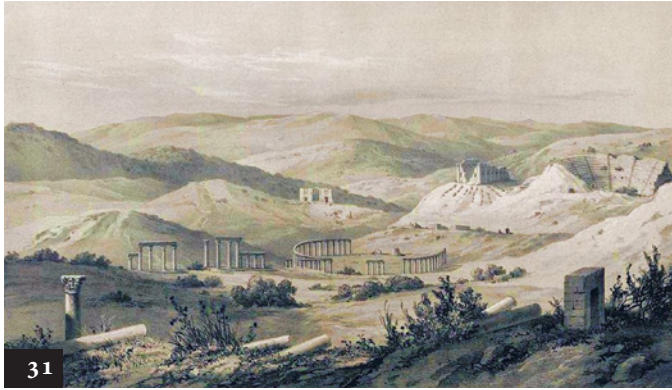
22. The Roman theatre at Bosra, Syria, wrapped in the later fortress, in a view by de Vogüé from his *Syrie Centrale* of 1865–77. The complex was not excavated until the 1940s. **23.** The fortress of Baniyas (Caesarea Philippi), photographed by Frith in 1862/3, and showing the re-use of large quantities of antiquities, including column shafts. **24.** Temple at Edfu/Apollinopolis, from Taylor's *La Syrie, la Palestine et la Judée* of 1839.



25. With “medicinal value” added to their attractiveness as souvenirs, mummies and their cases (from Edwards’ *1000 miles up the Nile*, 1876) were also protected by sand but, disappeared abroad in their thousands in the 19th century. The Imperial Forum at Leptis Magna, in Libya, in **26** an aerial view of June 1927, and **27** the excavations in progress in spring 1928.



28 & 29. Views of structures built from antiquities at Constantine and Guidjel, by Delamare, from his illustrations to the *Exploration scientifique de l'Algérie pendant les années 1840–1845*, of 1850. Inscriptions as well as columns and altars are employed, plus architectural elements, some Christian. **30.** Jerash, the Oval Piazza in a photo by the Duc de Luynes, of 1872.



31



32



33

31. A broad view of Jerash from Laborde's *Syrie* of 1838, showing the completely deserted ancient site. **32.** Country housing at Yonuzlar, Turkey, photographed by Gertrude Bell in 1907. The house, probably including the window embrasures, is built almost entirely of antiquities. **33.** Late antique housing in the deserted town of El Barah, near Aleppo (one of the "Dead Cities"), in a Bonfils photo of 1880/93. Little subsequent destruction appears to have occurred in these communities, and many structures have been reoccupied at various times.



34



35

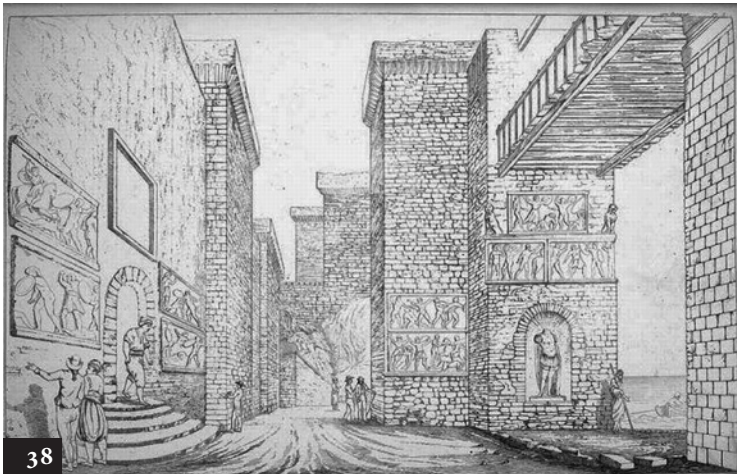
Heavy items can survive in place, lighter ones are moved. **34.** Sarcophagus near Milas/Mylasa, with the reduced imitation of the Mausoleum in the background. **35.** The Praetorium at Lambessa in a late 19thC photograph, showing antiquities, including some substantial weights gathered there into an impromptu museum, no doubt with the help of the French army – although even with 19th-century technology they had difficulty rebuilding massive Byzantine walls.



36



37



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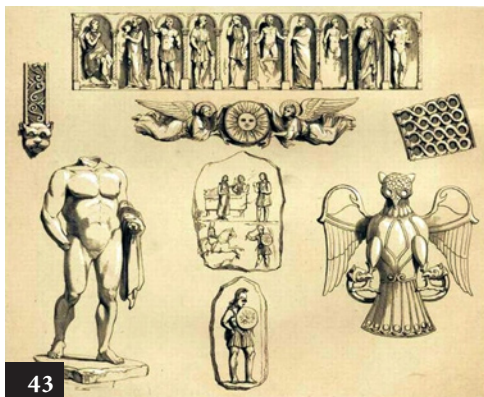
36. Plan of Alexandria, with her walls intact, from Cassas, *Voyage Pittoresque*, 1799–1800. What happened to all the antiquities in these walls, and to those in the harbour? **37.** The Ionic temple ruins at Om-el-Hamed, near Tyre, by David Roberts, 1839 – another indication of how many ruins were sea-accessible in the 19thC, and have since disappeared. **38.** The Mausoleum reliefs set in the walls of the Castle of S. Peter at Bodrum, in a print published by the Society of Dilettanti in 1829.



39. "Way to employ the remains of Antiquity," seen by Laborde in Karamania in 1842 – sarcophagus lid as fountain basin, capital as well-head, and ancient bust as counterweight. 40. The Athens Acropolis in a view by Dodwell of 1821, when the site was still an inhabited fortress, protecting the temples. 41. Athens, in Stademann's panorama of 1841, demonstrating how deserted was the site before the modern town began to be laid out shortly afterwards.



42



43



44



45

42 & 43. A gate in the Seljuk walls of Konya, by Laborde in 1838, together with sketches of antiquities seen there and in other sections. The walls were pulled down at the end of the 19thC, and no record was kept of what was saved or of what was lost. **44 & 45.** Views of the excavations at Ephesus, published by D.G. Hogarth in 1910. A large pump is needed to cope with the water, and a steam engine and deadlegs to hoist the weights. The technologies needed for deep digging helped preserve many antiquities for the archaeologists.



46 & 47. Aezani, in near contemporary views by Laborde (1838) and Texier (1839).
 48 & 49. Hierapolis/Pamukkale in views by Laborde (1838), with the theatre and various marble sarcophagi and architectural elements.



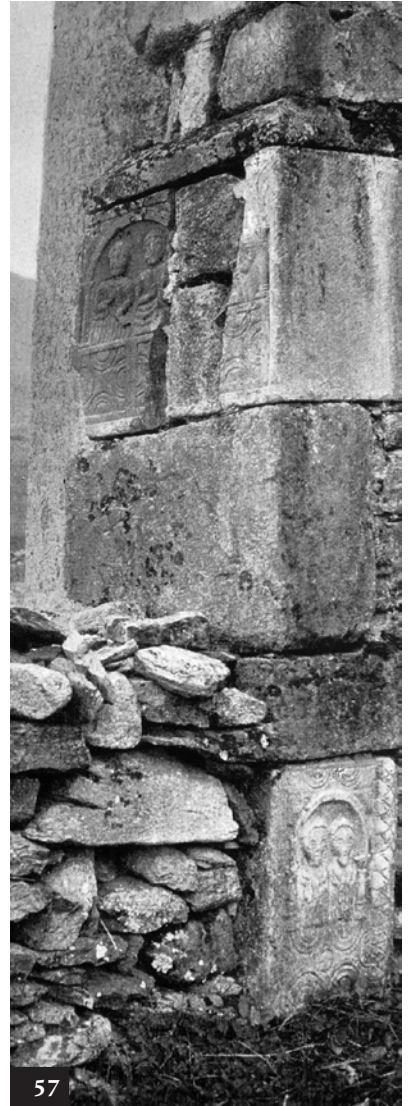
50 & 51. Two views of the Temple of Diana (or Augustus) at Mérida in 1910, part-incorporated into the façade of the Casa de los Corbos, hence partly preserved. Such re-use offered some protection to some otherwise vulnerable antiquities – but this palace was also built with materials from the temple. **52.** The Temple of Mars at Mérida, rejigged as an up-market porte cochère.



53. At Karapinar in Anatolia, in a photo by Gertrude Bell of 1907, antiquities also decorate a house, and serve as water troughs. 54. Propylaeum of the Roman Temple of Jupiter incorporated in modern housing in Damascus (photograph published 1918); much sanitized, the propylaeum now forms the approach to the west wall of the Umayyad Mosque, built over the temenos of that temple. 55. The Arch of Caracalla at Tebessa built into the Byzantine walls, and nearly destroyed during the French occupation of Algeria.



56



57

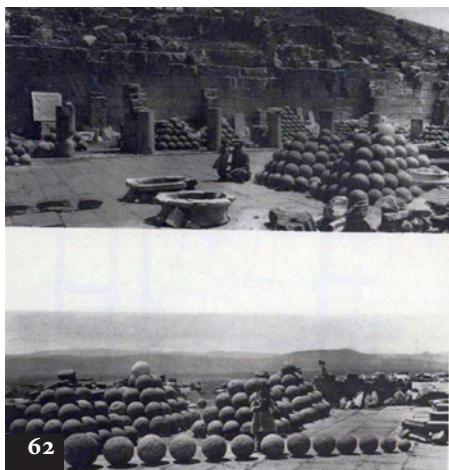


58

56. The Visigothic baptistery of San Miguel de Tarassà (near Barcelona), end of 7thC, furnished with antiquities perhaps from adjacent Roman remains and an earlier church. **57.** Church of Saint-Aventin, in the Vallée du Larboust (Comminges), its walls built from local pagan (non Roman) antiquities. **58.** Perge: the colonnaded street, seen through the Nymphaeum (its water-spout, unseen here, is completely furred-up).



59. Side, the late gate, with antiquities incorporated, and a nymphaeum against the wall. Water was one of the ruling necessities of Roman civic life, and its absence one of the causes both of subsequent decline and of the survival of antiquities. **60.** Ankara: stone water pipes incorporated in the walls of the citadel – proof positive that for reasons unknown they could no longer serve their original purpose. **61.** Similar pipes used in the refurbishment of an (originally Roman?) bridge near Aspendos, over the Eurymedon.



62



63



64

62. Ancient projectiles recovered from the 1927 excavations at Pergamum, perhaps carved direct from the quarry – unlike those which Sidon awaited, which would have been recut from antique columns. **63.** Sidon, Sea Castle, fortified with columns *en boutisse*. **64.** The subsequent unpopularity of sarcophagi (even plain ones) is underlined by the large collection in this depository at Limenas, on Thasos.



65



66



67

65. Columns and capitals were re-used with enthusiasm, as in this view of materials from dismantled mediaeval houses at Fustat, Cairo. **66.** Little survives of the cladding veneer of (a rebuilt corner of) the Temple of Apollo Smintheus near Gulpinar, in the Troad. Few of the marble shafts survive, though the podium, of local stone, is largely intact. **67.** At Thessaloniki, theatre seats were re-used to make an elegant face to the west walls – and to do so were carried across the city, from beyond the east walls.



68



69

68. Bosra: the decumanus, of which the modern town forms a part, with ancient columns and modern houses intermixed – as must have occurred in many towns down the ages. **69.** Apamea, water conduits.



70



71



72

(top & centre) Bursa: 70. Alauddin Mosque, with re-used Byzantine shafts and capitals. 71. Mausoleum of Murat II, of 1451. The shafts and inverted-capital bases are antique – but the tomb is made up from marble slabs, rather than being an antique sarcophagus. 72. Apamea: colonnade of limestone shafts.



(top left & right) Damascus: 73. Propylaeum leading to the Umayyad Mosque. 74. Antique pediment to the Hospital an-Nouri, of 1154. 75. Iznik, Lefke Kapisi, with ancient altar inset – but the inscription chiselled.



76. Syracuse, the cathedral re-using the Doric colonnade of a Greek temple.
 77. Bara, one of the “Dead Cities,” with sarcophagi.



78



79



80

(top left & right) 78. Baalbek, Temple of Jupiter, completed c. 60 AD. 79. Pergamum: the Trajaneum, completed c. 110 AD, in a photo of 1895. 80. Ascalon, in a print by Forbin of 1825, showing a large number of complete and partial column shafts.



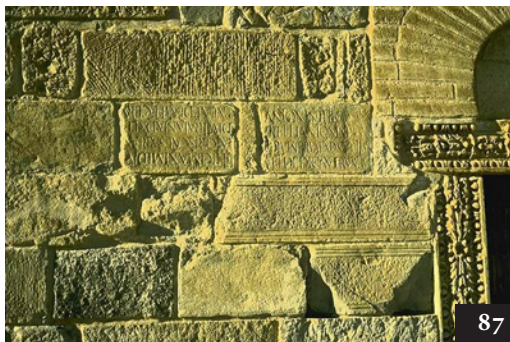
Two views by Dodwell in 1819: **81.** Athens, the Lysicrates Monument as a small house. **82.** (centre) The mosque at Libadea, Greece: note the antiquities in the cemetery. **83.** Bosra, in a photograph of 1903: the whole of the theatre cavea was obstructed by rubble.



Miletus, nymphaeum: **84.** State in 1910 photograph, with block interstices excavated to extract metal. **85.** Reconstruction by Huelsen, 1910.



86



87



88

(top left & right) Kairouan, Great Mosque, enlarged in the 9th century: **86.** arcading of courtyard, with plentiful re-used columns, capitals and bases; **87.** spolia both architectural and inscriptional in the lower courses of the minaret. **88.** Manisa, portico of Sultan Camii, of 1512, with the variety of shafts variously disguised.



89. Interior of the temple at Bassae, by Cockerell, 1860. **90.** The acropolis of Pergamum in a drawing of 1900. **91.** Athens, Temple of Hadrian, in Blouet's *Morée*, of 1833.